Ex Libris
C. K. OGDEN

THE HISTORY

OF THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY

EDWARD GIBBON.

WITH VARIORUM NOTES, INCLUDING THOSE OF

GUIZOT, WENCK, SCHREITER, AND HUGO.

VOL. V.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.
1885.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

311
G35
1883
v.5

CONTENTS

OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

CHAPTER XLIV.—IDEA OF THE ROMAN JURISPRUDENCE.—THE LAWS OF THE KINGS.—THE TWELVE TABLES OF THE DECEMVIRS.—THE LAWS OF THE PEOPLE.—THE DECREES OF THE SENATE.—THE EDICTS OF THE MAGISTRATES AND EMPERORS.—AUTHORITY OF THE CIVILIANS.—CODE, PANDECTS, NOVELS, AND INSTITUTES OF JUSTINIAN: —I. RIGHTS OF PERSONS.—II. RIGHTS OF THINGS.—III. PRIVATE INJURIES AND ACTIONS.—IV. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

A.D.		PAGE
	The Civil or Roman Law	1
	Laws of the Kings of Rome	4
	The Twelve Tables of the Decemvirs	6
	Their Character and Influence	10
	Laws of the People	12
	Decrees of the Senate	14
	Edicts of the Prætors	15
	The Perpetual Edict	17
	Constitutions of the Emperors	18
	Their Legislative Power	20
	Their Rescripts	21
	Forms of the Roman Law	22
	Succession of the Civil Lawyers	24
303—648.	The First Period	25
648—988.	Second Period	25
988—1230.	Third Period	26
	Their Philosophy	27
	Authority	29
	Sects	32
527.	Reformation of the Roman Law by Justinian	33
527—546.	Tribonian	34
528, 529.	The Code of Justinian	35
530—533.	The Pandects or Digest	36
	Praise and Censure of the Code and Pandects	38
	Loss of the Ancient Jurisprudence	40
	Legal Inconstancy of Justinian	42
534.	Second Edition of the Code	43
534—565.	The Novels	43
533.	The Institutes	44

A.D. PAGE

I. Of Persons. Freemen and Slaves 44
Fathers and Children 47
Limitations of the Paternal Authority 48
Husbands and Wives 51
The Religious Rites of Marriage 51
Freedom of the Matrimonial Contract 52
Liberty and Abuse of Divorce 54
Limitations of the Liberty of Divorce 56
Incest, Concubines, and Bastards 58
Guardians and Wards 60
II. Of Things. Right of Property 61
Of Inheritance and Succession 65
Civil Degrees of Kindred 66
Introduction and Liberty of Testaments 68
Legacies 69
Codicils and Trusts 70
III. Of Actions 71
Promises 72
Benefits 73
Interest of Money 74
Injuries 76
IV. Of Crimes and Punishments 77
Severity of the Twelve Tables 78
Abolition or Oblivion of Penal Laws 81
Revival of Capital Punishments 83
Measure of Guilt 85
Unnatural Vice 86
Rigour of the Christian Emperors 87
Judgments of the People 88
Select Judges 90
Assessors 90
Voluntary Exile and Death 91
Abuses of Civil Jurisprudence 92

CH. XLV.—Reign of the Younger Justin.—Embassy of the Avars. Their Settlement on the Danube.—Conquest of Italy by the Lombards.—Adoption and Reign of Tiberius.—Of Maurice.—State of Italy under the Lombards and the Exarchs of Ravenna.—Distress of Rome.—Character and Pontificate of Gregory the First.

565. Death of Justinian 94
565—574. Reign of Justin II. or the Younger 95
566. His Consulship 95
Embassy of the Avars 96
Alboin, King of the Lombards—his Valour, Love, and Revenge 97
The Lombards and Avars destroy the King and Kingdom of the Gepidæ 99
567. Alboin undertakes the Conquest of Italy 101
Disaffection and Death of Narses 102

A.D. PAGE
568—570. Conquest of a Great Part of Italy by the Lombards . 104
573. Alboin is Murdered by his Wife Rosamond 107
Her Flight and Death 107
Clepho, King of the Lombards 108
Weakness of the Emperor Justin 108
574. Association of Tiberius 109
578. Death of Justin II. 110
571—582. Reign of Tiberius II. 111
His Virtues 112
582—602. The Reign of Maurice 113
Distress of Italy 114
584—590. Autharis, King of the Lombards 115
The Exarchate of Ravenna 116
The Kingdom of the Lombards 118
Language and Manners of the Lombards 119
Dress and Marriage 123
Government 125
643. Laws 126
Misery of Rome 127
The Tombs and Relics of the Apostles 129
Birth and Profession of Gregory the Roman . . . 130
590—604. Pontificate of Gregory the Great . . . 132
His Spiritual Office 132
And Temporal Government 134
His Estates 134
And Alms 135
The Saviour of Rome 136

CH. XLVI.—REVOLUTIONS OF PERSIA AFTER THE DEATH OF CHOSROES OR NUSHIRVAN.—HIS SON HORMOUZ, A TYRANT, IS DEPOSED.—USURPATION OF BAHRAM.—FLIGHT AND RESTORATION OF CHOSROES II.—HIS GRATITUDE TO THE ROMANS.—THE CHAGAN OF THE AVARS.—REVOLT OF THE ARMY AGAINST MAURICE.—HIS DEATH.—TYRANNY OF PHOCAS.—ELEVATION OF HERACLIUS.—THE PERSIAN WAR.—CHOSROES SUBDUES SYRIA, EGYPT, AND ASIA MINOR.—SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE PERSIANS AND AVARS.—PERSIAN EXPEDITIONS.—VICTORIES AND TRIUMPH OF HERACLIUS.

Contest of Rome and Persia 136
570. Conquest of Yemen by Nushirvan 137
572. His last War with the Romans 139
579. His Death 140
579—590. Tyranny and Vices of his Son Hormouz . . . 141
590. Exploits of Bahram 143
His Rebellion 146
Hormouz is Deposed and Imprisoned 146
Elevation of his Son Chosroes 147
Death of Hormouz 148
Chosroes Flies to the Romans 149

A.D. PAGE
His Return 150
And Final Victory 150
Death of Bahram 150
591—603. Restoration and Policy of Chosroes 151
570—600. Pride, Policy, and Power of the Chagan of the Avars . 153
595—602. Wars of Maurice against the Avars 157
State of the Roman Armies 159
Their Discontent 160
And Rebellion 161
602. Election of Phocas 161
Revolt of Constantinople 161
Death of Maurice and his Children 163
602—610. Phocas Emperor 164
His Character 165
And Tyranny 166
610. His Fall and Death 167
610—642. Reign of Heraclius 168
603. Chosroes Invades the Roman Empire 169
611. His Conquest of Syria 170
614. Of Palestine 171
616. Of Egypt 172
Of Asia Minor 172
His Reign and Magnificence 173
610—622. Distress of Heraclius 175
He Solicits Peace 177
621. His Preparations for War 178
622. First Expedition of Heraclius against the Persians . . 180
623, 624, 625. His Second Expedition 182
626. Deliverance of Constantinople from the Persians and Avars . 186
Alliances and Conquests of Heraclius 188
627. His Third Expedition 190
And Victories 191
Flight of Chosroes 192
628. He is Deposed 194
And Murdered by his Son Siroes 194
Treaty of Peace between the two Empires 195

CH. XLVII.—THEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION.—THE HUMAN AND DIVINE NATURE OF CHRIST.—ENMITY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.—ST. CYRIL AND NESTORIUS.—THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.—HERESY OF EUTYCHES.—FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.—CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL DISCORD.—INTOLERANCE OF JUSTINIAN.—THE THREE CHAPTERS.—THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY.—STATE OF THE ORIENTAL SECTS.—I. THE NESTORIANS.—II. THE JACOBITES.—III. THE MARONITES. IV. THE ARMENIANS.—V. THE COPTS AND ABYSSINIANS.

The Incarnation of Christ 197
I. A Pure Man to the Ebionites 199

A.D.		PAGE
	His Birth and Elevation	200
	II. A Pure God to the Docetes	202
	His Incorruptible Body	204
	III. Double Nature of Cerinthus	205
	IV. Divine Incarnation of Apollinaris	206
	V. Orthodox Consent and Verbal Disputes	209
412—444.	Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria	210
413, 415.	His Tyranny	212
428.	Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople	214
429—431.	His Heresy	216
431.	First Council of Ephesus	218
	Condemnation of Nestorius	220
	Opposition of the Orientals	221
431—435.	Victory of Cyril	222
435.	Exile of Nestorius	224
448.	Heresy of Eutyches	228
449.	Second Council of Ephesus	229
451.	Council of Chalcedon	231
	Faith of Chalcedon	233
451—482.	Discord of the East	234
482.	The Henoticon of Zeno	236
508—518.	The Trisagion, and Religious War till the Death of Anastasius	239
514.	First Religious War	241
519—565.	Theological Character and Government of Justinian	242
	His Persecution of Heretics	243
	Of Pagans	244
	Of Jews	245
	Of Samaritans	245
	His Orthodoxy	246
532—698.	The Three Chapters	247
553.	Vth General Council: IId of Constantinople	248
564.	Heresy of Justinian	249
629.	The Monothelite Controversy	250
639.	The Ecthesis of Heraclius	251
648.	The Type of Constans	251
680—681.	VIth General Council: IId. of Constantinople	252
	Union of the Greek and Latin Churches	253
	Perpetual Separation of the Oriental Sects	254
	I. The Nestorians	256
500.	Sole Masters of Persia	258
500—1200.	Their Missions in Tartary, India, China, &c.	259
883.	The Christians of St. Thomas in India	262
	II. The Jacobites	264
	III. The Maronites	267
	IV. The Armenians	269
	V. The Copts or Egyptians	271
537—568.	The Patriarch Theodosius	272
538.	Paul	272

A.D. PAGE
551. Apollinaris 272
580. Eulogius 273
609. John 273
Their Separation and Decay 274
625—661. Benjamin, the Jacobite Patriarch 275
VI. The Abyssinians and Nubians 276
530. Church of Abyssinia 278
1525—1550. The Portuguese in Abyssinia 279
1557. Mission of the Jesuits 281
1626. Conversion of the Emperor 282
1632. Final Expulsion of the Jesuits 283

CH. XLVIII.—PLAN OF THE REMAINDER OF THE WORK.—SUCCESSION AND CHARACTERS OF THE GREEK EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, FROM THE TIME OF HERACLIUS TO THE LATIN CONQUEST.

Defects of the Byzantine History 284
Its Connexion with the Revolutions of the World . . 286
Plan of the remainder of the Work 286
Second Marriage and Death of Heraclius 289
641 Constantine III. 290
Heracleonas 290
Punishment of Martina and Heracleonas 291
Constans II. 292
668. Constantine IV. Pogonatus 293
685. Justinian II. 294
695—705. His Exile 296
705—711. His Restoration and Death 297
711. Philippicus 299
713. Anastasius II. 299
716. Theodosius III. 299
718. Leo III. the Isaurian 300
741. Constantine V. Copronymus 301
775. Leo IV. 303
780. Constantine VI. and Irene 304
792. Irene 306
802. Nicephorus I. 307
811. Stauracius 307
Michael I. Rhangabe 308
813. Leo V. the Armenian 309
820. Michael II. the Stammerer 310
829. Theophilus 311
842. Michael III. 314
867. Basil I. the Macedonian 316
886. Leo VI. the Philosopher 321
911. Alexander, Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus . . 322
919. Romanus I. Lecapenus 323
Christopher, Stephen, Constantine VIII. 323

A.D.		PAGE
945.	Constantine VII.	324
959.	Romanus II. junior	325
963.	Nicephorus II. Phocas	326
969.	John Zimisces, Basil II. Constantine IX.	327
976.	Basil II. and Constantine IX.	329
1025.	Constantine IX.	330
1028.	Romanus III. Argyrus	331
1034.	Michael IV. the Paphlagonian	331
1041.	Michael V. Calaphates	332
1042.	Zoe and Theodora	332
	Constantine X. Monomachus	332
1054.	Theodora	333
1056.	Michael VI. Stratioticus	333
1057.	Isaac I. Comnenus	334
1059.	Constantine XI. Ducas	335
1067.	Eudocia	335
	Romanus III. Diogenes	336
1071.	Michael VII. Parapinaces, Andronicus I. Constantine XII.	337
1078.	Nicephorus III. Botoniates	338
1081.	Alexius I. Comnenus	339
1118.	John, or Calo-Johannes	342
1143.	Manuel	344
1180.	Alexius II.	346
	Character and First Adventures of Andronicus	347
1183.	Andronicus I. Comnenus	354
1185.	Isaac II. Angelus	356

CH. XLIX.—INTRODUCTION, WORSHIP, AND PERSECUTION OF IMAGES.—REVOLT OF ITALY AND ROME.—TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPES.—CONQUEST OF ITALY BY THE FRANKS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF IMAGES.—CHARACTER AND CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE.—RESTORATION AND DECAY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.—INDEPENDENCE OF ITALY.—CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMANIC BODY.

	Introduction of Images into the Christian Church	359
	Their Worship	361
	The Image of Edessa	362
	Its Copies	364
	Opposition to Image-Worship	365
726—840.	Leo the Iconoclast, and his Successors	367
754.	Their Synod of Constantinople	368
	Their Creed	369
726—775.	Their Persecution of the Images and Monks	370
	State of Italy	372
727.	Epistles of Gregory II. to the Emperor	374
728.	Revolt of Italy	377
	Republic of Rome	380
730—752.	Rome Attacked by the Lombards	382
754.	Her Deliverance by Pepin	384

A.D. PAGE
774. Conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne 386
751. 753. 768. Pepin and Charlemagne, Kings of France . 387
Patricians of Rome 388
Donations of Pepin and Charlemagne to the Popes . 390
Forgery of the Donation of Constantine 393
780. Restoration of Images in the East by the Empress Irene . 396
787. VIIth General Council: IInd of Nice 396
842. Final Establishment of Images by the Empress Theodora . 397
794. Reluctance of the Franks and of Charlemagne . . . 398
774—800. Final Separation of the Popes from the Eastern Empire 400
800. Coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of Rome and of the West 402
768—814. Reign and Character of Charlemagne . . . 404
Extent of his Empire 408
In France 408
Spain 409
Italy 419
Germany 410
Hungary 410
His Neighbours and Enemies 411
His Successors 413
814—887. In Italy 413
911. In Germany 414
987. In France 414
814—840. Lewis the Pious 414
840—856. Lothaire I. 414
856—875. Lewis II. 414
888. Division of the Empire 414
962. Otho, King of Germany, Restores and Appropriates the Western Empire 415
Transactions of the Western and Eastern Empires . . 416
800—1060. Authority of the Emperors in the Elections of the Popes 418
Disorders 419
1073. Reformation and Claims of the Church 421
Authority of the Emperors in Rome 422
932. Revolt of Alberic 422
967. Of Pope John XII. 423
998. Of the Consul Crescentius 424
774—1250. The Kingdom of Italy 425
1152—1190. Frederic I. 427
1198—1250. Frederic II. 428
854—1250. Independence of the Princes of Germany . . 429
1250. The Germanic Constitution 431
1347—1378. Weakness and Poverty of the German Emperor Charles IV. 432
1356. His Ostentation 434
Contrast of the Power and Modesty of Augustus . . 434

CH. L.— DESCRIPTION OF ARABIA AND ITS INHABITANTS.—BIRTH, CHARACTER, AND DOCTRINE OF MAHOMET.—HE PREACHES AT MECCA.—FLIES TO MEDINA.—PROPAGATES HIS RELIGION BY THE SWORD.—VOLUNTARY OR RELUCTANT SUBMISSION OF THE ARABS.—HIS DEATH AND SUCCESSORS.—THE CLAIMS AND FORTUNES OF ALI AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

A.D.		PAGE
	Description of Arabia	435
	The Soil and Climate	437
	Division of the Sandy, the Stony, and the Happy Arabia	438
	Manners of the Bedoweens, or Pastoral Arabs	439
	The Horse	440
	The Camel	440
	Cities of Arabia	441
	Mecca	443
	Her Trade	443
	National Independence of the Arabs	444
	Their Domestic Freedom and Character	447
	Civil Wars and Private Revenge	450
	Annual Truce	451
	Their Social Qualifications and Virtues	452
	Love of Poetry	453
	Examples of Generosity	454
	Ancient Idolatry	455
	The Caaba, or Temple of Mecca	456
	Sacrifices and Rites	458
	Introduction of the Sabians	459
	The Magians	460
	The Jews	461
	The Christians	461
569—609.	Birth and Education of Mahomet	463
	Deliverance of Mecca	464
	Qualifications of the Prophet	465
	One God	468
	Mahomet the Apostle of God, and the Last of the Prophets	470
	Moses	471
	Jesus	472
	The Koran	473
	Miracles	475
	Precepts of Mahomet—Prayer, Fasting, Alms	477
	Resurrection	480
	Hell and Paradise	481
606.	Mahomet Preaches at Mecca	485
613—622.	Is Opposed by the Koreish	487
622.	And Driven from Mecca	488
622.	Received as Prince of Medina	489
622—632.	His Regal Dignity	491
	He Declares War against the Infidels	492

A.D.		PAGE
	His Defensive Wars against the Koreish of Mecca	495
623.	Battle of Beder	496
	Of Ohud	497
625.	Of the Nations, or the Ditch	498
623—627.	Mahomet Subdues the Jews of Arabia	498
629.	Submission of Mecca	501
629—632.	Conquest of Arabia	502
629, 630.	First War of the Mahometans against the Roman Empire	505
632.	Death of Mahomet	509
	His Character	510
	Private Life of Mahomet	513
	His Wives	514
	And Children	516
	Character of Ali	517
632.	Reign of Abubeker	518
634.	—— of Omar	519
644.	—— of Othman	519
	Discord of the Turks and Persians	520
655.	Death of Othman	522
655—660.	Reign of Ali	523
655, or 661—680.	Reign of Moawiyah	526
	Death of Hosein	529
	Posterity of Mahomet and Ali	530
	Permanency of his Religion	533
	His Merit towards his Country	534

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XLIV.

IDEA OF THE ROMAN JURISPRUDENCE.—THE LAWS OF THE KINGS.—THE TWELVE TABLES OF THE DECEMVIRS.—THE LAWS OF THE PEOPLE.—THE DECREES OF THE SENATE.—THE EDICTS OF THE MAGISTRATES AND EMPERORS.—AUTHORITY OF THE CIVILIANS.—CODE, PANDECTS, NOVELS, AND INSTITUTES, OF JUSTINIAN.—I. RIGHTS OF PERSONS.—II. RIGHTS OF THINGS.—III. PRIVATE INJURIES AND ACTIONS.—IV. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

THE vain titles of the victories of Justinian are crumbled into dust: but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument. Under his reign, and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the CODE, the PANDECTS, and the INSTITUTES;* the public reason of the Romans has been silently or stu

* The civilians of the darker ages have established an absurd and incomprehensible mode of quotation, which is supported by authority and custom. In their references to the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes, they mention the number, not of the book, but only of the law; and content themselves with reciting the first words of the title to which it belongs; and of these titles there are more than a thousand. Ludwig (Vit. Justiniani, p. 268) wishes to shake off this pedantic yoke; and I have dared to adopt the simple and rational method of numbering the book, the title, and the law [This chapter has much engaged the

diously transfused into the domestic institutions of Europe,* and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations. Wise or fortunate is the prince who connects his own reputation with the honour and interest of a perpetual order of men. The defence of their founder is the first cause, which in every age has exercised the zeal and industry of the civilians. They piously commemorate his virtues; dissemble or deny his failings; and fiercely chastise the guilt or folly of the rebels who presume to sully the majesty of the purple. The idolatry of love has provoked, as it usually happens, the rancour of opposition; the character of Justinian has been exposed to the blind vehemence of flattery and invective, and the injustice of a sect (the *Anti-Tribonians*) has refused

attention of German jurists. In 1789, Professor Hugo published a translation of it, with original notes, and in 1821 appeared another by Professor Warnkönig. Hugo says that Gibbon's form of quotation is most convenient for unprofessional men; but that for German lawyers, who must appear to know, at least, the Pandects and Institutes by heart, their mode of citing is the best.—ED.]

* Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Scotland, have received them as common law or reason; in France, Italy, &c. they possess a direct or indirect influence; and they were respected in England, from Stephen to Edward I, our national Justinian, (Duck, de Usû et Auctoritate Juris Civilis, l. 2, c. 1, 8—15. Heineccius, Hist. Juris Germanici, c. 3, 4. No. 55—124) and the legal historians of each country. [It has been disputed in France, whether the Roman law was founded on positive edicts or only *raison écrite*. In Germany the latest or Justinian's enactments supersede the older.—HUGO.] [There were none but imperfect treatises on Roman law in Gibbon's time. That of Arthur Duck is very trifling. More light has been thrown on it by the interesting researches of Sarti, Tiraboschi, Fantuzzi, Savioli, and M. de Savigny. It was always preserved from the time of Justinian, but the Glossators, by their unwearied ardour, made it known throughout Europe.—WARNKÖNIG.] [The Italian jurists, who first wrote on Roman law, were called "Glossatores," Explainers or Interpreters, from the title of "Glossæ," which Bulgarus, the leader of them, gave to his book De Jure Civili. He, together with Jacobus Bononiensis, who had the cognomen of "the Old Glossator," and Ugolino à Porta, another of them, were employed by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, as his legal advocates at Roncaglia in 1158, to support his claims on Italy. This gave them and their studies greater importance. Mr. Hallam informs us (Middle Ages, vol. iii, p. 513—520), that early in the twelfth century, Guarnarius opened a school of civil law at Bologna, and the Glossators were his pupils. But Mr. Hallam declined "to dwell on the forgotten teachers of a science that is likely soon to be forgotten."—ED.]

all praise and merit to the prince, his ministers, and his laws.* Attached to no party, interested only for the truth and candour of history, and directed by the most temperate and skilful guides,† I enter with just diffidence on the subject of civil law, which has exhausted so many learned lives, and clothed the walls of such spacious libraries. In a single, if possible in a short chapter, I shall trace the Roman jurisprudence from Romulus to Justinian,‡ appreciate the labours of that emperor, and pause to contemplate the principles of a science so important to the peace and happiness of society. The laws of a nation form the most instructive portion of its history; and, although I have devoted myself to write the annals of a declining monarchy, I shall embrace the occasion to breathe the pure and invigorating air of the republic.

The primitive government of Rome§ was composed, with

* Francis Hotoman, a learned and acute lawyer of the sixteenth century, wished to mortify Cujacius, and to please the Chancellor de l'Hôpital. His Anti-Tribonianus (which I have never been able to procure), was published in French in 1609: and his sect was propagated in Germany. (Heineccius, Opp. tom. iii, sylloge 3, p. 171—183.)

† At the head of these guides I shall respectfully place the learned and perspicuous Heineccius, a German professor, who died at Halle in the year 1741 (see his Eloge in the Nouvelle Bibliothèque Germanique, tom. ii, p. 51—64). His ample works have been collected in eight volumes in 4to. Geneva, 1743—1748. The treatises which I have separately used are, 1. Historia Juris Romani et Germanici, Lugd. Batav. 1740, in 8vo. 2. Syntagma Antiquatatum Romanam Jurisprudentiam Illustrantium, 2 vols. in 8vo. Traject. ad Rhenum. 3. Elementa Juris Civilis secundum Ordinem Institutionum, Lugd. Bat. 1751, in 8vo. 4. Elementa J. C. secundum Ordinem Pandectarum, Traject. 1772, in 8vo. 2 vols. [Heineccius had the merit of bringing into notice the works of French and Dutch jurists. Bach is excellent when he exposes prevailing errors.—HUGO.] [Not being himself a lawyer, Gibbon could only be guided by the opinions of the writers whose authority then stood the highest. Heineccius was reputed to have studied deeply the Roman law; but he knew nothing more of it than what he had gathered from the compilations of others. Gibbon was thus betrayed into errors, which we have now the means of correcting. Yet none but a pen like his can impart to those more accurate acquisitions, the lustre, force, and vivacity, with which he has invested the opinions of Heineccius and his contemporaries.—WARNKÖNIG.]

‡ Our original text is a fragment de Origine Juris (Pandect. l. 1, tit. 2) of Pomponius, a Roman lawyer, who lived under the Antonines. (Heinecc. tom. iii, syll. 3, p. 66—126.) It has been abridged and probably corrupted, by Tribonian, and since restored by Bynkershoek. Opp. tom. i, p. 279—304.)

§ The constitutional

some political skill, of an elective king, a council of nobles, and a general assembly of the people. War and religion were administered by the supreme magistrate: and he alone proposed the laws, which were debated in the senate, and finally ratified or rejected by a majority of votes in the thirty *curiæ* or parishes of the city. Romulus, Numa, and Servius Tullius, are celebrated as the most ancient legislators; and each of them claims his peculiar part in the threefold division of Jurisprudence.* The laws of marriage, the education of children, and the authority of parents, which may seem to draw their origin from *nature* itself, are ascribed to the untutored wisdom of Romulus. The law of *nations* and of religious worship, which Numa introduced, was derived from his nocturnal converse with the nymph Egeria. The *civil* law is attributed to the experience of Servius; he balanced the rights and fortunes of the seven classes of citizens; and guarded, by fifty new regulations, the observance of contracts and the punishment of crimes. The state, which he had inclined towards a democracy, was changed by the last Tarquin into lawless despotism; and when the kingly office was abolished, the patricians engrossed the benefits of freedom. The royal laws became odious or obsolete; the mysterious deposit was silently preserved by the priests and nobles; and, at the end of sixty years, the citizens of Rome still complained that they were ruled by the arbitrary sentence of the magistrates. Yet the positive institutions of the kings had blended themselves with the public and private manners of the city; some fragments

history of the kings of Rome may be studied in the first book of Livy, and more copiously in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (l. 2, p. 83—96. 119—130; l. 4, p. 198—220), who sometimes betrays the character of a rhetorician and a Greek. [On this subject the writings of Beaufort, Niebuhr, and Wachsmuth should be consulted. — WARNKÖNIG.] [Beaufort's "Dissertation sur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'Histoire Romaine," came out in 1738, and his République Romaine, which was from the first highly appreciated, in 1766. They are both quoted by Gibbon. Niebuhr (Lectures, 1, p. 3 and 72) acknowledges Beaufort's work to be "the basis of all that has since been advanced on the same subject."—ED.]

* This threefold division of the law was applied to the three Roman kings by Justus Lipsius (Op. tom. iv, p. 279), is adopted by Gravina (Origines Juris Civilis, p. 28, edit. Lips. 1737), and is reluctantly admitted by Mascou, his German editor. [The Jus Gentium refers to the *gentes* of the Romans, who were divisions of their own people.

of that venerable jurisprudence* were compiled by the diligence of antiquarians,† and above twenty texts still speak the rudeness of the Pelasgic idiom of the Latins.‡

See Niebuhr's Lectures, 1, p. 156—161. But Hugo objects to this classification of the Roman law, and says that it can scarcely be regarded as a serious suggestion.—ED.]

* The most ancient code or digest was styled Jus Papirianum, from the first compiler, Papirius, who flourished somewhat before or after the Regifugium. (Pandect. l. 1, tit. 2.) The best judicial critics, even Bynkershoek (tom. i, p. 284, 285) and Heineccius (Hist. J. C. R. l. 1, c. 16, 17, and Op. tom. viii, sylloge 4, p. 1—8), give credit to this tale of Pomponius, without sufficiently adverting to the value and rarity of such a monument of the third century of the illiterate city. I much suspect that the Caius Papirius, the Pontifex Maximus, who revived the laws of Numa (Dionys. Hal. l. 3, p. 171), left only an oral tradition; and that the Jus Papirianum of Granius Flaccus (Pandect. l. 50, tit. 16, leg. 144), was not a commentary, but an original work, compiled in the time of Cæsar. (Censorin. de Die Natali, l. 3, p. 13. Duker, de Latinitate J. C. p. 157.) [The unimportant fragments which we possess of the Jus Papirianum, as well as of the Commentary on it, cannot be made serious subjects of discussion. The latter, also, according to Censorinus, as above cited, treated chiefly "De Indigitamentis." Varro, as quoted by Servius in his note on Virgil (Georg. l. 21), says that these were the Libri Pontificales in which were prescribed the forms of offering sacrifices and invoking the gods.—ED.]

† A pompous, though feeble, attempt to restore the original, is made in the Histoire de la Jurisprudence Romaine of Terasson, p. 22—72. Paris, 1750, in folio; a work of more promise than performance.

‡ In the year 1444, seven or eight tables of brass were dug up between Cortona and Gubio. A part of these, for the rest is Etruscan, represents the primitive state of the Pelasgic letters and language, which are ascribed by Herodotus to that district of Italy (l. 1, c. 56—58), though this difficult passage may be explained of a Crestona in Thrace. (Notes de Larcher, tom. i, p. 256—261.) The savage dialect of the Eugubine tables has exercised, and may still elude, the divination of criticism; but the root is undoubtedly Latin, of the same age and character as the Saliare Carmen, which, in the time of Horace, none could understand. The Roman idiom, by an infusion of Doric and Æolic Greek, was gradually ripened into the style of the twelve tables, of the Duillian column, of Ennius, of Terence, and of Cicero. (Gruter, Inscript. tom. i, p. 142, Scipion Maffei, Istoria Diplomatica, p. 241—258. Bibliothèque Italique, tom. iii, p. 30—41. 174—205; tom. xiv, p. 1—52.) [Eugubium, or Iguvium, was an ancient town of the Umbri, who became subject to Rome, A. U. C. 434, or 320 B. C.; the modern Gubbio now occupies its site. It is called Ikovina and Jovina, in the celebrated tables, which were discovered in a subterranean vault, by a peasant of the neighbouring village of La Schioggia. They are made of the purest copper, of different dimensions, from 1½ to 2¾ feet in height, and from 1 to 1⅝ broad. The inscriptions are very

I shall not repeat the well-known story of the decemvirs,* who sullied by their actions the honour of inscribing on brass, or wood, or ivory, the TWELVE TABLES of the Roman

distinctly and legibly engraven. These were long a mystery to the most learned. But within the last twenty years, German industry and skill have succeeded in furnishing an interpretation. O. Müller's "Die Etrusker" led the way, in 1828, to the first correct view of them. He was followed by Dr. R. Lepsius, whose treatise "De Tabulis Eugubinis" was published at Berlin in 1833. In the same year came out at Bonn, Professor Lasser's, "Beiträge zur Deutung der Eugubinischen Tafeln." Next appeared G. F. Grotefend's "Rudimenta Linguæ Umbricæ ex Inscriptionibus Antiquis enodata." Hanov. 1835—1839 (in eight parts). Two years later, issued from the press of Leipzig, another work of Dr. Lepsius, entitled "Inscriptiones Umbricæ et Oscæ, quotquot adhuc repertæ sunt omnes." This last mentioned writer, who during a visit to Italy had inspected and copied these monuments of antiquity, supplied professors Ersch and Gruber with the article on them, which is inserted in their work (Allgem. Encyc. Part 39, p. 49). This contains the latest and most authentic explanation of what Gibbon, although so imperfectly understood, considered to be worthy of this particular notice. The subject matter of these inscriptions scarcely remunerates the labour bestowed on deciphering them. They merely record sacrifices offered to different deities, and the forms of prayer used on those occasions, varied by a single contract for a division of lands between two colleges of priests. Still they illustrate the progress by which "a savage dialect" was refined into a polished and noble language. The first four are supposed to have been inscribed about 400 B. C., or nearly a century antecedent to the Roman conquest. The dialect is the old Umbrian or Oscan, in which there is some affinity to Latin, but the characters used are Pelasgic, derived from the Etruscans. The sixth and seventh are about two hundred years later, and approach much more nearly to the Latin, the letter *r* generally taking the place of *s*, and *œ* that of *ai*; the characters are also Roman. The fifth marks a more imperfect state of transition between the two periods. Niebuhr (Lectures, 1. 105) considers Latin to be a fusion of Oscan and Siculo-Pelasgic. The former had, perhaps, the same relation to the Celtic as the latter to the Greek, and each of them its provincial varieties, which, as Rome grew into importance, flowed into it as a common centre. In this investigation the Eugubian Tables are valuable aids.—ED.]

* Compare Livy (l. 3, c. 31—59) with Dionysius Halicarnassensis (l. 10, p. 644; 11, p. 691). How concise and animated is the Roman —how prolix and lifeless the Greek! Yet he has admirably judged the masters, and defined the rules, of historical composition. [Since Gibbon's days Dionysius has risen in the estimation of the best judges, and has been more largely and advantageously consulted. The masterly parallel drawn between him and Livy, in Niebuhr's Lectures (1, p. 38—40), is particularly worthy of attention as regards Dionysius.—ED.]

laws.* They were dictated by the rigid and jealous spirit of an aristocracy, which had yielded with reluctance to the just demands of the people. But the substance of the twelve tables was adapted to the state of the city; and the Romans had emerged from barbarism, since they were capable of studying and embracing the institutions of their more enlightened neighbours. A wise Ephesian was driven by envy from his native country: before he could reach the shores of Latium, he had observed the various forms of human nature and civil society; he imparted his knowledge to the legislators of Rome, and a statue was erected in the Forum to the perpetual memory of Hermodorus.† The

* From the historians, Heineccius (Hist. J. C. R. l. 1, No. 26) maintains that the twelve tables were of brass—æneas: in the text of Pomponius we read eboreas; for which Scaliger has substituted roboreas (Bynkershoek, p. 286). Wood, brass, and ivory might be successively employed. [It is far more important to inquire whether the laws of the twelve tables were brought from Greece. Gibbon's opinion that they were not, is now generally adopted, particularly by MM. Niebuhr and Hugo. See my "Institutiones Juris Romani privati," p. 311.—WARNKÖNIG.] [Niebuhr, in his Lectures (i, 295), has somewhat qualified his former decision. "I now retract," he says, "the opinion which I expressed in the first edition of my Roman History," and then proceeds to show, that though the Roman laws were not derived from the Attic, still that envoys were probably deputed from Rome to Athens for the purpose of gaining information. —ED.]

† His exile is mentioned by Cicero (Tusculan. Quæstion. 5, 36), his statue by Pliny (Hist. Nat. 34, 11). The letter, dream, and prophecy of Heraclitus, are alike spurious (Epistolæ Græc. Divers. p. 337). [Refer to the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. (tom. xxii. p. 48.) That one Hermodorus was concerned in framing the laws of the twelve tables cannot well be denied. Pomponius says, that he was the author of the two last, and Pliny terms him Interpreter to the Decemviri, which we may suppose to mean, that he assisted their labours. M. Gratama (Annal. Acad. Gött. 1817—1818) has too boldly ascribed them wholly to him. The Patricians of Rome were not at that time likely to let their laws be dictated by an exiled foreigner.—WARNKÖNIG.] [It will be well to note the last opinions of a man like Niebuhr on this subject, as recorded in his Lectures (i. 297). His conclusions are, that Hermodorus, in his wanderings, happened to visit Rome at the time when the people were seriously agitating for a reform of their laws; that, being consulted, he recommended them to obtain information respecting the codes of Greece; that commissioners, not a formal embassy, were sent for that purpose; that these brought back copies of various legal systems, which, being in Greek, were translated by Hermodorus, of whose office Pliny's "Interpres" was therefore not a figurative, but a literal designation; that he was

names and divisions of the copper money, the sole coin of the infant state, were of Dorian origin:* the harvests of Campania and Sicily relieved the wants of a people whose agriculture was often interrupted by war and faction; and since the trade was established,† the deputies, who sailed from the Tiber, might return from the same harbours with a more precious cargo of political wisdom. The colonies of Great Greece had transported and improved the arts of their mother-country. Cumæ and Rhegium, Crotona and Tarentum, Agrigentum and Syracuse, were in the rank of the most flourishing cities. The disciples of Pythagoras applied philosophy to the use of government; the unwritten laws of Charondas accepted the aid of poetry and music,‡ and Zaleucus framed the republic of the Locrians, which stood without alteration above two hundred years.§ From

found to be a valuable and instructive adviser, to whom the public gratitude was expressed and commemorated; but that the Romans, instead of modelling their laws on the procured documents, adapted them to their own habits.—ED.]

* This intricate subject of the Sicilian and Roman money is ably discussed by Dr. Bentley (Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, p. 427—479), whose powers in this controversy were called forth by honour and resentment.

† The Romans, or their allies, sailed as far as the Fair Promontory of Africa (Polyb. l. iii, p. 177, edit. Casaubon, in folio). Their voyages to Cumæ, &c., are noticed by Livy and Dionysius. [When Polybius wrote, the point of Africa, over against the south-eastern or Lilybæan cape of Sicily, was called the Fair Promontory. It was afterwards the Mercurii Promontorium of the Latins (Cellarius, 2, 887), and is now Cape Bon. The circumstances in which mention is made of it by Polybius, are very derogatory to the nautical character of the Romans. In the first years of their Republic a treaty was concluded between them and the Carthaginians, which stipulated, that, unless driven by stress of weather or hostile pursuit, no ship belonging to Rome or any of its allies, should sail beyond this point, and if compelled to pass it, should not remain more than five days. This humiliating concession was exacted by the Carthaginians to conceal from Europeans the fruitfulness of Byzacium and the adjacent districts, which were said to reward agricultural toil by a hundred-fold produce (Sil. Ital. 9, 204).—ED.]

‡ This circumstance would alone prove the antiquity of Charondas, the legislator of Rhegium and Catana, who, by a strange error of Diodorus Siculus (tom. i, l. 12, p. 485—492), is celebrated long afterwards as the author of the policy of Thurium.

§ Zaleucus, whose existence has been rashly attacked, had the merit and glory of converting a band of outlaws (the Locrians) into the most virtuous and orderly of the Greek republics. (See two Memoirs of the Baron de St. Croix, sur la Législation de la Grande

a similar motive of national pride, both Livy and Dionysius are willing to believe, that the deputies of Rome visited Athens under the wise and splendid administration of Pericles; and the laws of Solon were transfused into the twelve tables. If such an embassy had indeed been received from the barbarians of Hesperia, the Roman name would have been familiar to the Greeks before the reign of Alexander,* and the faintest evidence would have been explored and celebrated by the curiosity of succeeding times. But the

Grèce; Mem. de l'Académie, tom. xlii, p. 276—333.) But the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas, which imposed on Diodorus and Stobæus, are the spurious composition of a Pythagorean sophist, whose fraud has been detected by the critical sagacity of Bentley (p. 335—377).

* I seize the opportunity of tracing the progress of this national intercourse: 1. Herodotus and Thucydides (A. U. C. 300—350) appear ignorant of the name and existence of Rome (Joseph. contra Apion, tom. ii, lib. 1, c. 12, p. 444, edit. Havercamp). 2. Theopompus (A. U. C. 400, Plin. 3. 9) mentions the invasion of the Gauls, which is noticed in looser terms by Heraclides Ponticus (Plutarch in Camillo, p. 292, edit. H. Stephan.). 3. The real or fabulous embassy of the Romans to Alexander (A. U. C. 430) is attested by Clitarchus (Plin. 3. 9), by Aristus and Asclepiades (Arrian. l. 7, p. 294, 295), and by Memnon of Heraclea (apud Photium, cod. 224, p. 725), though tacitly denied by Livy. 4. Theophrastus (A. U. C. 440) primus externorum aliqua de Romanis diligentius scripsit (Plin. 3. 9). 5. Lycophron (A. U. C. 480—500) scattered the first seed of a Trojan colony and the fable of the Æneid; Cassandra, 1226—1280—

Γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης σκῆπτρα καὶ μοναρχιαν
Λαβόντες.

A bold prediction before the end of the first Punic war. [The earliest relations between Rome and the Greeks, are traced by Niebuhr (Lectures l. 458), and (p. 469) he argues strongly for the embassy to the Macedonian Alexander. Clitarchus, he says, by whom the statement has been handed down to us, was an elegant author, who wrote immediately after the event. The generally dark and mysterious character of Lycophron's "Alexandra" has caused very unreasonable doubts respecting the passage here quoted by Gibbon and the "bold prediction," which Cassandra is made to utter. This poet wrote in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who died 246 B. C. The Romans were at that time well known in the East, having entered into treaties of alliance with that monarch, 273 B. C. Pyrrhus, after his defeat at Tarentum (274 B. C.) had spread the fame of their valour among the Greeks. Soon after that event, they were masters of nearly all Italy, and formed "the most powerful and compact state in all the world then known" (Nieb. Lec. 1, 571). The naval victory of Duillius was gained 259 B. C., and two years afterwards that of Manlius and Regulus, near Ecnomus, was followed by the landing of the conquerors in Africa. In this state of the affairs of so rising an empire,

Athenian monuments are silent; nor will it seem credible that the patricians should undertake a long and perilous navigation to copy the purest model of a democracy. In the comparison of the tables of Solon with those of the decemvirs, some casual resemblance may be found; some rules which nature and reason have revealed to every society; some proofs of a common descent from Egypt or Phœnicia.* But in all the great lines of public and private jurisprudence, the legislators of Rome and Athens appear to be strangers or adverse to each other.

Whatever might be the origin or the merit of the twelve tables,† they obtained among the Romans that blind and partial reverence which the lawyers of every country delight to bestow on their municipal institutions. The study is recommended by Cicero‡ as equally pleasant and instruc-

there was nothing extraordinary in the prediction which Gibbon thought so "bold," and which learned critics have imagined must have been written at a later period, and by some other poet. Clinton (F. H. iii, 13) makes Lycophron to have been distinguished from 280 B. C. to 250 B. C.—ED.]

* The tenth table, de modo sepulturæ, was borrowed from Solon: (Cicero de Legibus, 2, 23—26), the furtum per lancem et licium conceptum, is derived by Heineccius from the manners of Athens. (Antiquitat. Rom. tom. ii, p. 167—175.) The right of killing a nocturnal thief was declared by Moses, Solon, and the decemvirs (Exodus, xxii, 3). (Demosthenes contra Timocratem, tom. i, p. 736, edit. Reiske. Macrob. Saturnalia, lib. 1, c. 4. Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum, tit. 7, No. 1, p. 218, edit. Cannegieter.) [Are not the earliest stages of polity, among all nations, marked by the same resemblance of their laws?—WARNKÖNIG.]

† Βραχέως καὶ ἀπερίττως is the praise of Diodorus (tom. i, l. 12, p. 494), which may be fairly translated by the eleganti atque absoluta brevitate verborum of Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. 21, 1).

‡ Listen to Cicero (de Legibus, 2, 23) and his representative Crassus (de Oratore, 1, 43, 44). [Attentive readers of this chapter may be assisted by the following titles of these Laws, as given by Jacob Gothofredus, in his collection of their fragments:—

TABLE		LAWS.	CHAP.
I.	De in Jus vocando	3	10
II.	De Judiciis et Furtis	4	10
III.	De Rebus Creditis	4	9
IV.	De Jure Patrio et Jure Connubii	2	4
V.	De Hæreditatibus et Tutelis	3	6
VI.	De Jure Dominii et Possessionis	7	8
VII.	De Delictis	6	16
VIII.	De Juribus Prædiorum	7	11

tive. "They amuse the mind by the remembrance of old words and the portrait of ancient manners; they inculcate the soundest principles of government and morals; and I am not afraid to affirm, that the brief composition of the decemvirs surpasses in genuine value the libraries of Grecian philosophy. How admirable," says Tully, with honest or affected prejudice, "is the wisdom of our ancestors. We alone are the masters of civil prudence, and our superiority is the more conspicuous, if we deign to cast our eyes on the rude and almost ridiculous jurisprudence of Draco, of Solon, and of Lycurgus." The twelve tables were committed to the memory of the young, and the meditation of the old; they were transcribed and illustrated with learned diligence; they had escaped the flames of the Gauls, they subsisted in the age of Justinian, and their subsequent loss has been imperfectly restored by the labours of modern critics.* But although these venerable monuments were considered as the rule of right, and the fountain of justice,† they were overwhelmed by the weight and variety of new laws, which, at the end of five centuries, became a grievance more intolerable than the vices of the city.‡ Three thousand brass plates, the acts of the senate and people, were deposited in

TABLE		LAWS.	CHAP.
IX.	De Jure Publico - - - - - - -	7	7
X.	De Jure Sacro. De Jurejurando. De Sepulchris		12
XI.	Supplementum 5 Priorum - - - -	3	3
XII.	Idem 5 Posteriorum - - - -	4	4

—ED.]

* See Heineccius (Hist. J. R. No. 29—33). I have followed the restoration of the Twelve Tables by Gravina (Origines J. C. p. 280—307) and Terasson (Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine, p. 94—205).

† Finis æqui juris (Tacit. Annal. 3, 27). Fons omnis publici et privati juris (T. Liv. 3, 34). [Commentators have put various constructions on these three words of Tacitus, which are plainly intelligible if taken in connection with his preceding chapter. The meaning is, that these tables, as far as they guarded liberty and established concord, by repressing Patrician cabals, accomplished "the object of equitable law." Horace teaches us what is implied by "æqua lege." (Carm. 3, 1.)—ED.]

‡ De principiis juris, et quibus modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum perventum sit altius disseram (Tacit. Annal. 3, 25). This deep disquisition fills only two pages, but they are the pages of Tacitus. With equal sense, but with less energy, Livy (3, 34) had complained, in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, &c.

the Capitol;* and some of the acts, as the Julian law against extortion, surpassed the number of a hundred chapters.† The decemvirs had neglected to import the sanction of Zaleucus which so long maintained the integrity of his republic. A Locrian, who proposed any new law, stood forth in the assembly of the people with a cord round his neck, and if the law was rejected, the innovator was instantly strangled.

The decemvirs had been named, and their tables were approved, by an assembly of the *centuries*, in which riches preponderated against numbers. To the first class of Romans, the proprietors of one hundred thousand pounds of copper,‡ ninety-eight votes were assigned, and only ninety-five were left for the six inferior classes, distributed according to their substance by the artful policy of Servius. But the tribunes soon established a more specious and popular maxim, that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws which he is bound to obey. Instead of the *centuries*, they convened the *tribes;* and the patricians, after an impotent struggle, submitted to the decrees of an assembly, in which their votes were confounded with those of the meanest plebeians. Yet as long as the tribes successively passed over narrow *bridges*,§ and gave their voices

* Suetonius in Vespasiano, c. 8. † Cicero ad Familiares, 8, 8.

‡ Dionysius, with Arbuthnot, and most of the moderns (except Eisenschmidt de Ponderibus, &c., p. 137—140), represent the one hundred thousand asses by ten thousand Attic drachmæ, or somewhat more than three hundred pounds sterling. But their calculation can apply only to the later times, when the *as* was diminished to one twenty-fourth of its ancient weight: nor can I believe that in the first ages, however destitute of the precious metals, a single ounce of silver could have been exchanged for seventy pounds of copper or brass. A more simple and rational method is, to value the copper itself according to the present rate, and, after comparing the mint and the market price, the Roman and avoirdupois weight, the primitive *as* or Roman pound of copper may be appreciated at one English shilling, and the one hundred thousand asses of the first class amounted to five thousand pounds sterling. It will appear from the same reckoning, that an ox was sold at Rome for 5*l*., a sheep for 10*s*., and a quarter of wheat for 1*l*. 10*s*. (Festus, p. 330, edit. Dacier; Plin. Hist. Natur. 18, 4); nor do I see any reason to reject these consequences, which moderate our ideas of the poverty of the first Romans.

§ Consult the common writers on the Roman Comitia, especially Sigonius and Beaufort. Spanheim (de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum, tom. ii. dissert. 10, p. 192, 193) shews, on a curious medal,

aloud, the conduct of each citizen was exposed to the eyes and ears of his friends and countrymen. The insolvent debtor consulted the wishes of his creditor; the client would have blushed to oppose the views of his patron; the general was followed by his veterans, and the aspect of a grave magistrate was a living lesson to the multitude. A new method of secret ballot abolished the influence of fear and shame, of honour and interest, and the abuse of freedom accelerated the progress of anarchy and despotism.* The Romans had aspired to be equal; they were levelled by the equality of servitude; and the dictates of Augustus were patiently ratified by the formal consent of the tribes or centuries. Once, and once only, he experienced a sincere and strenuous opposition. His subjects had resigned all political liberty; they defended the freedom of domestic life. A law which enforced the obligation, and strengthened the bonds of marriage, was clamorously rejected: Propertius, in the arms of Delia, applauded the victory of licentious love; and the project of reform was suspended till a new and more tractable generation had arisen in the world.† Such an example was not necessary to instruct a prudent usurper of the mischief of popular assemblies; and their abolition, which Augustus had silently prepared, was accomplished without resistance, and almost without notice, on the acces-

the Cista, Pontes, Septa, Diribitor, &c. [The *Septa* were divisions or enclosures in the forum, one for each tribe to assemble in, also called *ovilia*, or sheep folds (Lucan. Phars. 2. 197). At first they were separated merely by ropes, then by wooden partitions, and at last by walls of marble. From each *septum*, after secret voting had been introduced, an elevated, narrow plank, termed the *pons*, or bridge, conducted to the *cista*, the urn or balloting-box. At the entrance of this passage stood the *diribitor*, or scrutineer, who summoned each individual in his turn, and gave him his *tabellæ*, or voting-tickets, one of which was to be deposited, as the expression of his will, in the *cista*. The *pontes* would have been useless, and can scarcely have existed, when votes were given *vivâ voce*.—ED.]

* Cicero (de Legibus, 3. 16—18) debates this constitutional question, and assigns to his brother Quintus the most unpopular side. [The ballot did not nurture in Rome a virtuous constituency, nor save the people from the phrenzy of contending factions, the horrors of civil wars, and eventual submission to despotic rule.—ED.]

† Præ tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit (Sueton. in August. c. 34). See Propertius, l. 2, eleg. 6. Heineccius, in a separate history, has exhausted the whole subject of the Julian and Papian-Poppæan

sion of his successor.* Sixty thousand plebeian legislators, whom numbers made formidable, and poverty secure, were supplanted by six hundred senators, who held their honours, their fortunes, and their lives, by the clemency of the emperor. The loss of executive power was alleviated by the gift of legislative authority; and Ulpian might assert, after the practice of two hundred years, that the decrees of the senate obtained the force and validity of laws. In the times of freedom, the resolves of the people had often been dictated by the passion or error of the moment: the Cornelian, Pompeian, and Julian laws, were adapted by a single hand to the prevailing disorders; but the senate, under the reign of the Cæsars, was composed of magistrates and lawyers; and in questions of private jurisprudence, the integrity of their judgment was seldom perverted by fear or interest.†

laws (Op. tom. vii, P. 1, p. 1—479). * Tacit. Annal. 1. 15. Lipsius, Excursus E. in Tacitum. [Some laws were passed by the people in the time of Tiberius. The *Comitia*, which he transferred to the Senate, were the annual meetings for the appointment of public officers.—HUGO.] [Gibbon is wrong here. During the reigns both of Tiberius and Claudius, there were laws enacted by the people. The Lex Julia Norbana, the Villeia, and the Claudia de tutela feminarum, are proofs of this. The *Comitia* were gradually laid aside with the other forms of the republic.—WARNKÖNIG.] [Gibbon's conciseness is here verbally inaccurate, though substantially correct. At the utmost he only ante-dates, by a few years, a consummation already in progress. The same had been previously said, almost in the same words (ch. 3), and is not contradicted as an error by Prof. Wenck. In his note he merely observes, that the *forms* of the *Comitia* were afterwards continued, but ascribes to them no power. They assembled, for some purposes, as late as the time of M. Antoninus; Aulus Gellius (5. 19) describes the *arrogatio*, or adoption of an heir, as an act then performed at such public meetings of the people; "per populi rogationem *fit*." This is confirmed by two passages in Niebuhr's Lectures (3, p. 118, 119, and 169). In the last he says: "Soon after Tiberius commenced his reign, a great change took place. Popular elections were abolished, and the right transferred to the senate. Yet was this change so merely a form and a farce, that Tacitus bestows on it scarcely a word."—ED.]

† Non ambigitur senatum jus facere posse, is the decision of Ulpian (l. 16, ad Edict. in Pandect. lib. 1, tit. 3, leg. 9). Pomponius taxes the comitia of the people as a turba hominum (Pandect. l. 1, tit. 2, leg. 9). [The Senate, during the Republic, passed laws, as well as the people in their *Comitia*. See Bach, Hist. Jurisp. Rom. l. 2, c. 2, sec. 2.—HUGO.] [It seems to be here maintained by Gibbon, that the Senate never took any part in legislation before the time of the emperors. Senatus-consulta, with regard to civil rights, during the

The silence or ambiguity of the laws was supplied by the occasional EDICTS of those magistrates who were invested with the *honours* of the state.* This ancient prerogative of

Republic, are still extant. They were more frequent in the imperial ages, because the Senators were then gratified by the right of discussing such matters as did not interfere with the emperor's executive authority.—WARNKÖNIG.] [The legislative power of the Senate, during the Republic, is described by Niebuhr (Lectures 1. 271) as a veto, which, however, they were generally afraid of exercising. "When a resolution had been passed by the Tribes it might be rejected by the Patricians, as in Great Britain the Upper House, or the King, may refuse assent to a Bill adopted by the Commons. Yet, when the people are earnestly and decidedly bent on carrying a measure, it is dangerous, if not impossible to resist them. The Senators always endeavoured to avoid such an extremity by contriving to defeat, in its first stage, a motion which they disapproved."—ED.]

* The jus honorarium of the prætors and other magistrates is strictly defined in the Latin text of the Institutes (l. 1, tit. 2, No. 7), and more loosely explained in the Greek paraphrase of Theophilus (p. 33—38, edit. Reitz), who drops the important word honorarium. [The author was here guided by Heineccius, who subscribed to the doctrine of his master, Thomasius, that magistrates, invested with judicial functions, ought not to have any legislative power. This made him condemn the Prætorian edicts (see his Hist. Juris. Rom., p. 69). But Heineccius took an altogether incorrect view of this important institution among the Romans, to which the excellence of their jurisprudence is greatly to be ascribed. His opinions have, therefore, been controverted by Professor Ritter of Wittenberg, by the learned Bach, and by M. Hugo. They have shown, that legislative enactments were thus harmonized with the spirit of the age. The true voice of public opinion was heard in that of the Prætor. He summoned to his aid all the most eminent legal practitioners of Rome when he prepared his annual law. This was not a power usurped by him; when he entered on his office he was required to make a proclamation of the principles by which his decisions would be guided, so as to prevent any suspicion of partiality. If he issued a partial edict he was liable to be accused by the tribunes. So generally respected were these edicts, that they were seldom set aside by any enactment of the people. Whenever a public statute was found inefficient, not adapted to the popular habits, or not consonant to the spirit of a more advanced age, the Prætor, while adhering to the letter of the law, endeavoured to meet the exigency of the case by some fiction suited to the purpose. These edicts embrace the whole system of Roman legislation; from their very nature they had no uniformity; and hence to comment on them became the occupation of the most distinguished lawyers. This comprehensive collection is therefore the groundwork of the Digest of Justinian. This is the view which M. Schrader has taken of this important legislatorial proceeding, and he recommends it for our imitation, so far as it may be

the Roman kings was transferred, in their respective offices, to the consuls and dictators, the censors and prætors; and a similar right was assumed by the tribunes of the people, the ediles, and the proconsuls. At Rome, and in the provinces, the duties of the subject, and the intentions of the governor, were proclaimed; and the civil jurisprudence was reformed by the annual edicts of the supreme judge, the prætor of the city. As soon as he ascended his tribunal, he announced by the voice of the crier, and afterwards inscribed on a white wall, the rules which he proposed to follow in the decision of doubtful cases, and the relief which his equity would afford from the precise rigour of ancient statutes. A principle of discretion more congenial to monarchy was introduced into the republic: the art of respecting the name, and eluding the efficacy, of the laws, was improved by successive prætors; subtleties and fictions were invented to defeat the plainest meaning of the decemvirs, and where the end was salutary, the means were frequently absurd. The secret or probable wish of the dead was suffered to prevail over the order of succession and the forms of testaments; and the claimant, who was excluded from the character of heir, accepted with equal pleasure from an indulgent prætor, the possession of the goods of his late kinsman or benefactor. In the redress of private wrongs, compensations and fines were substituted to the obsolete rigour of the twelve tables; time and space were annihilated by fanciful suppositions; and the plea of youth, or fraud, or violence, annulled the obligation, or excused the performance, of an inconvenient contract. A jurisdiction thus vague and arbitrary was exposed to the most dangerous abuse; the substance, as well as the form of justice, were often sacrificed to the prejudices of virtue, the bias of laudable affection, and the grosser seductions of interest or

found consistent with our customs, and in accordance with our political institutions, to the end that premature decrees may not become permanent evils. The Institutiones Literariæ of Haubold point out the works which afford the best information relative to the framing and form of these edicts.—WARNKÖNIG.] [The opinions of our judges and decrees of our Chancery courts seem to partake of the nature of the Prætorian Edicts. The union of judicial and legislative power in the same hands, which is exhibited by them, and which some consider to be dangerous, prevails also throughout the whole frame of our constitutional polity.—ED.]

resentment. But the errors or vices of each prætor expired with his annual office; such maxims alone as had been approved by reason and practice were copied by succeeding judges; the rule of proceeding was defined by the solution of new cases; and the temptations of injustice were removed by the Cornelian law, which compelled the prætor of the year to adhere to the letter and spirit of his first proclamation.* It was reserved for the curiosity and learning of Hadrian, to accomplish the design which had been conceived by the genius of Cæsar; and the prætorship of Salvius Julian, an eminent lawyer, was immortalized by the composition of the PERPETUAL EDICT. This well digested code was ratified by the emperor and the senate; the long divorce of law and equity was at length reconciled; and, instead of the twelve tables, the perpetual edict was fixed as the invariable standard of civil jurisprudence.†

* Dion Cassius (tom. i, l. 36, p. 100) fixes the perpetual edicts in the year of Rome 686. Their institution, however, is ascribed to the year 585 in the Acta Diurna, which have been published from the papers of Ludovicus Vives. Their authenticity is supported or allowed by Pighius (Annal. Roman. tom. ii, p. 377, 378), Grævius (ad Sueton. p. 778), Dodwell (Prælection. Camden. p. 665), and Heineccius; but a single word, Scutum Cimbricum, detects the forgery. (Moyle's Works, vol. i, p. 303.) † The history of edicts is composed, and the text of the perpetual edict is restored, by the master-hand of Heineccius (Opp. tom. vii, P. ii, p. 1—564), in whose researches I might safely acquiesce. In the Academy of Inscriptions, M. Bouchaud has given a series of memoirs to this interesting subject of law and literature. [This restoration is an unfinished work of Heineccius, which was found among his papers, and published after his death. Gibbon thought too highly of it, as well as of the perpetual edict. Cæsar's design went much farther.—HUGO.] [Here, again, misled by Heineccius, Gibbon, with the greater part of the literary world, misconceived the meaning of what is called the *perpetual edict* of Hadrian. The Cornelian law made all the edicts so far perpetual, that they could not be changed, during their tenure of office, by the prætors who issued them. These were collected, under the authority of Hadrian, by the civilian Julianus, or with his assistance, as had been done before by Ofilius. But there is no satisfactory proof to authorize the common belief, that Hadrian declared them to be perpetually unalterable. Neither the Institutes of Gaius, nor any works on law, advert to such a change, which they could not have failed to notice, if it had taken place. In their subsequent commentaries, lawyers appear always to have followed the text of their predecessors. The labours of so many eminent men had perfected the edict to such a degree, that farther improvement would have been difficult. Consult the learned Dissertation of M. Biener, De Salvii Juliani meritis, in

From Augustus to Trajan, the modest Cæsars were content to promulgate their edicts in the various characters of a Roman magistrate: and, in the decrees of the senate, the *epistles* and *orations* of the prince were respectfully inserted. Hadrian* appears to have been the first who assumed, without disguise, the plenitude of legislative power. And this innovation, so agreeable to his active mind, was countenanced by the patience of the times, and his long absence from the seat of government. The same policy was embraced by succeeding monarchs, and, according to the harsh metaphor of Tertullian, "the gloomy and intricate forest of ancient laws was cleared away by the axe of royal mandates and constitutions."† During four centuries, from Hadrian to Justinian, the public and private jurisprudence was moulded by the will of the sovereign; and few institutions, either human or divine, were permitted to stand on their former basis. The origin of imperial legislation was concealed by

Edict. Præt. æstimandis, 4to, Lipsiæ, 1809.—WARNKÖNIG.] [Niebuhr has taken a different view of these questions. (See Lectures, iii, 78 and 231.) He says, "Among the remarkable features of Hadrian's reign, is the new foundation laid for the system of Roman jurisprudence, in its later form. This was effected by the *edictum perpetuum*, and the development of the law by imperial edicts; it marks a new epoch in Roman legislation." Surely, however, the word "perpetuum" does not imply "perpetually unalterable," as construed by M. Warnkönig. It merely denoted *constant* or *permanent*, in opposition to that want of uniformity which, as admitted by him, had given occasion to the comments and disputations of so many law-sects.—ED.]

* His laws are the first in the Code. See Dodwell (Prælect. Camden. p. 319—340), who wanders from the subject in confused reading and feeble paradox. [Following the same guide, Gibbon and others have, in this instance, been once more led astray. Their error consists in mistaking the unimportant edict of Hadrian, inserted in Justinian's Code (l. vi. tit. 23, c. 11) for the first "constitutio principis," regardless of the Pandects, where are found so many constitutions of the emperors, beginning with Julius Cæsar. M. Hugo has remarked (Hist. Juris. Rom. tom. ii, p. 24—27), that the *Acta* of Sylla, approved by the senate, were equivalent with the constitutions of those who after him usurped absolute sovereignty.—WARNKÖNIG.] ["Sylla was the first who placed administrative and criminal legislation on even a tolerable footing." (Niebuhr, Lectures, ii, 388.) These were the *Acta* above referred to.—ED.]

† Totam illam veterem et squallentem sylvam legum novis principalium rescriptorum et edictorum securibus truncatis et cæditis. (Apologet. c. 4, p. 50, edit. Havercamp.) He proceeds to praise the recent firmness of Severus, who repealed the useless or pernicious laws,

the darkness of ages and the terrors of armed despotism; and a double fiction was propagated by the servility, or perhaps the ignorance, of the civilians who basked in the sunshine of the Roman and Byzantine courts. 1. To the prayer of the ancient Cæsars, the people or the senate had sometimes granted a personal exemption from the obligation and penalty of particular statutes; and each indulgence was an act of jurisdiction exercised by the republic over the first of her citizens. His humble privilege was at length transformed into the prerogative of a tyrant; and the Latin expression of "released from the laws;"* was supposed to exalt the emperor above *all* human restraints, and to leave his conscience and reason as a sacred measure of his conduct. 2. A similar dependence was implied in the decrees of the senate, which, in every reign, defined the titles and powers of an elective magistrate. But it was not before the ideas, and even the language, of the Romans had been corrupted, that a *royal* law,† and an irrevocable gift of the people, were created by the fancy of Ulpian, or more probably of Tribonian himself;‡ and the origin of imperial power, though false in fact, and slavish in its consequence, was supported on a principle of freedom and justice. "The pleasure of the emperor has the vigour and effect of law, since the Roman people by the royal law, have transferred to their prince the full extent of their own power and sovereignty."§ The will

without any regard to their age or authority.

* The constitutional style of "legibus solutus" is misinterpreted by the art or ignorance of Dion Cassius (tom. i, l. liii, p. 713). On this occasion, his editor, Reimar, joins the universal censure which freedom and criticism have pronounced against that slavish historian.

† The word (lex regia) was still more recent than the thing. The slaves of Commodus or Caracalla would have started at the name of royalty. [A century earlier Domitian had been styled "Dominus et Deus noster," both by Martial and in public documents. Sueton. Domit. c. 13.—HUGO.] [But the offensive title of *rex* never was used. Horace, at a still earlier period, had placed Augustus first among the princes of the earth (Carm, 4, 14), and told him that the Roman people were his, "Tuus hic populus." Epist. 2, 1, 18.—ED.]

‡ See Gravina (Opp. p. 501—512) and Beaufort. (République Romaine, tom. i, p. 255—274.) He has made a proper use of two dissertations by John Frederic Gronovius and Noodt, both translated with valuable notes, by Barbeyrac, 2 vols. in 12mo, 1731.

§ Institut. l. i, tit. 2, No. 6; Pandect. l. i, tit. 4, leg. 1; Cod. Justinian. l. i, tit. 17, leg. 1, No. 7. In his antiquities and elements, Heineccius has amply treated de constitutionibus principum, which

of a single man, of a child perhaps, was allowed to prevail over the wisdom of ages and the inclinations of millions; and the degenerate Greeks were proud to declare, that in his hands alone the arbitrary exercise of legislation could be safely deposited. "What interest or passion," exclaims Theophilus in the court of Justinian, "can reach the calm and sublime elevation of the monarch? he is already master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects; and those who have incurred his displeasure, are already numbered with the dead."* Disdaining the language of flattery, the historian may confess, that in questions of private jurisprudence, the absolute sovereign of a great empire can seldom be influenced by any personal considerations. Virtue, or even reason, will suggest to his impartial mind, that he is the guardian of peace and equity, and that the interest of society is inseparably connected with his own. Under the weakest and most vicious reign, the seat of justice was filled by the wisdom and integrity of Papinian and Ulpian;† and the purest materials of the Code and Pandects are inscribed with the names of Caracalla and his ministers.‡ The tyrant of Rome was sometimes the benefactor of the provinces.

are illustrated by Godefroy (Comment. ad Cod. Theodos. l. i, tit. 1—3) and Gravina (p. 87—90).

* Theophilus, in Paraphras. Græc. Institut. p. 33, 34, edit. Reitz. (2 vols. 4to, Hag. Com. 1751.) For his person, time, writings, see the "Theophilus" of J. H. Mylius, Excurs. 3, p. 1034—1073. [Among the idle controversies that busied scholars, in the early part of the last century, there was one respecting the time in which Theophilus lived. It called forth the learned and convincing "Theophilus" of J. H. Mylius. This work settled the dispute, and gained for its author a great reputation. The high notions of imperial prerogative entertained by Theophilus, were acceptable to Justinian, who appointed him "Comes Consistorii," or president of the council, and ranked him "e viris intimæ admissionis," or among his most private advisers. It is said, that the monarch urged him to write the Paraphrasis Institutionum, which left not a word in the original doubtful, and is considered to be of such authority as to be indispensable to students of the Roman law. —Ed.]

† There is more envy than reason in the complaint of Macrinus (Jul. Capitolin. c. 13):—Nefas esse leges videri Commodi et Caracallæ et hominum imperitorum voluntates. Commodus was made a Divus by Severus. (Dodwell, Prælect. 8, p. 324, 325.) Yet he occurs only twice in the Pandects.

‡ Of Antoninus Caracalla alone two hundred constitutions are extant in the Code, and with his father one hundred and sixty. These two princes are quoted fifty times in the Pandects, and eight in the Institutes. (Terasson, p. 265.)

A dagger terminated the crimes of Domitian; but the prudence of Nerva confirmed his acts, which, in the joy of their deliverance, had been rescinded by an indignant senate.* Yet in the *rescripts*,† replies to the consultations of the magistrates, the wisest of princes might be deceived by a partial exposition of the case. And this abuse, which placed their hasty decisions on the same level with mature and deliberate acts of legislation, was ineffectually condemned by the sense and example of Trajan. The *rescripts* of the emperor, his *grants* and *decrees*, his *edicts* and *pragmatic sanctions*, were subscribed in purple ink,‡ and transmitted to the provinces as general or special laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the people to obey. But as their number continually multiplied, the rule of obedience became each day more doubtful and obscure, till the will of the sovereign was fixed and ascertained in the Gregorian, the Hermogenian, and the Theodosian codes. The two first, of which some fragments have escaped, were framed by two private lawyers, to preserve the constitutions of the Pagan emperors from Hadrian to Constantine. The third, which is still extant, was digested in sixteen books by the order of the younger Theodosius, to consecrate the laws of the Christian princes from Constantine to his own reign. But the three codes obtained an equal authority in the tribunals; and any act which was not included in the sacred deposit, might be disregarded by the judge as spurious or obsolete.§

Among savage nations, the want of letters is imperfectly supplied by the use of visible signs, which awaken attention, and perpetuate the remembrance of any public or private transaction. The jurisprudence of the first Romans exhibited the scenes of a pantomime; the words were adapted

* Plin. Secund. Epistol. 10, 66. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 23.

† It was a maxim of Constantine, contra jus rescripta non valeant. (Cod. Theodos. l. i, tit. 2, leg. 1.) The emperors reluctantly allow some scrutiny into the law and the fact, some delay, petition, &c.; but these insufficient remedies are too much in the discretion and at the peril of the judge.

‡ A compound of vermilion and cinnabar, which marks the imperial diplomas from Leo. I, (A.D. 470) to the fall of the Greek empire. (Bibliothèque Raisonnée de la Diplomatique, tom. i, p. 509—514. Lami, de Eruditione Apostolorum, tom. ii, p. 720—726.)

§ Schulting, Jurisprudentia Ante-Justinianea, p. 681—718. Cujacius assigned to Gregory the reigns from Hadrian to Gallienus, and the continuation to his fellow-labourer Hermogenes. This general division may be just; but they often

to the gestures, and the slightest error or neglect in the *forms* of proceeding was sufficient to annul the *substance* of the fairest claim. The communion of the marriage-life was denoted by the necessary elements of fire and water:* and the divorced wife resigned the bunch of keys, by the delivery of which she had been invested with the government of the family. The manumission of a son, or a slave, was performed by turning him round with a gentle blow on the cheek: a work was prohibited by the casting of a stone; prescription was interrupted by the breaking of a branch; the clenched fist was the symbol of a pledge or deposit; the right hand was the gift of faith and confidence. The indenture of covenants was a broken straw: weights and scales were introduced into every payment, and the heir who accepted a testament, was sometimes obliged to snap his fingers, to cast away his garments, and to leap and dance with real or affected transport.† If a citizen pursued any stolen goods into a neighbour's house, he concealed his nakedness with a linen towel, and hid his face with a mask or basin, lest he should encounter the eyes of a virgin or a matron.‡ In a

trespassed on each other's ground.

* Scævola, most probably Q. Cervidius Scævola, the master of Papinian, considers this acceptance of fire and water as the essence of marriage. (Pandect. l. 24, tit. 1, leg. 66. See Heineccius, Hist. J. R. No. 317.)

† Cicero (de Officiis, 3, 19) may state an ideal case, but St. Ambrose (de Officiis, 3, 2) appeals to the practice of his own times, which he understood as a lawyer and a magistrate. (Schulting, ad Ulpian. Fragment. tit. 22, No. 28, p. 643, 644.) [In all solemn transfers of property a sale and purchase were supposed, and weighing of money. Gibbon has here brought together all the symbolical law-formalities that he could discover. In this search he has grievously misunderstood the passage in Cicero.—HUGO.] [Schulting, who is here appealed to, distinctly protests against the foolish construction put on Cicero's words, and refers to the correct interpretation of them given by Grævius. The form of the *cretio hæreditatis* may be found in Gaius. (Instit. l. ii, p. 166.)—WARNKÖNIG.] [We have here an instructive instance of the propagation of error. Cicero ridiculed the avidity of legacy hunters, and the low arts to which they were ready to demean themselves in the pursuit of their object. Cujacius mistook this for a serious description of the form of acquiring heirship. Gravina believed him, and was not unwilling to provoke a smile at ancient legal nonsense. It was probably by this last writer that Gibbon was deceived, and referred by mistake to Schulting. If he had consulted the original, he would perhaps have seen how indignant Grævius was, that Tully should be so "plucked by the beard."—ED.]

‡ The furtum lance licioque conceptum was no longer understood

civil action, the plaintiff touched the ear of his witness, seized his reluctant adversary by the neck, and implored, in solemn lamentation, the aid of his fellow-citizens. The two competitors grasped each other's hand as if they stood prepared for combat before the tribunal of the prætor: he commanded them to produce the object of the dispute; they went, they returned, with measured steps, and a clod of earth was cast at his feet to represent the field for which they contended. This occult science of the words and actions of law was the inheritance of the pontiffs and the patricians. Like the Chaldean astrologers, they announced to their clients the days of business and repose; these important trifles were interwoven with the religion of Numa; and, after the publication of the twelve tables, the Roman people was still enslaved by the ignorance of judicial proceedings. The treachery of some plebeian officers at length revealed the profitable mystery: in a more enlightened age, the legal actions were derided and observed; and the same antiquity which sanctified the practice, obliterated the use and meaning, of this primitive language.*

in the time of the Antonines. (Aulus Gellius, 16, 10.) The Attic derivation of Heineccius (Antiquitat. Rom. l. 4, tit. 1, No. 13—21) is supported by the evidence of Aristophanes, his scholiast, and Pollux. [Of this procedure no more is known. It had become contemptible in the time of Gaius. (See l. 3, p. 192, s. 293.) It is evident from this passage, that the basin was not used to cover the person, as most authors, on the authority of Festus, have imagined.—WARNKÖNIG.]

* In his oration for Murena (c. 9—13), Cicero turns into ridicule the forms and mysteries of the civilians, which are represented with more candour by Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. 20, 10), Gravina (Opp. p. 265—267), and Heineccius (Antiquitat. l. 4, tit. 6). [It was by these forms that the early Roman patrons made law comprehensible to their clients. The heavy responsibilities of the first caused them to exact a strict observance of ceremonies, which were binding on their rude inferiors. When the jurists became a distinct class, into which plebeians also had admittance, custom retained what had once been useful, but had become superfluous.—HUGO.] [The law formalities of ancient Rome are too severely condemned by Gibbon. Among all nations, the certainty of law has been based on such solemnities. Their nature may be learned from M. de Savigny's work On the Vocation of our Age for Legislation and Jurisprudence, Heidelberg, 1814, p. 9, 10.—WARNKÖNIG.] [The presenting the ear to be touched was the form in which a bystander, when appealed to, assented to the arrest of a defendant out on bail. It was thus that Horace escaped from his annoying companion on the Sacred Way. "Licet antestari? Ego vero oppono auriculam." (Sat. i. 9, 76.)—ED.] [Murena

A more liberal art was cultivated, however, by the sages of Rome, who, in a stricter sense, may be considered as the authors of the civil law. The alteration of the idiom and manners of the Romans rendered the style of the twelve tables less familiar to each rising generation, and the doubtful passages were imperfectly explained by the study of legal antiquarians. To define the ambiguities, to circumscribe the latitude, to apply the principles, to extend the consequences, to reconcile the real or apparent contradictions, was a much nobler and more important task; and the province of legislation was silently invaded by the expounders of ancient statutes. Their subtle interpretations concurred with the equity of the prætor, to reform the tyranny of the darker ages: however strange or intricate the means, it was the aim of artificial jurisprudence to restore the simple dictates of nature and reason, and the skill of private citizens was usefully employed to undermine the public institutions of their country. The revolution of almost one thousand years, from the twelve tables to the reign of Justinian, may be divided into three periods almost equal in duration, and distinguished from each other by the mode of instruction and the character of the civilians.* Pride and ignorance contributed, during the first period, to confine within

was accused of having obtained the consulship by bribery. As the candidate who had opposed him was a jurist, Cicero strove to make it appear, that a soldier was the more popular character. His sallies against the practitioners of the Forum have, therefore, supplied abundant materials for the assailants of Roman law.—HUGO.]

* The series of the civil lawyers is deduced by Pomponius (de Origine Juris Pandect. l. 1, tit. 2). The moderns have discussed, with learning and criticism, this branch of literary history; and among these I have chiefly been guided by Gravina (p. 41—79) and Heineccius. (Hist. J. R. No. 113—351.) Cicero, more especially in his books de Oratore, de Claris Oratoribus, de Legibus, and the Clavis Ciceroniana of Ernesti, (under the names of Mucius, &c.) afford much genuine and pleasing information. Horace often alludes to the morning labours of the civilians. (Serm. i, 1, 10, Epist. ii, 1, 103, &c.)

Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus
Sub galli cantum, consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
* * * * *
Romæ dulce diu fuit et solemne reclusa
Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura.

[The epochs into which the history of Roman jurisprudence is here divided, manifest Gibbon's clear and comprehensive view of the subject. They were adopted by M. Hugo in his history.—WARNKÖNIG.]

narrow limits the science of the Roman law. On the public days of market or assembly, the masters of the art were seen walking in the Forum, ready to impart the needful advice to the meanest of their fellow-citizens, from whose votes, on a future occasion, they might solicit a grateful return. As their years and honours increased, they seated themselves at home on a chair or throne, to expect with patient gravity the visits of their clients, who at the dawn of day, from the town and country, began to thunder at their door. The duties of social life, and the incidents of judicial proceeding, were the ordinary subjects of these consultations, and the verbal or written opinion of the *jurisconsults* was framed according to the rules of prudence and law. The youths of their own order and family were permitted to listen; their children enjoyed the benefit of more private lessons, and the Mucian race was long renowned for the hereditary knowledge of the civil law. The second period, the learned and splendid age of jurisprudence, may be extended from the birth of Cicero to the reign of Severus Alexander. A system was formed, schools were instituted, books were composed, and both the living and the dead became subservient to the instruction of the student. The *tripartite* of Ælius Pætus, surnamed Catus, or the Cunning, was preserved as the oldest work of jurisprudence. Cato the censor derived some additional fame from his legal studies, and those of his son: the kindred appellation of Mucius Scævola was illustrated by three sages of the law;* but the perfection of the science was ascribed to Servius Sulpicius their disciple, and the friend of Tully; and the long succession, which shone with equal lustre under the republic and under the Cæsars, is finally closed by the respectable characters of Papinian, of Paul, and of Ulpian. Their names, and the various titles of their productions, have been minutely preserved, and the example of Labeo may suggest some idea of their diligence and fecundity. That eminent lawyer of the Augustan age divided the year

* [It was under this eminent lawyer that Cicero studied. The orator had no systematic legal knowledge; but he was so well grounded, by attending in the *atrium* of his master, that when he was once reproached for this deficiency, he replied: "If I wanted to get it up, it would cost me only a few months' application." (Niebuhr's Lectures, iii, 16.)—ED.]

between the city and country, between business and composition; and four hundred books are enumerated as the fruit of his retirement. Of the collections of his rival Capito, the two hundred and fifty-ninth book is expressly quoted; and few teachers could deliver their opinions in less than a century of volumes. In the third period, between the reigns of Alexander and Justinian, the oracles of jurisprudence were almost mute. The measure of curiosity had been filled; the throne was occupied by tyrants and barbarians; the active spirits were diverted by religious disputes, and the professors of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus, were humbly content to repeat the lessons of their more enlightened predecessors. From the slow advances and rapid decay of these legal studies, it may be inferred that they require a state of peace and refinement. From the multitude of voluminous civilians who fill the intermediate space, it is evident that such studies may be pursued, and such works may be performed, with a common share of judgment, experience, and industry. The genius of Cicero and Virgil was more sensibly felt, as each revolving age had been found incapable of producing a similar or a second: but the most eminent teachers of the law were assured of leaving disciples equal or superior to themselves in merit and reputation.

The jurisprudence which had been grossly adapted to the wants of the first Romans, was polished and improved in the seventh century of the city, by the alliance of Grecian philosophy. The Scævolas had been taught by use and experience; but Servius Sulpicius was the first civilian who established his art on a certain and general theory.* For

* Crassus, or rather Cicero himself, proposes (de Oratore, 1. 41, 42,) an idea of the art or science of jurisprudence, which the eloquent, but illiterate, Antonius (1. 58) affects to deride. It was partly executed by Servius Sulpicius, (in Bruto, c. 41,) whose praises are elegantly varied in the classic latinity of the Roman Gravina. (p. 60.) [M. Hugo is of opinion that Servius Sulpicius originated the ingenious system of the Institutes, adopted by many ancient lawyers, before it was used by Justinian. (Histoire du Droit Romain, tom. ii, p. 119.)—WARNKÖNIG.] [The "friend of Tully," here noticed, was called Servius Sulpicius Leovina Rufus. Amid the factions by which society was then torn he perserved such impartiality and laboured so sincerely to restore concord, that he was styled "Defensor Pacis" and "Pacificator." While Antony was besieging Decius Brutus in Mutina, he urged the Senate to send an embassy, for the purpose of conciliating the hostile leaders, and was himself deputed as the negotiator. But

the discernment of truth and falsehood, he applied, as an infallible rule, the logic of Aristotle and the Stoics, reduced particular cases to general principles; and diffused over the shapeless mass the light of order and eloquence. Cicero, his contemporary and friend, declined the reputation of a professed lawyer; but the jurisprudence of his country was adorned by his incomparable genius, which converts into gold every object that it touches. After the example of Plato, he composed a republic; and, for the use of his republic, a treatise of laws; in which he labours to deduce, from a celestial origin, the wisdom and justice of the Roman constitution. The whole universe, according to his sublime hypothesis, forms one immense commonwealth: gods and men, who participate of the same essence, are members of the same community; reason prescribes the law of nature and nations; and all positive institutions, however modified by accident or custom, are drawn from the rule of right, which the Deity has inscribed on every virtuous mind. From these philosophical mysteries, he mildly excludes the Sceptics who refuse to believe, and the Epicureans who are unwilling to act. The latter disdain the care of the republic; he advises them to slumber in their shady gardens. But he humbly entreats that the new academy would be silent, since her bold objections would too soon destroy the fair and well-ordered structure of his lofty system.* Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno, he represents as the only teachers who arm and instruct a citizen for the duties of social life. Of these, the armour of the Stoics† was found to be of the firmest temper; and it was chiefly worn, both for use and ornament, in the schools of jurisprudence. From the portico, the Roman

the fatigues of the journey exhausted a frame weakened by previous illness, and he died on his arrival in Antony's camp. The Senate decreed him a public funeral and were moved by Cicero's eloquence, in his ninth Philippic (c. 7,) to honour his memory by a bronze statue in the Forum.—ED.]

* Perturbatricem autem omnium harum rerum academiam, hanc ab Arcesila et Carneade recentem, exoremus ut sileat, nam si invaserit in hæc, quæ satis scite instructa et composita videantur, nimis edet ruinas, quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo (de Legibus, i. 13). From this passage alone Bentley (Remarks on Freethinking, p. 250,) might have learned how firmly Cicero believed in the specious doctrines which he has adorned.

† The Stoic philosophy was first taught at Rome by Panætius, the friend of the younger Scipio. (See his life in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscrip-

civilians learned to live, to reason, and to die: but they imbibed in some degree the prejudices of the sect; the love of paradox, the pertinacious habits of dispute, and a minute attachment to words and verbal distinctions. The superiority of *form* to *matter*, was introduced to ascertain the right of property; and the equality of crimes is countenanced by an opinion of Trebatius,* that he who touches the ear, touches the whole body; and that he who steals from a

tions, tom. x, p. 75—89.)

* As he is quoted by Ulpian (leg. 40, ad Sabinum in Pandect. l. 47, tit. 2, leg. 21). Yet Trebatius, after he was a leading civilian, qui familiam duxit, became an Epicurean. (Cicero ad Fam. 7. 5.) Perhaps he was not constant or sincere in his new sect. [Warnkönig says here that Cicero has been entirely misunderstood. But his explanation, which was first suggested by G. Menage (Amœnit. Juris Civilis. c. 14,) and repeated in Scheller's Dictionary, v. *Familia*, and in Hugo's History of the Roman Law, is not satisfactory. Cicero's character of Trebatius was given in a letter to Julius Cæsar, recommending his young friend, then joining the army in Gaul (Epist. ad div. 7. 4,) and at that time no longer "a student of civil law;" his "singularis memoria" was not mentioned as a qualification for that pursuit, but for retaining what he had learned from P. Cornelius Maximus, under whom his high attainments, "summa scientia," had gathered round him admirers, followers and pupils, who were the "familia" that he led. On the other hand, he was not then the "leading civilian," supposed by Gibbon, nor did he become so during the life of Cicero. He attached himself closely to Cæsar; and it was during his military career that the friendly letters, which have been preserved, were addressed to him by the orator. The style of these is most familiar and jocose. In one of them (7. 11) the writer says, "de re severissima tecum, ut soleo, jocor." When he received no answers, he invented facetious reasons for his correspondent's silence. At one time he was too much occupied by military exploits in Britain; at another engaged with "jurisconsulti Britannici;" till at last (7. 12) he said, Pansa had informed him that his friend was become an Epicurean, and too much absorbed in his search for pleasure to have time for writing. In this lively banter, grave critics have found a serious assertion, that Trebatius had become a disciple of a particular school of philosophy. With equal reason they might have inferred, that Britain had in those days courts of justice and barristers. When Trebatius returned to Rome, he resumed his application to the law; but had not become eminent before Cicero was put to death. Eighteen years after that tragic event, Horace, in the first Satire of his second book, introduced Trebatius, as dissuading him from poetical writing; and it must have been at a still later period, that Augustus consulted him on the validity of the codicils. All these facts ought to dissipate the fallacies that have been constructed out of Cicero's intelligible language, and restore its simple, unperverted meaning. Trebatius could only rise by the usual gradations, to that eminence, where he became an

heap of corn, or a hogshead of wine, is guilty of the entire theft.*

Arms, eloquence, and the study of the civil law, promoted a citizen to the honours of the Roman state; and the three professions were sometimes more conspicuous by their union in the same character. In the composition of the edict, a learned prætor gave a sanction and preference to his private sentiments: the opinion of a censor, or a consul, was entertained with respect: and a doubtful interpretation of the laws might be supported by the virtues or triumphs of the civilian. The patrician arts were long protected by the veil of mystery; and in more enlightened times, the freedom of inquiry established the general principles of jurisprudence. Subtle and intricate cases were elucidated by the disputes of the Forum; rules, axioms, and definitions,† were admitted as the genuine dictates of reason; and the consent of the legal professors was interwoven into the practice of the tribunals. But these interpreters could neither enact nor execute the laws of the republic; and the judges might disregard the authority of the Scævolas themselves, which was often overthrown by the eloquence or sophistry of an ingenious pleader.‡ Augustus and Tiberius were the first to adopt, as a useful engine, the science of the civilians; and their servile labours accommodated the old system to the spirit and views of despotism. Under the fair pretence of securing the dignity of the art, the privilege of subscribing legal and valid opinions was confined to the sages of senatorian or equestrian rank, who had been previously approved by the judgment of the prince; and this monopoly prevailed, till Hadrian restored the freedom of the profession to every citizen conscious of his abilities and knowledge. The discretion of the prætor was now governed by the lessons of his teachers; the judges were enjoined to obey the comment as well as the text of the law; and the

authority, still respected in the fourth century, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus. (30. 4).—Ed.]

* See Gravina (p. 45—51,) and the ineffectual cavils of Mascou. Heineccius (Hist. J. R. No. 125,) quotes and approves a dissertation of Everard Otto, de Stoica Jurisconsultorum Philosophia.

† We have heard of the Catonian rule, the Aquilian stipulation, and the Manilian forms, of two hundred and eleven maxims, and of two hundred and forty-seven definitions. (Pandect. l. 50, tit. 16, 17.)

‡ Read Cicero, l. 1, de Oratore, Topica, pro Murena.

use of codicils was a memorable innovation, which Augustus ratified by the advice of the civilians.*

The most absolute mandate could only require that the judges should agree with the civilians, if the civilians agreed among themselves. But positive institutions are often the result of custom and prejudice; laws and language are ambiguous and arbitrary; where reason is incapable of pronouncing, the love of argument is inflamed by the envy of rivals, the vanity of masters, the blind attachment of their disciples; and the Roman jurisprudence was divided by the once famous sects of the *Proculians* and *Sabinians*.† Two sages of the law, Ateius Capito and Antistius Labeo,‡

* See Pomponius (de Origine Juris Pandect. l. 1, tit. 2, leg. 2, No. 27) Heineccius (ad Institut. l. 1, tit. 2, No. 8; l. 2, tit. 25, in Element. et Antiquitat.), and Gravina (p. 41—45). Yet the monoply of Augustus, a harsh measure, would appear, with some softening, in contemporary evidence; and it was probably veiled by a decree of the senate. [The opinion of Heineccius, which then prevailed, is here Gibbon's guide. Apparent confirmation of it is found in the Digest and Institutes, which refer to a privilege enjoyed by particular lawyers from the time of Augustus to that of Hadrian. M. Hugo rejected the conclusions drawn from this by Heineccius, Bach, and almost all his predecessors. But we possess the Institutes of Gaius, which prove, that the "Responsa Prudentum" were the opinions of those "quibus concessum est jus condere." These had in certain cases the force of laws, which was regulated and confirmed by the "Rescriptum Hadriani." Against this and the passage quoted from Pomponius, the objection of M. Hugo cannot be sustained. It cannot be disputed, that the civilians who were consulted by the judges had received from the emperors some provisional authority. But to what extent, is a question to which no historic evidence furnishes a precise answer.—WARNKÖNIG.] [The Institutes of Gaius had been read by Niebuhr, and it must have been on them that he founded the opinion cited in a former note from his Lectures (3. 231.)—ED.]

† I have perused the diatribe of Gotfridus Mascovius, the learned Mascou, de Sectis Jurisconsultorum, (Lipsiæ, 1728, in 12mo, p. 276,) a learned treatise on a narrow and barren ground. [The distinction is here well marked between Gottfried and Johann Jacob Mascou.—HUGO.]

‡ See the character of Antistius Labeo in Tacitus (Annal. 3. 75,) and in an epistle of Ateius Capito (Aul. Gellius, 13. 12,) who accuses his rival of libertas nimia et vecors. Yet Horace would not have lashed a virtuous and respectable senator; and I must adopt the emendation of Bentley, who reads Labieno insanior. (Serm. l. 3. 82.) See Mascou, de Sectis. (c. 1, p. 1--24.) [The first book of Horace's Satires was his earliest publication. The greater part, if not the whole, was written before the battle of Actium and the assumption of imperial power by Augustus. This has not been taken into consideration

adorned the peace of the Augustan age: the former distinguished by the favour of his sovereign; the latter more illustrious by his contempt of that favour, and his stern though harmless opposition to the tyrant of Rome. Their legal studies were influenced by the various colours of their temper and principles. Labeo was attached to the form of the old republic; his rival embraced the more profitable substance of the rising monarchy. But the disposition of a courtier is tame and submissive; and Capito seldom presumed to deviate from the sentiments, or at least from the words, of his predecessors: while the bold republican pursued his independent ideas without fear of paradox or innovations. The freedom of Labeo was enslaved, however, by the rigour of his own conclusions, and he decided according to the letter of the law, the same questions which his indulgent competitor resolved with a latitude of equity more suitable to the common sense and feelings of mankind. If a fair exchange had been substituted to the payment of money, Capito still considered the transaction as a legal sale;* and he consulted nature for the age of puberty, without confining his definition to the precise period of twelve or fourteen years.† This opposition of sentiments was propagated in the writings and lessons of the two founders; the schools of Capito and Labeo maintained their inveterate conflict from the age of Augustus to that of Hadrian;‡ and

by those who think, that Labeo's "stern but harmless opposition" to that power, caused Horace to accuse him of insanity.—ED.]

* Justinian (Institut. l. 3, tit. 23, and Theophil. Vers. Græc. p. 677. 680,) has commemorated this weighty dispute, and the verses of Homer that were alleged on either side as legal authorities. It was decided by Paul (leg. 33, ad Edict. in Pandect. l. 18, tit. 1, leg. 1,) since, in a simple exchange, the buyer could not be discriminated from the seller. [Many are at a loss to understand why the Republican should have been an innovator, and the worshipper of despotism, a stickler for the old system of laws. Our information is too slight for us to decide positively between them; and the history of sects and parties teaches us how, after a hundred years of strife, one is often seen taking the very ground from which its adversaries started.—HUGO.]

† This controversy was likewise given for the Proculians, to supersede the indecency of a search, and to comply with the aphorism of Hippocrates, who was attached to the septenary number of two weeks of years, or seven hundred of days. (Institut. l. 1, tit. 22.) Plutarch and the stoics, (de Placit. Philosoph. l. 5, c. 24,) assign a more natural reason. Fourteen years is the age—*περὶ ἣν ὁ σπερματικὸς κρίνεται ὀρρός*. See the vestigia of the sects in Mascou, c. 9, p. 145—276.

‡ The series and conclusion of the sects are described by Mascou

the two sects derived their appellations from Sabinus and Proculius, their most celebrated teachers. The names of *Cassians* and *Pegasians* were likewise applied to the same parties; but by a strange reverse, the popular cause was in the hands of Pegasus,* a timid slave of Domitian, while the favourite of the Cæsars was represented by Cassius,† who gloried in his descent from the patriot assassin. By the perpetual edict, the controversies of the sects were in a great measure determined. For that important work, the emperor Hadrian preferred the chief of the Sabinians; the friends of monarchy prevailed; but the moderation of Salvius Julian insensibly reconciled the victors and the vanquished. Like the contemporary philosophers, the lawyers of the age of the Antonines disclaimed the authority of a master, and adopted from every system the most probable doctrines.‡ But their writings would have been less volu-

(c. 2—7, p. 24—120,) and it would be almost ridiculous to praise his equal justice to these obsolete sects. [The work of Gaius, which is later than Hadrian's reign, contains some notice of these sects and their disputes. He avowed himself a follower of Sabinus and Caius. Refer to Hugo, tom. ii, p. 106.—WARNKÖNIG.] [Niebuhr (Lectures, 3. 237) fixes the last years of Antoninus Pius, "the golden age of Jurisprudence," as the time in which Gaius wrote. According to Zedler's Lexicon (21. 454,) in which the articles on Roman Law are full of information, Caius was one of the middle, or eclectic, sect.—ED.]

* At the first summons he flies to the turbot council; yet Juvenal (Sat. 4. 75—81,) styles the prefect or bailiff of Rome sanctissimus legum interpres. From his science, says the old scholiast, he was called, not a man, but a book. He derived the singular name of Pegasus from the galley which his father commanded.

† Tacit. Annal. 17. 7. Sueton. in Nerone, c. 37.

‡ Mascou, de Sectis, c. 8, p. 120—144, de Herciscundis, a legal term which was applied to these eclectic lawyers: herciscere is synonymous to dividere. [M. Warnkönig has here asserted, that there never was such a word as "*herciscundi*," till Cujacius invented it and substituted it for the "*terris condi*" of Servius ad Virgilium. The origin and ancient use of this word may, however, be found in the Twelve Tables (Tab. 5, Lex. 2), in Ducange (3. 1127), in Zedler (1. 407, "Actio Familiæ herciscundæ"), and in M. Warnkönig's own work (Inst. Juris Rom. Priv. l. 4, c. 2, p. 438). Cujacius undoubtedly misapplied it (Op. tom. iii, Observat. l. 10, c. 4) to the Miscelliones, or middle law-sect, who never were called Herciscundi. But he was not the first by whom Servius was misread. Burmann, quoting that ancient critic (ad Æneid. 3. 67) among the Variæ Lectiones of "*terris condi*," gives "*herciscundi*, L. Fab." The word was therefore introduced into some MS. or one of the imperfect editions of Servius, which preceded that of Daniel in 1600. Cujacius took it from one of these. Mascou copied him and misled Gibbon.—ED.]

minous, had their choice been more unanimous. The conscience of the judge was perplexed by the number and weight of discordant testimonies, and every sentence that his passion or interest might pronounce, was justified by the sanction of some venerable name. An indulgent edict of the younger Theodosius excused him from the labour of comparing and weighing their arguments. Five civilians, Caius, Papinian, Paul, Ulpian, and Modestinus, were established as the oracles of jurisprudence: a majority was decisive; but if their opinions were equally divided, a casting vote was ascribed to the superior wisdom of Papinian.*

When Justinian ascended the throne, the reformation of the Roman jurisprudence was an arduous but indispensable task. In the space of ten centuries, the infinite variety of laws and equal opinions had filled many thousand volumes, which no fortune could purchase and no capacity could digest. Books could not easily be found; and the judges, poor in the midst of riches, were reduced to the exercise of their illiterate discretion. The subjects of the Greek provinces were ignorant of the language that disposed of their lives and properties; and the *barbarous* dialect of the Latins was imperfectly studied in the academies of Berytus and Constantinople.† As an Illyrian soldier, that idiom was

* See the Theodosian Code, l. 1, tit. 4, with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i, p. 30—35. This decree might give occasion to Jesuitical disputes like those in the Lettres Provinciales, whether a judge was obliged to follow the opinion of Papinian, or of a majority, against his judgment, against his conscience, &c. Yet a legislator might give that opinion, however false, the validity, not of truth, but of law. [It would have been better, if one of these civilians had been declared a standing authority, as had been previously done in the case of Julius Paulus.—HUGO.] [M. Closius of Tübingen has communicated to me two Constitutions of the emperor Constantine, which he found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan; the first, dated A.D. 321, sets aside all that had been written by Ulpian and Paulus; and the second (A.D. 327) orders all the writings of Paulus to be universally received as the criterion of law.—WARNKÖNIG.] [Clinton (F. R. i, p. 375) gives the first of these edicts of Constantine from the Cod. Theodos. Wenck. p. 24. For the second see Ib. p. 382.—ED.]

† [Justinian's collections did not remedy this. But I hold it to be no evil, that the laws of a country should be couched in a foreign idiom. This has preserved, in Germany, the study of Latin, and repressed the litigious spirit among the people. I am told, that the reading of law books by the commonalty in our own language, has given rise to law-suits in some places.—HUGO.]

familiar to the infancy of Justinian; his youth had been instructed by the lessons of jurisprudence, and his imperial choice selected the most learned civilians of the East, to labour with their sovereign in the work of reformation.* The theory of professors was assisted by the practice of advocates and the experience of magistrates; and the whole undertaking was animated by the spirit of Tribonian.† This extraordinary man, the object of so much praise and censure, was a native of Side in Pamphylia; and his genius, like that of Bacon, embraced as his own, all the business and knowledge of the age. Tribonian composed, both in prose and verse, on a strange diversity of curious and abstruse subjects‡—a double panegyric of Justinian and the life of the philosopher Theodotus; the nature of happiness, and the duties of government; Homer's catalogue and the four-and-twenty sorts of metre; the astronomical canon of Ptolemy; the changes of the months; the houses of the planets; and the harmonic system of the world. To the literature of Greece he added the use of the Latin tongue; the Roman civilians were deposited in his library and in his mind; and he most assiduously cultivated those arts which opened the road of wealth and preferment. From the bar of the prætorian prefects, he raised himself to the honours of quæstor, of consul, and of master of the offices: the council of Justinian listened to his eloquence and wisdom, and envy was mitigated by the gentleness and affability of his manners. The reproaches of impiety and avarice have stained the virtues or the reputation of Tribonian. In a bigoted and perse-

* For the legal labours of Justinian, I have studied the preface to the Institutes; the first, second, and third prefaces to the Pandects; the first and second preface to the Code; and the Code itself (l. 1, tit. 17, de Veteri Jure enucleando). After these original testimonies, I have consulted, among the moderns, Heineccius (Hist. J. R. No. 383—404), Terasson (Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine, p. 295—356), Gravina (Opp. p. 93—100), and Ludwig, in his life of Justinian (p. 19—123, 318—321, for the Code and Novels, p. 209—261, for the Digest or Pandects, p. 262—317).

† For the character of Tribonian, see the testimonies of Procopius (Persic. l. 1, c. 23, 24. Anecdot. c. 13. 20), and Suidas (tom. iii, p. 501, edit. Küster). Ludwig (in Vit. Justinian. p. 175—209) works hard, very hard, to whitewash—the black-a-moor.

‡ I apply the two passages of Suidas to the same man; every circumstance so exactly tallies. Yet the lawyers appear ignorant; and Fabricius is inclined to separate the two characters. (Bibliot. Græc. tom. i, p. 341; ii, p. 518; iii, p. 418; xii, p. 346. 353. 471.)

cuting court, the principal minister was accused of a secret aversion to the Christian faith, and was supposed to entertain the sentiments of an Atheist and a Pagan, which have been imputed, inconsistently enough, to the last philosophers of Greece. His avarice was more clearly proved and more sensibly felt. If he were swayed by gifts in the administration of justice, the example of Bacon will again occur; nor can the merit of Tribonian atone for his baseness, if he degraded the sanctity of his profession; and if laws were every day enacted, modified or repealed, for the base consideration of his private emolument. In the sedition of Constantinople, his removal was granted to the clamours, perhaps to the just indignation, of the people; but the quæstor was speedily restored, and till the hour of his death, he possessed, above twenty years, the favour and confidence of the emperor. His passive and dutiful submission has been honoured with the praise of Justinian himself, whose vanity was incapable of discerning how often that submission degenerated into the grossest adulation. Tribonian adored the virtues of his gracious master: the earth was unworthy of such a prince; and he affected a pious fear, that Justinian, like Elijah or Romulus, would be snatched into the air, and translated alive to the mansions of celestial glory.*

If Cæsar had achieved the reformation of the Roman law, his creative genius, enlightened by reflection and study, would have given to the world a pure and original system of jurisprudence. Whatever flattery might suggest, the emperor of the East was afraid to establish his private judgment as the standard of equity: in the possession of legislative power, he borrowed the aid of time and opinion; and his laborious compilations are guarded by the sages and legislators of past times. Instead of a statue cast in a simple mould by the hand of an artist, the works of Justinian represent a tesselated pavement of antique and costly, but too

* This story is related by Hesychius (de Viris Illustribus), Procopius, (Anecdot. c. 13), and Suidas. (tom. iii, p. 501.) Such flattery is incredible!

—— Nihil est quod credere de se
Non poterit cum laudatur Diis æqua potestas.

Fontenelle (tom. i, p. 32—39,) has ridiculed the impudence of the modest Virgil. But the same Fontenelle places his king above the divine Augustus; and the sage Boileau has not blushed to say,—"Le destin à ses yeux n'oseroit balancer." Yet neither Augustus nor Louis XIV were fools.

often of incoherent, fragments. In the first year of his reign, he directed the faithful Tribonian, and nine learned associates, to revise the ordinances of his predecessors, as they were contained, since the time of Hadrian, in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes; to purge the errors and contradictions, to retrench whatever was obsolete or superfluous, and to select the wise and salutary laws best adapted to the practice of the tribunals and the use of his subjects. The work was accomplished in fourteen months; and the twelve books or *tables*, which the new decemvirs produced, might be designed to imitate the labours of their Roman predecessors. The new CODE of Justinian was honoured with his name, and confirmed by his royal signature: authentic transcripts were multiplied by the pens of notaries and scribes; they were transmitted to the magistrates of the European, the Asiatic, and afterwards the African provinces: and the law of the empire was proclaimed on solemn festivals at the doors of churches. A more arduous operation was still behind—to extract the spirit of jurisprudence from the decisions and conjectures, the questions and disputes, of the Roman civilians. Seventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head, were appointed by the emperor to exercise an absolute jurisdiction over the works of their predecessors. If they had obeyed his commands in ten years, Justinian would have been satisfied with their diligence; and the rapid composition of the DIGEST or PANDECTS,* in three years, will deserve praise or

* Πάνδεκται (general receivers) was a common title of the Greek miscellanies. (Plin. Præfat. ad Hist. Natur.) The Digesta of Scævola, Marcellinus, Celsus, were already familiar to the civilians: but Justinian was in the wrong when he used the two appellations as synonymous. Is the word Pandects Greek or Latin—masculine or feminine? The diligent Brenckman will not presume to decide these momentous controversies. (Hist. Pandect. Florentin. p. 300—304.) [Πάνδεκται is a word that occurs frequently. See the Preface to Aulus Gellius. —WARNKÖNIG.] [It was current but not common. Pliny disapproved the use of it, as too comprehensive and promising over much. It is but slightly introduced by Aulus Gellius in his Preface, and more specially noticed by him (l. 13, c. 9) as the title of the principal book, written by Cicero's freedman and pupil, Tullius Tiro, all whose writings are lost. The best authorities answer Gibbon's question, by setting the word down as masculine. Scapula, in his Lexicon, does this without a comment. Gesner (Linguæ Latinæ Thesaurus. 2. 674) makes the nom. sing. *Pandectes*, and observes that, according to Priscian, all Greek words of the first declension which terminate in *es* are masculine.—ED.]

censure, according to the merit of the execution. From the library of Tribonian, they chose forty, the most eminent civilians of former times:* two thousand treatises were comprised in an abridgment of fifty books; and it has been carefully recorded, that three millions of lines or sentences† were reduced, in this abstract, to the moderate number of one hundred and fifty thousand. The edition of this great work was delayed a month after that of the INSTITUTES; and it seemed reasonable that the elements should precede the digest of the Roman law. As soon as the emperor had approved their labours, he ratified, by his legislative power, the speculations of these private citizens: their commentaries on the twelve tables, the perpetual edict, the laws of the people, and the decrees of the senate, succeeded to the authority of the text; and the text was abandoned, as a useless, though venerable, relic of antiquity. The *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*, were declared to be the legitimate system of civil jurisprudence; they alone were admitted in the tribunals, and they alone were taught in the academies of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus. Justinian addressed to the senate and provinces his *eternal oracles*, and his pride, under the mask of piety, ascribed the consummation of this great design to the support and inspiration of the Deity.

Since the emperor declined the fame and envy of original composition, we can only require, at his hands, method, choice and fidelity, the humble, though indispensable, virtues of a compiler. Among the various combinations of ideas, it is difficult to assign any reasonable preference; but as the order of Justinian is different in his three works, it is possible that all may be wrong; and it is certain that two can-

* Angelus Politianus (l. 5, Epist. ult.) reckons thirty-seven (p. 192—200) civilians quoted in the Pandects—a learned, and, for his times, an extraordinary list. The Greek Index to the Pandects enumerates thirty-nine; and forty are produced by the indefatigable Fabricius. (Bibliot. Græc. tom. iii, p. 488—502.) Antoninus Augustus (de Nominibus Propriis; Pandect. apud Ludwig, p. 283) is said to have added fifty-four names; but they must be vague or second-hand references.

† The Στίχοι of the ancient MSS. may be strictly defined as sentences or periods of a complete sense, which, on the breadth of the parchment rolls or volumes, composed as many lines of unequal length. The number of Στίχοι in each book served as a check on the errors of the scribes. (Ludwig. p. 211—215. and his original author Suicer. Thesaur. Ecclesiast. tom. i, p. 1021—1036.)

not be right. In the selection of ancient laws, he seems to have viewed his predecessors without jealousy, and with equal regard: the series could not ascend above the reign of Hadrian, and the narrow distinction of Paganism and Christianity, introduced by the superstition of Theodosius, had been abolished by the consent of mankind. But the jurisprudence of the Pandects is circumscribed within a period of a hundred years, from the perpetual edict to the death of Severus Alexander: the civilians who lived under the first Cæsars are seldom permitted to speak, and only three names can be attributed to the age of the republic. The favourite of Justinian (it has been fiercely urged) was fearful of encountering the light of freedom and the gravity of Roman sages. Tribonian condemned to oblivion the genuine and native wisdom of Cato, the Scævolas, and Sulpicius; while he invoked spirits more congenial to his own, the Syrians, Greeks, and Africans, who flocked to the imperial court to study Latin as a foreign tongue, and jurisprudence as a lucrative profession. But the ministers of Justinian* were instructed to labour, not for the curiosity of antiquarians, but for the immediate benefit of his subjects. It was their duty to select the useful and practicable parts of the Roman law; and the writings of the old republicans, however curious or excellent, were no longer suited to the new system of manners, religion, and government. Perhaps, if the preceptors and friends of Cicero were still alive, our candour would acknowledge, that, except in purity of language,† their intrinsic merit was excelled by the

* An ingenious and learned oration of Schultingius (Jurisprudentia Ante-Justinianea, p. 883—907), justifies the choice of Tribonian against the passionate charges of Francis Hotoman and his sectaries.

† Strip away the crust of Tribonian, and allow for the use of technical words, and the Latin of the Pandects will be found not unworthy of the silver age. It has been vehemently attacked by Laurentius Valla, a fastidious grammarian of the fifteenth century, and by his apologist Floridus Sabinus. It has been defended by Alciat and a nameless advocate (most probably James Capellus). Their various treatises are collected by Duker. (Opuscula de Latinitate veterum Jurisconsultorum, Lugd. Bat. 1721, in 12mo.) [Poor Valla! He certainly pointed out some Latin words incorrectly used by Justinian and his assistants; but while he severely condemned the barbarisms of his contemporary civilians, he commended, for its purity, the language of the ancients. See his l. 3, Elegantiarum, in Procemio.—HUGO.] [The worth of Valla has been recognized by Erasmus, David Hume, Runkhen and other eminent writers.—WARNKÖNIG.] [Niebuhr's estimate of Laurentius Valla differs much from Gibbon's. He says

school of Papinian and Ulpian. The science of the laws is the slow growth of time and experience, and the advantage both of method and materials is naturally assumed by the most recent authors. The civilians of the reign of the Antonines had studied the works of their predecessors: their philosophic spirit had mitigated the rigour of antiquity, simplified the forms of proceeding, and emerged from the jealousy and prejudice of the rival sects. The choice of the authorities that compose the Pandects depended on the judgment of Tribonian; but the power of his sovereign could not absolve him from the sacred obligations of truth and fidelity. As the legislator of the empire, Justinian might repeal the acts of the Antonines, or condemn as seditious, the free principles which were maintained by the last of the *Roman* lawyers.* But the existence of past facts is placed beyond the reach of despotism; and the emperor was guilty of fraud and forgery, when he corrupted the integrity of their text, inscribed with their venerable names the words and ideas of his servile reign,† and suppressed by the hand of power the pure and authentic copies of their sentiments. The changes and interpolations of Tribonian and his colleagues are excused by the pretence of uniformity: but their cares have been insufficient, and the *antinomies*, or contradictions of the Code and Pandects, still exercise the patience and subtlety of modern civilians.‡

(Lectures 1, p. 3 and 56,) that "his learning was of the true philological cast," and that the discovery of his grave was "one of the most pleasing remembrances of his life."—ED.]

* Nomina quidem veteribus servavimus, legum autem veritatem nostram fecimus. Itaque siquid erat in illis seditiosum, multa autem talia erant ibi reposita, hoc decisum est et definitum, et in perspicuum finem deducta est quæque lex. (Cod. Justinian, l. 1, tit. 17, leg. 3, No. 10.) A frank confession! [*Seditiosum* here means *disputed* or *undecided*, not *seditious* or *disloyal*, as is distinctly stated in the Preface to the Digest. "Et omnes ambiguitates decisæ, nullo seditioso relicto."—ED.]

† The number of these emblemata (a polite name for forgeries) is much reduced by Bynkershoek (in the four last books of his observations), who poorly maintains the right of Justinian and the duty of Tribonian. [I agree with Bynkershoek. Except by what we learn from Ulpian's fragments, we cannot be certain, whether a quoted passage be of the second or the sixth century, or what alterations copyists and translators may have made, for which Justinian is not reponsible; and we must remember, that he was more intent on using the applicable than seeking out the recondite.—HUGO.]

‡ The *antinomies*, or opposite laws of the Code and Pandects, are

A rumour devoid of evidence has been propagated by the enemies of Justinian: that the jurisprudence of ancient Rome was reduced to ashes by the author of the Pandects, from the vain persuasion, that it was now either false or superfluous. Without usurping an office so invidious, the emperor might safely commit to ignorance and time the accomplishment of this destructive wish. Before the invention of printing and paper, the labour and the materials of writing could be purchased only by the rich; and it may reasonably be computed, that the price of books was a hundred-fold their present value.* Copies were slowly multiplied and cautiously renewed: the hopes of profit tempted the sacrilegious scribes to erase the characters of antiquity, and Sophocles or Tacitus were obliged to resign the parchment to missals, homilies, and the golden legend.† If such was the fate of the most beautiful compositions of genius, what stability could be expected for the dull and barren works of an obsolete science? The books of jurisprudence were interesting to few, and entertaining to none, their value was connected with present use, and they sank for ever as soon as that use was superseded by the innovations of fashion, superior merit, or public authority. In the age of peace and learning, between Cicero and the last of the Antonines, many losses had been already sustained, and some luminaries of the school or Forum were known only to the curious by tradition and report. Three hundred and sixty years of disorder and decay accelerated the progress of oblivion; and it may fairly be presumed, that of the writings which Justinian is accused of neglecting, many were no longer to be found in the libraries of the East.‡ The copies

sometimes the cause, and often the excuse, of the glorious uncertainty of the civil law, which so often affords what Montaigne calls "Questions pour l'Ami." See a fine passage of Franciscus Balduinus in Justinian. (l. 2, p. 259, &c., apud Ludwig, p. 305, 306.)

* When Faust, or Faustus, sold at Paris his first printed bibles as manuscripts, the price of a parchment copy was reduced from four or five hundred to sixty, fifty, and forty crowns. The public was at first pleased with the cheapness, and at length provoked by the discovery of the fraud. (Maittaire, Annal. Typograph. tom. i, p. 12, first edition.)

† This execrable practice prevailed from the eighth, and more especially from the twelfth, century, when it became almost universal. (Montfaucon, in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. vi, p. 606, &c. Bibliothèque Raisonnée de la Diplomatique, tom. i, p. 176.)

‡ Pomponius (Pandect. l. 1, tit. 2, leg. 2) observes, that of the three founders of the civil law, Mucius, Brutus, and Manilius, extant volu-

of Papinian or Ulpian, which the reformer had proscribed, were deemed unworthy of future notice; the Twelve Tables and prætorian edicts insensibly vanished, and the monuments of ancient Rome were neglected or destroyed by the envy and ignorance of the Greeks. Even the Pandects themselves have escaped with difficulty and danger from the common shipwreck; and criticism has pronounced, that *all* the editions and manuscripts of the West are derived from *one* original.* It was transcribed at Constantinople in the beginning of the seventh century,† was successively transported by the accidents of war and commerce to Amalphi,‡ Pisa,§

mina, scripta Manilii monumenta; that of some old republican lawyers, hæc versantur eorum scripta inter manus hominum. Eight of the Augustan sages were reduced to a compendium: of Cascellius, scripta non extant sed unus liber, &c.: of Trebatius, minus frequentantur: of Tubero, libri parum grati sunt. Many quotations in the Pandects are derived from books which Tribonian never saw; and in the long period from the seventh to the thirteenth century of Rome, the *apparent* reading of the moderns successively depends on the knowledge and veracity of their predecessors. * *All*, in several instances, repeat the errors of the scribe and the transpositions of some leaves in the Florentine Pandects. This fact, if it be true, is decisive. Yet the Pandects are quoted by Ivo of Chartres (who died in 1117); by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Vacarius, our first professor, in the year 1140. (Selden ad Fletam, c. 7, tom. ii, p. 1080—1085.) Have our British MSS. of the Pandects been collated?

† See the description of this original in Brenckman (Hist. Pandect. Florent. l. 1, c. 2, 3, p. 4—17, and l. 2.) Politian, an enthusiast, revered it as the authentic standard of Justinian himself (p. 407, 408); but this paradox is refuted by the abbreviations of the Florentine MS. (l. 2, c. 3, p. 117—130.) It is composed of two quarto volumes with large margins, on a thin parchment, and the Latin characters betray the hand of a Greek scribe. ‡ Brenckman, at the end of his history, has inserted two dissertations on the republic of Amalphi, and the Pisan war in the year 1135, &c.

§ The discovery of the Pandects at Amalphi, (A.D. 1137,) is first noticed (in 1501) by Ludovicus Bologninus (Brenckman, (l. 1, c. 11. p 73, 74. l. 4, c. 2, p. 417—425), on the faith of a Pisan chronicle (p. 409, 410), without a name or a date. The whole story, though unknown to the twelfth century, embellished by ignorant ages, and suspected by rigid criticism, is not, however, destitute of much internal probability (l. 1, c. 4—8, p. 17—50). The Liber Pandectarum of Pisa was undoubtedly consulted in the fourteenth century by the great Bartolus (p. 406, 407. See l. 1, c. 9, p. 50—62). [This discovery, Mr. Hallam says, "though not improbable, seems not to rest upon sufficient evidence." Yet it was from this time, that the Glossatores revived the study of the Roman law. Whether this was caused by the Pandects, or whether it caused them to be brought forth out of the

and Florence,* and is now deposited as a sacred relic† in the ancient palace of the republic.‡

It is the first care of a reformer to prevent any future reformation. To maintain the text of the Pandects, the Institutes, and the Code, the use of ciphers and abbreviations was rigorously proscribed; and as Justinian recollected, that the perpetual edict had been buried under the weight of commentators, he denounced the punishment of forgery against the rash civilians who should presume to interpret or pervert the will of their sovereign. The scholars of Accursius, of Bartolus, of Cujacius, should blush for their accumulated guilt, unless they dare to dispute his right of binding the authority of his successors, and the native freedom of the mind. But the emperor was unable to fix his own inconstancy; and while he boasted of renewing the exchange of Diomede, of transmuting brass into gold,§ he discovered the necessity of purifying his gold from the mixture of baser alloy. Six years had not elapsed from the publi-

obscurity in which they had been reposing, are questions between which there is but a shadowy difference. The re-organization of society was commencing, and of this, the security of property was perceived to be a necessary element. The want of "a more extensive and accurate code of written laws" was therefore felt. Up to that period, the greater part of Western Europe had only "the compilation from the Theodosian Code, made by order of Alaric, king of the Visigoths, about the year 500." The insufficiency of this directed the attention of lawyers to Justinian's system of jurisprudence, and the re-introduction of the Pandects was tantamount to a discovery of them. (Middle Ages, vol. ii, p. 513—515.)—Eb.]

* Pisa was taken by the Florentines in the year 1406; and in 1411 the Pandects were transported to the capital. These events are authentic and famous. † They were new bound in purple, deposited in a rich casket, and shewn to curious travellers by the monks and magistrates bareheaded, and with lighted tapers. (Brenckman, l. 1, c. 10—12, p. 62—93.) ‡ After the collations of Politian, Bolognino, and Antoninus Augustinus, and the splendid edition of the Pandects by Taurellus (in 1551), Henry Brenckman, a Dutchman, undertook a pilgrimage to Florence, where he employed several years in the study of a single manuscript. His Historia Pandectarum Florentinorum (Utrecht, 1722, in quarto), though a monument of industry, is a small portion of his original design.

§ Χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων, apud Homerum patrem omnis virtutis (1st Præfat. ad Pandect.). A line of Milton or Tasso would surprise us in an act of parliament. Quæ omnia obtinere sanximus in omne ævum. Of the first code, he says, (2d Præfat.) in æternum valiturum. Man, and for ever!

cation of the Code, before he condemned the imperfect attempt, by a new and more accurate edition of the same work, which he enriched with two hundred of his own laws, and fifty decisions of the darkest and most intricate points of jurisprudence. Every year, or according to Procopius, each day of his long reign, was marked by some legal innovation. Many of his acts were rescinded by himself; many were rejected by his successors, many have been obliterated by time; but the number of sixteen EDICTS, and one hundred and sixty-eight NOVELS,* has been admitted into the authentic body of the civil jurisprudence. In the opinion of a philosopher, superior to the prejudices of his profession, these incessant, and for the most part trifling, alterations, can be only explained by the venal spirit of a prince, who sold without shame his judgments and his laws.† The charge of the secret historian is indeed explicit and vehement; but the sole instance which he produces may be ascribed to the devotion as well as to the avarice of Justinian. A wealthy bigot had bequeathed his inheritance to the church of Emesa; and its value was enhanced by the dexterity of an artist, who subscribed confessions of debt and promises of payment with the names of the richest Syrians. They pleaded the established prescription of thirty or forty years; but their defence was overruled by a retrospective edict, which extended the claims of the church to the term of a century; an edict so pregnant with injustice and disorder, that after serving this occasional purpose, it was prudently abolished in the same reign.‡ If candour will acquit the emperor himself, and transfer the corruption to his wife and favourites, the suspicion of so foul a vice must still degrade the majesty of his laws: and the advocates of Justinian may acknowledge, that such levity, whatsoever be the motive, is unworthy of a legislator and a man.

* Novellæ is a classic adjective, but a barbarous substantive (Ludwig. p. 245). Justinian never collected them himself: the nine collations, the legal standard of modern tribunals, consist of ninety-eight novels; but the number was increased by the diligence of Julian, Haloander, and Contius. (Ludwig, p. 249. 258. Aleman. Not. in Anecdot. p. 98.)

† Montesquieu, Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, c. 20, tom. iii, p. 501, in 4to. On this occasion he throws aside the gown and cap of a president à mortier.

‡ Procopius, Anecdot. c. 28. A similar privilege was granted to

Monarchs seldom condescend to become the preceptors of their subjects; and some praise is due to Justinian, by whose command an ample system was reduced to a short and elementary treatise. Among the various institutes of the Roman law,* those of Caius† were the most popular in the East and West; and their use may be considered as an evidence of their merit. They were selected by the imperial delegates, Tribonian, Theophilus, and Dorotheus; and the freedom and purity of the Antonines was incrusted with the coarser materials of a degenerate age. The same volume which introduced the youth of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus, to the gradual study of the Code and Pandects, is still precious to the historian, the philosopher, and the magistrate. The INSTITUTES of Justinian are divided into four books: they proceed, with no contemptible method, from I. *Persons*, to II. *Things*, and from things, to III. *Actions;* and the article IV. of *Private Wrongs*, is terminated by the principles of *Criminal Law*.‡

I. The distinction of ranks and *persons*, is the firmest basis of a mixed and limited government. In France, the remains of liberty are kept alive by the spirit, the honours, and even the prejudices, of fifty thousand nobles.§ Two

the church of Rome. (Novel. 9.) For the general repeal of these mischievous indulgences, see Novel. 111, and edict. 5.

* Lactantius, in his Institutes of Christianity, an elegant and specious work, proposes to imitate the title and method of the civilians. Quidam prudentes et arbitri æquitatis Institutiones Civilis Juris compositas ediderunt. (Institut. Divin. l. 1, c. 1.) Such as Ulpian, Paul, Florentinus, Marcian.

† The emperor Justinian calls him suum, though he died before the end of the second century. His Institutes are quoted by Servius, Boethius, Priscian, &c. and the Epitome by Arrian is still extant. (See the prolegomena and notes to the edition of Schulting, in the Jurisprudentia Ante-Justinianea, Lugd. Bat. 1717. Heineccius, Hist. J. R. No. 313. Ludwig. in Vit. Just. p. 199.)

‡ [Justinian made only three divisions of his Institutes, 1. Personal rights, as—slavery, marriage, paternal power, and guardianship. 2. The rights of property or ownership; and 3. The injuries or causes of complaint, as well on the part of individuals as of the State. Sections of the second and third parts are taken by Gibbon to make up a fourth.—HUGO.] [In this division of the Institutes, Gibbon has made the appendix of the criminal law in the last title, into a fourth and separate part.—WARNKÖNIG.]

§ See the Annales Politiques de l'Abbé de St. Pierre, tom. i, p. 25, who dates in the year 1735. The most ancient families claim the immemorial possession of arms and fiefs. Since the crusades, some,

hundred families supply, in lineal descent, the second branch of the English legislature, which maintains, between the king and commons, the balance of the constitution.* A gradation of patricians and plebeians, of strangers and subjects, has supported the aristocracy of Genoa, Venice, and ancient Rome. The perfect equality of men is the point in which the extremes of democracy and despotism are confounded, since the majesty of the prince or people would be offended, if any heads were exalted above the level of their fellow-slaves or fellow-citizens. In the decline of the Roman empire, the proud distinctions of the republic were gradually abolished, and the reason or instinct of Justinian completed the simple form of an absolute monarchy. The emperor could not eradicate the popular reverence which always waits on the possession of hereditary wealth, or the memory of famous ancestors. He delighted to honour with titles and emoluments, his generals, magistrates, and senators; and his precarious indulgence communicated some rays of their glory to the persons of their wives and children. But in the eye of the law, all Roman citizens were equal, and all subjects of the empire were citizens of Rome. That inestimable character was degraded to an obsolete and empty name. The voice of a Roman could no longer enact his laws, or create the annual ministers of his power; his constitutional rights might have checked the arbitrary will of a master; and the bold adventurer from Germany or Arabia was admitted, with equal favour, to the civil and military command, which the citizen alone had been once entitled to assume over the conquests of his fathers. The first Cæsars had scrupulously guarded the distinction of *ingenuous*, and *servile* birth, which was decided by the condition of the

the most truly respectable, have been created by the king, for merit and services. The recent and vulgar crowd is derived from the multitude of venal offices without trust or dignity, which continually ennoble the wealthy plebeians. * [The House of Peers including the episcopal bench, now consists of more than four hundred and fifty members, in addition to which, there are twenty-four Scotch and ninety-four Irish peers, who have no seats in the legislature. There is no form in which a country can so gracefully reward true merit, as by perpetuated title. But the dignity is lowered and its purity sullied, when it only ennobles mere wealth, or purchases political adherents for the minister of the day. If high hereditary rank were only given to commemorate great public services and transmit a glorious name to after times, it would be of inestimable worth.—Ed.]

mother; and the candour of the laws was satisfied, if *her* freedom could be ascertained during a single moment between the conception and the delivery. The slaves who were liberated by a generous master immediately entered into the middle class of *libertines* or freedmen: but they could never be enfranchised from the duties of obedience and gratitude: whatever were the fruits of their industry their patron and his family inherited the third part; or even the whole of their fortune, if they died without children and without a testament. Justinian respected the rights of patrons; but his indulgence removed the badge of disgrace from the two inferior orders of freedmen: whoever ceased to be a slave, obtained without reserve or delay, the station of a citizen; and at length the dignity of an ingenuous birth, which nature had refused, was created, or supposed, by the omnipotence of the emperor. Whatever restraints of age, or forms, or numbers, had been formerly introduced to check the abuse of manumissions, and the too rapid increase of vile and indigent Romans, he finally abolished; and the spirit of his laws promoted the extinction of domestic servitude. Yet the Eastern provinces were filled, in the time of Justinian, with multitudes of slaves, either born or purchased for the use of their masters; and the price, from ten to seventy pieces of gold, was determined by their age, their strength, and their education.* But the hardships of this dependent state were continually diminished by the influence of government and religion; and the pride of a subject was no longer elated by his absolute dominion over the life and happiness of his bondsman.†

* If the option of a slave was bequeathed to several legatees, they drew lots, and the losers were entitled to their share of his value; ten pieces of gold for a common servant or maid under ten years; if above that age, twenty; if they knew a trade, thirty; notaries or writers, fifty; midwives or physicians, sixty; eunuchs under ten years, thirty pieces; above, fifty; if tradesmen, seventy. (Cod. l. 6, tit. 43, leg. 3.) These legal prices are generally below those of the market.

† For the state of slaves and freedmen, see Institutes, l. 1, tit. 3—8; l. 2, tit. 9; l. 3, tit. 8, 9. Pandects or Digest, l. 1, tit. 5, 6; l. 38, tit. 1—4, and the whole of the fortieth book: Code, l. 6, tit. 4, 5; l. 7, tit. 1—23. Be it henceforward understood that, with the original text of the Institutes and Pandects, the correspondent articles in the Antiquities and Elements of Heineccius are implicitly quoted; and, with the twenty-seven first books of the Pandects, the learned and rational Commentaries of Gerard Noodt. (Opera, tom. ii, p. 1—590,

The law of nature instructs most animals to cherish and educate their infant progeny. The law of reason inculcates to the human species the returns of filial piety. But the exclusive, absolute and perpetual dominion of the father over his children is peculiar to the Roman jurisprudence,* and seems to be coeval with the foundation of the city.† The paternal power was instituted or confirmed by Romulus himself; and after the practice of three centuries, it was inscribed on the fourth table of the decemvirs. In the Forum, the senate, or the camp, the adult son of a Roman citizen enjoyed the public and private rights of a *person*: in his father's house, he was a mere *thing;* confounded by the laws with the moveables, the cattle, and the slaves, whom the capricious master might alienate or destroy without being responsible to any earthly tribunal. The hand which bestowed the daily sustenance might resume the voluntary gift, and whatever was acquired by the labour or fortune of the son, was immediately lost in the property of the father. His stolen goods (his oxen or his children) might be recovered by the same action of theft;‡ and if either had been guilty of a trespass, it was in his own option to compensate the damage, or resign to the injured party the obnoxious animal. At the call of indigence or avarice, the master of a family could dispose of his children or his slaves. But the condition of the slave was far more advantageous, since he regained by the first manumission his alienated freedom: the son was again restored to his

the end. Lugd. Bat. 1724.)

* See the patria potestas in the Institutes (l. 1, tit. 9), the Pandects (l. 1, tit. 6, 7), and the Code (l. 8, tit. 47—49). Jus potestatis quod in liberos habemus proprium est civium Romanorum. Nulli enim alii sunt homines qui talem in liberos habeant potestatem qualem nos habemus.

† Dionysius Hal. l. 2, p. 94, 95. Gravina (Opp. p. 286) produces the words of the twelve tables. Papinian (in Collatione Legum Roman. et Mosaicarum, tit. 4, p. 204) styles this patria potestas, lex regia: Ulpian (ad Sabin. l. 26, in Pandect. l. 1, tit. 6, leg. 8) says, jus potestatis moribus receptum; and furiosus filium in potestate habebit. How sacred — or rather, how absurd! [This accords perfectly with the Roman character.—WARNKÖNIG.] [The laws of the Romans on this point not only encouraged, but enforced, a brutal ferociousness. In the Twelve Tables, a father was commanded to put to death a deformed child. Tabula 4 directs, "Pater insignem ad deformitatem puerum cito necato."—ED.]

‡ Pandect. l. 47, tit. 2, leg. 14, No. 13; leg. 38, No. 1. Such was

unnatural father; he might be condemned to servitude a second and a third time, and it was not till after the third sale and deliverance,* that he was enfranchised from the domestic power which had been so repeatedly abused. According to his discretion, a father might chastise the real or imaginary faults of his children, by stripes, by imprisonment, by exile, by sending them to the country to work in chains among the meanest of his servants. The majesty of a parent was armed with the power of life and death;† and the example of such bloody executions, which were sometimes praised and never punished, may be traced in the annals of Rome, beyond the times of Pompey and Augustus. Neither age, nor rank, nor the consular office, nor the honours of a triumph, could exempt the most illustrious citizen from the bonds of filial subjection:‡ his own descendants were included in the family of their common ancestor; and the claims of adoption were not less sacred or less rigorous than those of nature. Without fear, though not without danger of abuse, the Roman legislators had reposed an unbounded confidence in the sentiments of paternal love; and the oppression was tempered by the assurance, that each generation must succeed in its turn to the awful dignity of parent and master.

The first limitation of paternal power is ascribed to the justice and humanity of Numa: and the maid, who with *his* father's consent, had espoused a freeman, was protected from the disgrace of becoming the wife of a slave. In the first ages, when the city was pressed, and often famished by

the decision of Ulpian and Paul.

* The trina mancipatio is most clearly defined by Ulpian (Fragment. 10, p. 591, 592, edit. Schulting), and best illustrated in the Antiquities of Heineccius. [The son, when sold by his father, did not become fully a slave; he remained "statu liber," that is, he might claim manumission at any time, by repaying the sum for which he was purchased.—WARNKÖNIG.]

† By Justinian, the old law, the jus necis of the Roman father (Institut. l. 4, tit. 9, No. 7), is reported and reprobated. Some legal vestiges are left in the Pandects (l. 43, tit. 29, leg. 3, No. 4) and the Collatio Legum Romanarum et Mosaicarum (tit. 2, No. 3, p. 189).

‡ Except on public occasions, and in the actual exercise of his office. In publicis locis atque muneribus, atque actionibus patrum, jura cum filiorum qui in magistratu sunt, potestatibus collata interquiescere paululum et connivere, &c. (Aul. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ, 2. 2.) The lessons of the philosopher Taurus were justified by the old and memorable example of Fabius; and we may contemplate the

her Latin and Tuscan neighbours, the sale of children might be a frequent practice; but as a Roman could not legally purchase the liberty of his fellow-citizen, the market must gradually fail, and the trade would be destroyed by the conquests of the republic. An imperfect right of property was at length communicated to sons; and the threefold distinction of *profectitious*, *adventitious*, and *professional*, was ascertained by the jurisprudence of the Code and Pandects.* Of all that proceeded from the father, he imparted only the use, and reserved the absolute dominion; yet if his goods were sold, the filial portion was excepted, by a favourable interpretation, from the demands of the creditors. In whatever accrued by marriage, gift, or collateral succession, the property was secured to the son; but the father, unless he had been specially excluded, enjoyed the usufruct during his life. As a just and prudent reward of military virtue, the spoils of the enemy were acquired, possessed, and bequeathed by the soldier alone; and the fair analogy was extended to the emoluments of any liberal profession, the salary of public service, and the sacred liberality of the emperor or the empress. The life of a citizen was less exposed than his fortune to the abuse of paternal power. Yet his life might be adverse to the interest or passions of an unworthy father: the same crimes that flowed from the corruption, were more sensibly felt by the humanity, of the Augustan age; and the cruel Erixo, who whipped his son till he expired, was saved by the emperor from the just fury of the multitude.† The Roman father, from the license of servile dominion, was reduced to the gravity and moderation of a judge. The presence and opinion of Augustus confirmed the sentence of exile pronounced against an intentional parricide by the domestic tribunal of Arius. Hadrian transported to an island the jealous parent, who, like a robber, had seized the opportunity of hunting, to assassinate a youth, the incestuous lover of his stepmother.‡ A private

same story in the style of Livy (24. 44), and the homely idiom of Claudius Quadrigarius the annalist. * See the gradual enlargement and security of the filial peculium in the Institutes (l. 2, tit. 9), the Pandects (l. 15, tit. 1; l. 41, tit. 1), and the Code. (l. 4, tit. 26, 27). † The examples of Erixo and Arius are related by Seneca (de Clementia, l. 4. 15), the former with horror, the latter with applause. ‡ Quod latronis magis quam patris jure eum interfecit, nam patria potestas in pietate debet non in

jurisdiction is repugnant to the spirit of monarchy; the parent was again reduced from a judge to an accuser; and the magistrates were enjoined by Severus Alexander to hear his complaints and execute his sentence. He could no longer take the life of a son without incurring the guilt and punishment of murder: and the pains of parricide, from which he had been excepted by the Pompeian law, were finally inflicted by the justice of Constantine.* The same protection was due to every period of existence: and reason must applaud the humanity of Paulus, for imputing the crime of murder to the father, who strangles, or starves, or abandons his new-born infant; or exposes him in a public place to find the mercy which he himself had denied. But the exposition of children was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity; it was sometimes prescribed, often permitted, almost always practised with impunity, by the nations who never entertained the Roman ideas of paternal power; and the dramatic poets, who appeal to the human heart, represent with indifference a popular custom which was palliated by the motives of economy and compassion.† If the father could subdue his own feelings, he might escape, though not the censure, at least the chastisement, of the laws: and the Roman empire was stained with the blood of infants, till such murders were included, by Valentinian and his colleagues, in the letter and spirit of the Cornelian law. The lessons of jurisprudence‡ and Christianity had been insufficient to eradicate this inhuman practice, till their

atrocitate consistere. (Marcian, Institut. l. 14, in Pandect. l. 48, tit. 9. leg. 5.)

* The Pompeian and Cornelian laws de sicariis and parricidis, are repeated, or rather abridged, with the last supplements of Alexander Severus, Constantine, and Valentinian, in the Pandects (l. 48, tit. 8, 9) and Code. (l. 9, tit. 16, 17). See likewise the Theodosian Code (l. 9, tit. 14, 15), with Godefroy's Commentary (tom. iii, p. 84—113), who pours a flood of ancient and modern learning over these penal laws.

† When the Chremes of Terence reproaches his wife for not obeying his orders and exposing their infant, he speaks like a father and a master, and silences the scruples of a foolish woman. See Apuleius (Metamorph. l. 10, p. 337, edit Delphin.).

‡ The opinion of the lawyers, and the discretion of the magistrates, had introduced in the time of Tacitus some legal restraints, which might support his contrast of the boni mores of the Germans to the bonæ leges alibi—that is to say, at Rome (De Moribus Germanorum, c. 19). Tertullian (ad Nationes, l. 1, c. 15), refutes his own charges and those of his brethren against the heathen

gentle influence was fortified by the terrors of capital punishment.*

Experience has proved that savages are the tyrants of the female sex, and that the condition of women is usually softened by the refinements of social life.† In the hope of a robust progeny, Lycurgus had delayed the season of marriage; it was fixed by Numa at the tender age of twelve years, that the Roman husband might educate to his will a pure and obedient virgin.‡ According to the custom of antiquity, he bought his bride of her parents, and she fulfilled the *coemption*, by purchasing with three pieces of copper, a just introduction to his house and household deities. A sacrifice of fruits was offered by the pontiffs in the presence of ten witnesses; the contracting parties were seated on the same sheepskin; they tasted a salt cake of *far* or rice; and this *confarreation*,§ which denoted the ancient food of Italy, served as an emblem of their mystic union of mind and body. But this union on the side of the woman was rigorous and unequal; and she renounced the

jurisprudence.

* The wise and humane sentence of the civilian Paul (l. 2, Sententiarum, in Pandect. l. 25, tit. 3, leg. 4), is represented as a mere moral precept by Gerard Noodt (Opp. tom. i, in Julius Paulus, p. 567—588, and Amica Responsio, p. 591—606), who maintains the opinion of Justus Lipsius (Opp. tom. ii, p. 409, ad Belgas, cent. 1, epist. 85), and as a positive binding law by Bynkershoek (de Jure occidendi Liberos, Opp. tom. i, p. 318—340. Curæ Secundæ, p. 391—427). In a learned but angry controversy, the two friends deviated into the opposite extremes.

† [Yet it was by the *savage* Germans that woman was held in respect, and by the *refined* Romans that she was tyrannized over and corrupted. Through all succeeding ages, we find, too, that among the descendants of those savages, the female sex has always been placed highest in the social scale. Even French gallantry has never habitually won such domestic partners as those who cheer and consecrate the Gothic fire-side.—Ed.]

‡ Dionys. Hal. l. 2, p. 92, 93. Plutarch, in Numa, p. 140, 141. Τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἦθος κάθαρον καὶ ἄθικτον ἐπὶ τῳ γαμοῦντι γένεσθαι.

§ Among the winter frumenta, the *triticum*, or bearded wheat; the *siligo*, or the unbearded: the *far*, *adorea*, *oryza*, whose description perfectly tallies with the rice of Spain and Italy. I adopt this identity on the credit of M. Paucton in his useful and laborious Métrologie (p. 517—529). [Rice was brought into southern Europe from the East, whence also its name is derived. In Arabian it is *aruz*, and in the Malabar tongue *arisi*. Thence the Greeks and Latins gave it the form of *oryza*. The Spaniards call it *arroz*, taught, most probably, by their Arabian conquerors. Adelung (Wörterbuch, 3. 1385)

name and worship of her father's house, to embrace a new servitude decorated only by the title of adoption. A fiction of the law, neither rational nor elegant, bestowed on the mother of a family* (her proper appellation) the strange characters of sister to her own children, and of daughter to her husband or master, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power. By his judgment or caprice her behaviour was approved, or censured, or chastised; he exercised the jurisdiction of life and death; and it was allowed, that in the cases of adultery or drunkenness,† the sentence might be properly inflicted. She acquired and inherited for the sole profit of her lord; and so clearly was woman defined, not as a *person*, but as a *thing*, that if the original title were deficient, she might be claimed, like other moveables, by the *use* and possession of an entire year. The inclination of the Roman husband discharged or withheld the conjugal debt, so scrupulously exacted by the Athenian and Jewish laws;‡ but as polygamy was unknown he could never admit to his bed a fairer or more favoured partner.

After the Punic triumphs, the matrons of Rome aspired to the common benefits of a free and opulent republic: their wishes were gratified by the indulgence of fathers and

conjectures that the name was derived, in a very early stage of language, from a common source with the Greek ῥήσσειν and the German *reissen*, and denoted the removing or *tearing* off the husk before the grain was fit for use.—ED.]

* Aulus Gellius (Noctes Atticæ, 18. 6) gives a ridiculous definition of Ælius Melissus, Matrona, quæ semel materfamilias quæ sæpius peperit, as porcetra and scropha in the sow kind. He then adds the genuine meaning, quæ in matrimonium vel in manum convenerat. [The meaning of Aulus Gellius is quite imperfect, without the remaining part of his sentence, "quoad in eo matrimonio maneret, etiamsi liberi nondum nati forent; dictamque esse ita a matris nomine, non adepta jam, sed cum spe et omine mox adipiscendi." Not the mere entering into the married state, but the remaining in it, constituted the *matron*.—ED.]

† It was enough to have tasted wine, or to have stolen the key of the cellar. (Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 14.) ‡ Solon requires three payments per month. By the Misna, a daily debt was imposed on an idle, vigorous young husband; twice a-week on a citizen; once on a peasant; once in thirty days on a camel-driver; once in six months on a seaman. But the student or doctor was free from tribute; and *no* wife, if she received a *weekly* sustenance, could sue for a divorce: for one week a vow of abstinence was allowed. Polygamy divided, without multiplying, the duties of the husband. (Selden. Uxor Ebraica. l. 3, c. 6, in his works, vol. ii, p. 717—720.)

lovers, and their ambition was unsuccessfully resisted by the gravity of Cato the Censor.* They declined the solemnities of the old nuptials, defeated the annual prescription by an absence of three days, and without losing their name or independence, subscribed the liberal and definite terms of a marriage-contract. Of their private fortunes, they communicated the use, and secured the property; the estates of a wife could neither be alienated nor mortgaged by a prodigal husband; their mutual gifts were prohibited by the jealousy of the laws; and the misconduct of either party might afford, under another name, a future subject for an action of theft. To this loose and voluntary compact, religious and civil rites were no longer essential; and, between persons of a similar rank, the apparent community of life was allowed as sufficient evidence of their nuptials. The dignity of marriage was restored by the Christians, who derived all spiritual grace from the prayers of the faithful and the benediction of the priest or bishop. The origin, validity, and duties of the holy institution were regulated by the tradition of the synagogue, the precepts of the Gospel, and the canons of general or provincial synods;† and the conscience of the Christians was awed by the decrees and censures of their ecclesiastical rulers. Yet the magistrates of Justinian were not subject to the authority of the church: the emperor consulted the unbelieving civilians of antiquity, and the choice of matrimonial laws in the Code and Pandects, is directed by the earthly motives of justice, policy, and the natural freedom of both sexes.‡

Besides the agreement of the parties, the essence of every

* On the Oppian law we may hear the mitigating speech of Valerius Flaccus, and the severe censorial oration of the elder Cato (Liv. 34, 1—8). But we shall rather hear the polished historian of the eighth, than the rough orators of the sixth, century of Rome. The principles, and even the style, of Cato are more accurately preserved by Aulus Gellius (10. 23).

† For the system of Jewish and Catholic matrimony, see Selden (Uxor Ebraica, Op. vol. ii, p. 529—860), Bingham (Christian Antiquities, l. 22), and Chardon (Hist. des Sacremens, tom vi).

‡ The civil laws of marriage are exposed in the Institutes (l. 1, tit. 10), the Pandects (l. 23—25), and the Code (l. 5), but as the title De ritu nuptiarum is yet imperfect, we are obliged to explore the fragments of Ulpian (tit. 9, p. 590, 591) and the Collatio Legum Mosaicarum (tit. 16, p. 790, 791) with the notes of Pithæus and Schulting. They find, in the Commentary of Servius (on the first Georgic and the fourth Æneid), two curious passages.

rational contract, the Roman marriage required the previous approbation of the parents. A father might be forced by some recent laws to supply the wants of a mature daughter; but even his insanity was not generally allowed to supersede the necessity of his consent. The causes of the dissolution of matrimony have varied among the Romans;* but the most solemn sacrament, the confarreation itself, might always be done away by rites of a contrary tendency. In the first ages, the father of a family might sell his children, and his wife was reckoned in the number of his children: the domestic judge might pronounce the death of the offender, or his mercy might expel her from his bed and house; but the slavery of the wretched female was hopeless and perpetual, unless he asserted for his own convenience the manly prerogative of divorce. The warmest applause has been lavished on the virtue of the Romans, who abstained from the exercise of this tempting privilege above five hundred years:† but the same fact evinces the unequal terms

* According to Plutarch (p. 57), Romulus allowed only three grounds of a divorce—drunkenness, adultery, and false keys. Otherwise, the husband who abused his supremacy, forfeited half his goods to the wife, and half to the goddess Ceres, and offered a sacrifice (with the remainder) to the terrestrial deities. This strange law was either imaginary or transient.

† In the year of Rome 523, Spurius Carvilius Ruga repudiated a fair, a good, but a barren wife. (Dionysius Hal. l. 2, p. 93. Plutarch in Numa, p. 141. Valerius Maximus, l. 2, c. 1. Aulus Gellius, 4. 3.) He was questioned by the censors and hated by the people; but his divorce stood unimpeached in law. [This is narrated and explained differently by Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, liv. 16, c. 16.—Hugo.] [Plutarch does not confirm the fact of five hundred years having passed without a divorce at Rome. That of Carvilius is twice mentioned by him; first, in his comparison between Romulus and Theseus, and then in that between Numa and Lycurgus (Op. tom. i, p. 155 and 309, edit. Reiske). In both passages, he gives the date of A.U.C. 230, adding in the last, that it was during the reign of the second Tarquin. All the other writers say A.U.C. 520 or 523. Among them the most to be trusted is Aulus Gellius, for he states that he took the fact from a book of Servius Sulpicius, De Dotibus. The high character of this lawyer, recently alluded to in the present chapter, is a pledge for his accuracy. Montesquieu accepts Plutarch's date, and then very unnecessarily quotes from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the advice of Coriolanus when going into exile, that his wife should look out for another husband. As Volumnia did not take him at his word, this is no proof of a divorce. But after having asserted the correctness of the date, A.U.C. 230, he argues that the anger of the people was excited against Carvilius, not on account of

of a connection in which the slave was unable to renounce her tyrant, and the tyrant was unwilling to relinquish his slave. When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, a new jurisprudence was introduced, that marriage, like other partnerships, might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, this principle was enlarged to frequent practice and pernicious abuse. Passion, interest, or caprice, suggested daily motives for the dissolution of marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation; the most tender of human connections was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure. According to the various conditions of life, both sexes alternately felt the disgrace and injury; an inconstant spouse transferred her wealth to a new family, abandoning a numerous, perhaps a spurious, progeny to the paternal authority and care of her late husband; a beautiful virgin might be dismissed to the world, old, indigent, and friendless; but the reluctance of the Romans, when they were pressed to marriage by Augustus, sufficiently marks, that the prevailing institutions were least favourable to the males.* A specious theory is con-

the repudiation of his wife, but because he had submitted to the orders of the censors, officers that were not known in Rome till A.U.C. 443. There is also error in his concluding antithesis: "Plutarque a examiné un fait, les autres ont raconté une merveille." So intelligent, matter-of-fact a lawyer as Servius Sulpicius, would not have dealt in the marvellous and left the true to be discovered by Plutarch two centuries afterwards. Gibbon also has erred in saying that Carvilius was "questioned by the censors." Aulus Gellius states, that they insisted on the divorce; "a censoribus coactus est;" nor do the words of Valerius Maximus, "reprehensione non tamen caruit," warrant the strong expression that the severer of the nuptial tie was "hated by the people." Niebuhr, however, (Hist. of Rome, ch. 61) says that divorce was practised among the Romans at an earlier period, and that L. Antonius was expelled from the senate, A.U.C. 446, for having dismissed his wife out of wedlock without observing the usual forms.—ED.]

* [This reluctance is ascribed by Niebuhr to a very different cause. He says: "Marriage, although it was so easy to dissolve, was distasteful to most men. An aversion to lawful wedlock had sprung up widely. The degeneracy and profligacy of the freeborn female Romans were so awful, that many a citizen, who was no profligate, found a much more faithful and estimable partner in a slave than in a high-born lady, and thus it was looked upon as a point of conscience not to

futed by this free and perfect experiment, which demonstrates, that the liberty of divorce does not contribute to happiness and virtue. The facility of separation would destroy all mutual confidence, and inflame every trifling dispute: the minute difference between a husband and a stranger, which might so easily be removed, might still more easily be forgotten; and the matron, who in five years can submit to the embraces of eight husbands, must cease to reverence the chastity of her own person.*

Insufficient remedies followed, with distant and tardy steps, the rapid progress of the evil. The ancient worship of the Romans afforded a peculiar goddess to hear and reconcile the complaints of a married life; but her epithet of *Viriplaca*,† the appeaser of husbands, too clearly indicates on which side submission and repentance were always expected. Every act of a citizen was subject to the judgment of the *censors;* the first who used the privilege of divorce assigned, at their command, the motives of his conduct;‡

marry. The offspring of this concubinage were likewise slaves, and mostly remained so, or at least became freedmen. The many *libertini* whose names are found in the inscriptions of that period, are the children whom the masters had by their female slaves. In all this the evil most deplored, was the diminution of the free population, or of those who were born citizens. To remedy this, the right of manumission was restricted; such laws were enacted as the *Ælia Sentia*, the *Julia de Adulterio*, and the *Papia Poppæa;* but they were most wretched make-shifts — honour and the *jus trium liberorum* were equally disregarded." (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 122. 163. 187.) Such was woman, trained by lords who regarded her "not as a *person*, but as a *thing* that might be claimed like other moveables by the use and possession of an entire year;" and over which the law gave an unbounded right of capricious chastisement and the jurisdiction of life and death. —ED.]

* —— sic fiunt octo mariti
Quinque per auctumnos.
Juvenal. Satir. 6. 229—230.

A rapid succession which may yet be credible, as well as the non consulum numero, sed maritorum annos suos computant, of Seneca (De Beneficiis, 3. 16). Jerome saw at Rome a triumphant husband bury his twenty-first wife, who had interred twenty-two of his less sturdy predecessors. (Op. tom. i, p. 90, ad Gerontiam.) But the ten husbands in a month of the poet Martial is an extravagant hyperbole (l. 4, epigram 7).

† Sacellum Viriplacæ (Valerius Maximus, l. 2, c. 1) in the Palatine region, appears in the time of Theodosius, in the description of Rome by Publius Victor.

‡ Valerius Maximus, l. 2, c. 9. With some propriety he judges

and a senator was expelled for dismissing his virgin spouse without the knowledge or advice of his friends. Whenever an action was instituted for the recovery of a marriage portion, the *prætor*, as the guardian of equity, examined the cause and the characters, and gently inclined the scale in favour of the guiltless and injured party. Augustus, who united the powers of both magistrates, adopted their different modes of repressing or chastising the licence of divorce.* The presence of seven Roman witnesses was required for the validity of this solemn and deliberate act: if any adequate provocation had been given by the husband, instead of the delay of two years, he was compelled to refund immediately, or in the space of six months; but if he could arraign the manners of his wife, her guilt or levity was expiated by the loss of the sixth or eighth part of her marriage portion. The Christian princes were the first who specified the just causes of a private divorce; their institutions, from Constantine to Justinian, appear to fluctuate between the custom of the empire and the wishes of the church,† and the author of the Novels too frequently reforms the jurisprudence of the Code and Pandects. In the most rigorous laws, a wife was condemned to support a gamester, a drunkard, or a libertine, unless he were guilty of homicide, poison, or sacrilege, in which cases the marriage, as it should seem, might have been dissolved by the hand of the executioner. But the sacred right of the husband was invariably maintained to deliver his name and family from the disgrace of adultery: the list of *mortal* sins, either male or female, was curtailed and enlarged by successive regulations, and the obstacles of incurable impotence, long absence, and monastic profession, were allowed to rescind the matrimonial obligation. Whoever transgressed the permission of the law, was subject to various and heavy penalties. The woman was stripped of her wealth and ornaments, without excepting the bodkin of her hair: if the man introduced a new bride into his bed, *her* fortune might be lawfully seized

divorce more criminal than celibacy: illo namque conjugalia sacra spreta tantum, hoc etiam injuriose tractata.

* See the laws of Augustus and his successors, in Heineccius, ad Legem Papiam Poppæam, c. 19, in Op. tom. vi, P. i, p. 323—333.

† Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi; aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus noster præcipit. (Jerom. tom. i, p. 198. Selden, Uxor Ebraica, l. 3, c. 31, p. 847—853.)

by the vengeance of his exiled wife. Forfeiture was sometimes commuted to a fine; the fine was sometimes aggravated by transportation to an island, or imprisonment in a monastery: the injured party was released from the bonds of marriage; but the offender, during life or a term of years, was disabled from the repetition of nuptials. The successor of Justinian yielded to the prayers of his unhappy subjects, and restored the liberty of divorce by mutual consent; the civilians were unanimous,* the theologians were divided,† and the ambiguous word, which contains the precept of Christ, is flexible to any interpretation that the wisdom of a legislator can demand.

The freedom of love and marriage was restrained among the Romans by natural and civil impediments. An instinct, almost innate and universal, appears to prohibit the incestuous commerce‡ of parents and children in the infinite series of ascending and descending generations. Concerning the oblique and collateral branches, nature is indifferent, reason mute, and custom various and arbitrary. In Egypt, the marriage of brothers and sisters was admitted without scruple or exception: a Spartan might espouse the daughter of his father, an Athenian that of his mother; and the nup-

* The Institutes are silent, but we may consult the Codes of Theodosius (l. 3, tit. 16, with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i, p. 310—315), and Justinian (l. 5, tit. 17); the Pandects (l. 24, tit. 2), and the Novels (22, 117, 127, 134, 140). Justinian fluctuated to the last between civil and ecclesiastical law.

† In pure Greek, πορνεία is not a common word; nor can the proper meaning, fornication, be strictly applied to matrimonial sin. In a figurative sense, how far, and to what offences, may it be extended? Did Christ speak the Rabbinical or Syriac tongue? Of what original word is πορνεία the translation? How variously is that Greek work translated in the versions ancient and modern! There are two (Mark x. 11; Luke xvi. 18) to one (Matt. xix. 9) that such ground of divorce was not accepted by Jesus. Some critics have presumed to think, by an evasive answer, he avoided the giving offence either to the school of Sammai, or to that of Hillel. (Selden, Uxor Ebraica, l. 3, c. 18—22, 28, 31.) [Here, again, we have additional reason to deplore the loss of Matthew's original memoir. Had that been preserved, no ambiguous word in the Greek Gospels could not have been satisfactorily explained.—ED.]

‡ The principles of the Roman jurisprudence are exposed by Justinian (Institut. l. 1, tit. 10), and the laws and manners of the different nations of antiquity concerning forbidden degrees, &c., are copiously explained by Dr. Taylor, in his Elements of Civil Law (p. 108, 314—339), a work of amusing, though various reading; but which cannot be praised for philosophical precision.

tials of an uncle with his niece were applauded at Athens as a happy union of the dearest relations. The profane lawgivers of Rome were never tempted by interest or superstition to multiply the forbidden degrees: but they inflexibly condemned the marriage of sisters and brothers, hesitated whether first-cousins should be touched by the same interdict; revered the parental character of aunts and uncles, and treated affinity and adoption as a just imitation of the ties of blood. According to the proud maxims of the republic, a legal marriage could only be contracted by free citizens; an honourable, at least an ingenuous, birth was required for the spouse of a senator: but the blood of kings could never mingle in legitimate nuptials with the blood of a Roman; and the name of *stranger* degraded Cleopatra and Berenice,* to live the *concubines* of Mark Antony and Titus.† This appellation, indeed, so injurious to the majesty, cannot without indulgence be applied to the manners, of these Oriental queens. A concubine in the strict sense of the civilians, was a woman of servile or plebeian extraction, the sole and faithful companion of a Roman citizen, who continued in a state of celibacy. Her modest station, below the honours of a wife, above the infamy of a prostitute, was acknowledged and approved by the laws; from the age of Augustus to the tenth century, the use of this secondary marriage prevailed both in the West and East, and the humble virtues of a concubine were often preferred to the pomp and insolence of a noble matron. In this connection, the two Antonines, the best of princes and of men, enjoyed the comforts of domestic love; the example was imitated by many citizens impatient of celibacy, but regardful of their families. If at any time they desired to legitimate their natural children, the conversion was instantly performed by the celebration of their nuptials with a partner whose fruitfulness and fidelity they had already tried.‡ By this epithet

* When her father Agrippa died (A.D. 44), Berenice was sixteen years of age. (Joseph. tom. i, Antiquit. Judaic. l. 19, c. 9, p. 952, edit. Havercamp.) She was therefore above fifty years old when Titus (A.D. 79) invitus invitam invisit. This date would not have adorned the tragedy or pastoral of the tender Racine.

† The Ægyptia conjux of Virgil (Æneid. 8, 688) seems to be numbered among the monsters who warred with Mark Antony against Augustus, the senate, and the gods of Italy.

‡ [This right was first given by one of Constantine's laws, for

of *natural*, the offspring of the concubine were distinguished from the spurious brood of adultery, prostitution, and incest, to whom Justinian reluctantly grants the necessary aliments of life; and these natural children alone were capable of succeeding to a sixth part of the inheritance of their reputed father. According to the rigour of law, bastards were entitled only to the name and condition of their mother, from whom they might derive the character of a slave, a stranger, or a citizen. The outcasts of every family were adopted without reproach as the children of the State.*

The relation of guardian and ward, or, in Roman words, of *tutor* and *pupil*, which covers so many titles of the Institutes and Pandects,† is of a very simple and uniform nature. The person and property of an orphan must always be trusted to the custody of some discreet friend. If the deceased father had not signified his choice, the *agnats*, or paternal kindred of the nearest degree, were compelled to act as the natural guardians: the Athenians were apprehensive of exposing the infant to the power of those most interested in his death; but an axiom of Roman jurisprudence has pronounced, that the charge of tutelage should constantly attend the emolument of succession. If the choice of the father, and the line of consanguinity, afforded no efficient guardian, the failure was supplied by the nomination of the prætor of the city, or the president of the

Augustus had prohibited concubinage with any female who might be taken for a wife. Subsequent marriage made no new rights for children previously born. Recourse was then had to adoption, or more properly to *arrogation*.—HUGO.] [The *arrogatio* could not take place till the adopted was of full age, *vesticeps*, had assumed the *toga virilis*, and was competent to answer for himself. The parties had to appear before the Comitia, where the questions were put from which the ceremony had its name. "*Arrogatio* per populi *rogationem* fit." See Aulus Gellius, 5, 19, where the whole form of the proceeding is described. From this it is evident, that these popular assemblies continued to be held for some purposes in his days. Diocletian transferred the ceremony to the Prætor; this was probably the final death-blow of the Comitia.—ED.]

* The humble but legal rights of concubines and natural children, are stated in the Institutes (l. 1, tit. 10), the Pandects (l. 1, tit. 7), the Code (l. 5, tit. 25), and the Novels (l. 74, 89). The researches of Heineccius and Giannone (ad Legem Juliam et Papiam-Poppæam, c. 4, p. 164—17—Opere Posthume, p. 108—158) illustrate this interesting and domestic subject.

† See the article of Guardians and Wards in the Institutes (l. 1, tit. 13—26), the Pandects (l. 26, 27),

province. But the person whom they named to this *public* office might be legally excused by insanity or blindness, by ignorance or inability, by previous enmity or adverse interest, by the number of children or guardianships with which he was already burdened, and by the immunities which were granted to the useful labours of magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and professors. Till the infant could speak and think, he was represented by the tutor, whose authority was finally determined by the age of puberty. Without his consent, no act of the pupil could bind himself to his own prejudice, though it might oblige others for his personal benefit. It is needless to observe that the tutor often gave security, and always rendered an account; and that the want of diligence or integrity exposed him to a civil and almost criminal action for the violation of his sacred trust. The age of puberty had been rashly fixed by the civilians at fourteen;* but as the faculties of the mind ripen more slowly than those of the body, a *curator* was interposed to guard the fortunes of the Roman youth from his own inexperience and headstrong passions. Such a trustee had been first instituted by the prætor, to save a family from the blind havoc of a prodigal or madman; and the minor was compelled by the laws, to solicit the same protection to give validity to his acts till he accomplished the full period of twenty-five years. Women were condemned to the perpetual tutelage of parents, husbands, or guardians; a sex created to please and obey was never supposed to have attained the age of reason and experience. Such at least was the stern and haughty spirit of the ancient law, which had been insensibly mollified before the time of Justinian.

II. The original right of property can only be justified

and the Code (l. 5, tit. 28—70).

* [The civilians had not "rashly fixed the age of puberty at fourteen." There was no law on this subject before that of Justinian. Ulpian relates the discussions which took place respecting it, among the various law-sects. See the Institutes (l. 1, tit. 22), and Ulpian's Fragments. Nor was every minor obliged to have a guardian.—WARNKÖNIG.] [If no law fixed the age of majority, custom appears to have made a man his own master at a very early time of life. According to Horace, the "beardless youth" was freed from restraint of guardians, and at liberty to do as he pleased.

Imberbis juvenis, tandem custode remoto,
Gaudet * * * monitoribus asper.—De Arte Poet. 161.—ED.]

by the accident or merit of prior occupancy; and on this foundation it is wisely established by the philosophy of the civilians.* The savage who hollows a tree, inserts a sharp stone into a wooden handle, or applies a string to an elastic branch, becomes in a state of nature the just proprietor of the canoe, the bow, or the hatchet. The materials were common to all; the new form, the produce of his time and simple industry, belongs solely to himself. His hungry brethren cannot, without a sense of their own injustice, extort from the hunter the game of the forest overtaken or slain by his personal strength and dexterity. If his provident care preserves and multiplies the tame animals, whose nature is tractable to the arts of education, he acquires a perpetual title to the use and service of their numerous progeny, which derives its existence from him alone. If he encloses and cultivates a field for their sustenance and his own, a barren waste is converted into a fertile soil; the seed, the manure, the labour, create a new value, and the rewards of harvest are painfully earned by the fatigues of the revolving year. In the successive states of society, the hunter, the shepherd, the husbandman, may defend their possessions by two reasons which forcibly appeal to the feelings of the human mind—that whatever they enjoy is the fruit of their own industry; and, that every man who envies their felicity, may purchase similar acquisitions by the exercise of similar diligence. Such, in truth, may be the freedom and plenty of a small colony cast on a fruitful island. But the colony multiplies while the space still continues the same; the common rights, the equal inheritance of mankind, are engrossed by the bold and crafty; each field and forest is circumscribed by the landmarks of a jealous master; and it is the peculiar praise of the Roman jurisprudence, that it asserts the claim of the first occupant to the wild animals of the earth, the air, and the waters. In the progress from primitive equity to final injustice, the steps are silent, the shades are almost imperceptible, and the absolute monopoly is guarded by positive laws and artificial reason. The active insatiate principle of self-love can alone supply the arts of

* Institut. l. 2, tit. 1, 2. Compare the pure and precise reasoning of Caius and Heineccius (l. 2, tit. 1, p. 69—91) with the loose prolixity of Theophilus (p. 207—265). The opinions of Ulpian are preserved in the Pandects (l. 1, tit. 8, leg. 41, No. 1).

life and the wages of industry; and as soon as civil government and exclusive property have been introduced, they become necessary to the existence of the human race. Except in the singular institutions of Sparta, the wisest legislators have disapproved an Agrarian law as a false and dangerous innovation. Among the Romans, the enormous disproportion of wealth surmounted the ideal restraints of a doubtful tradition, and an obsolete statute; a tradition that the poorest follower of Romulus had been endowed with the perpetual inheritance of two *jugera*;* a statute which confined the richest citizen to the measure of five hundred jugera, or three hundred and twelve acres of land. The original territory of Rome consisted only of some miles of wood and meadow along the banks of the Tiber; and

* The heredium of the first Romans is defined by Varro (de Re Rustica, l. 1, c. 2, p. 141; c. 10, p. 160, 161, edit. Gesner), and clouded by Pliny's declamation. (Hist. Natur. 18, 2.) A just and learned comment is given in the Administration des Terres chez les Romains (p. 12—66). [Niebuhr's dissertations on the *Jus Agrarium* (Lectures, vol. i, p. 249—257, 398; ii, p. 271—277) are worthy of attention, as this subject led him to his Critical Researches in Roman history. He there shows, that the limitations here referred to by Gibbon, applied only to the *ager publicus*, or public lands, which were the portions of conquered territories—generally a third—that were taken possession of by the State. Wherever it seemed to be desirable, three hundred colonists, one from each *gens*, were sent, and to each of them a garden of two *jugera* was allotted. But they could hire parts of the remaining lands to cultivate, these being let or granted by the State, for an annual payment of *decuma*, or a tenth part on corn, *quinta*, or a fifth of fruit, and other rates on pasture grounds and cattle. Favoured by the authorities, the patricians divided so large a share of these among themselves, that it gave rise to the well-known protracted disputes between them and the plebes. About the year A.U.C. 380, the Licinian law was enacted, prohibiting any one individual to hold more than 500 *jugera*. This law being evaded or neglected, long discussions again followed, and about 240 years afterwards, it was revived by Tiberius Gracchus, but so far modified, that in addition to his own share, a father of a family might hold 250 *jugera* for each of two sons still *in patria potestate*, making a thousand in all. This was not, therefore, such a violation or restriction of private property as has been supposed, as it secured only a more general distribution of the *ager publicus*. Any other estate a citizen was at liberty to acquire as he could. To this Niebuhr adds: "Five hundred *jugera* are equal to seventy *rubbii* now, which in Italy is considered to be a respectable property. In that country a larger is not required. Where the district is fertile, such an estate, well managed, produces a net annual income of five thousand crowns, by letting it out in farms."—ED.]

domestic exchange could add nothing to the national stock. But the goods of an alien or enemy were lawfully exposed to the first hostile occupier; the city was enriched by the profitable trade of war; and the blood of her sons was the only price that was paid for the Volscian sheep, the slaves of Britain, or the gems and gold of Asiatic kingdoms. In the language of ancient jurisprudence, which was corrupted and forgotten before the age of Justinian, these spoils were distinguished by the name of *manceps* or *mancipium*, taken with the hand; and whenever they were sold or *emancipated*, the purchaser required some assurance that they had been the property of an enemy, and not of a fellow-citizen.* A citizen could only forfeit his rights by apparent dereliction, and such dereliction of a valuable interest could not easily be presumed. Yet, according to the Twelve Tables, a prescription of one year for moveables, and of two years for immoveables, abolished the claim of the ancient master, if

* The res mancipi is explained, from faint and remote lights, by Ulpian (Fragment. tit. 18, p. 618, 619) and Bynkershoek (Opp. tom. i, p. 306—315). The definition is somewhat arbitrary; and as none except myself have assigned a reason, I am diffident of my own. [To determine ownership, the Roman law held no transfers to be valid that did not take place publicly, or in the presence of duly appointed commissioners. This was found to be impracticable in such transactions as the purchase of provisions, clothing, &c., and was, therefore, dispensed with. Hence arose the distinction between *res mancipi*, or property, in the acquisition of which the ceremony had been observed, and the *nec mancipi*, which pertained to that enjoyed by the common tenure of possession. The former included all articles of value, such as lands, houses, slaves, and cattle; and as buildings in the midst of Rome were so classed, this disproves Gibbon's theory of their being the spoils of war. None but a citizen was competent to go through the forms of mancipation, so that aliens were excluded from holding such property.—Hugo.] [M. Warnkönig's note on this subject is too long to be added here, and was intended only for the lawyers of his country. He has drawn from the Institutes of Gaius many minute details not generally useful. M. Hugo's shorter explanation is clear, but does not give the real signification of the term. The *mancipatio* required the presence of five full-aged Roman citizens as witnesses, and a sixth, called the *libripens*, to hold a pair of brass scales. The purchaser placed his money in these, and laid his hand on what he bought, repeating a prescribed form of words. This was the *in manum capere*, whence the term was derived. In a following page Gibbon has referred to this ceremony, as observed in the disposal of estates. But *mancipia* continued to denote *servi homines* in the middle ages (Ducange, 4, 390), and hence liberation from servitude was designated *manumissio* and *emancipatio*.—Ed.]

the actual possessor had acquired them by a fair transaction from the person whom he believed to be the lawful proprietor.* Such conscientious injustice, without any mixture of fraud or force, could seldom injure the members of a small republic: but the various periods of three, of ten, or of twenty years, determined by Justinian, are more suitable to the latitude of a great empire. It is only in the term of prescription that the distinction of real and personal fortune has been remarked by the civilians, and their general idea of property is that of simple, uniform, and absolute dominion. The subordinate exceptions of *use*, of *usufruct*,† of *servitudes*,‡ imposed for the benefit of a neighbour on lands and houses, are abundantly explained by the professors of jurisprudence. The claims of property, as far as they are altered, by the mixture, the division, or the transformation of substances, are investigated with metaphysical subtlety by the same civilians.

The personal title of the first proprietor must be determined by his death; but the possession, without any appearance of change, is peaceably continued in his children, the associates of his toil and the partners of his wealth. This natural inheritance has been protected by the legislators of every climate and age, and the father is encouraged to persevere in slow and distant improvements, by the tender hope, that a long posterity will enjoy the fruits of his labour. The *principle* of hereditary succession is universal, but the *order* has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example, which was originally decided by fraud or violence. The jurisprudence of the Romans appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the

* From this short prescription, Hume (Essays, vol. i, p. 423) infers that there could not then be more order and settlement in Italy than now amongst the Tartars. By the civilian of his adversary Wallace, he is reproached, and not without reason, for overlooking the conditions. (Institut. l. 2, tit. 6.)

† See the Institutes (l. 1, tit. 4, 5), and the Pandects (l. 7). Noodt has composed a learned and distinct treatise de Usufructu (Opp. tom. i, p. 387—478).

‡ The questions de Servitutibus are discussed in the Institutes, (l. 2, tit. 3), and Pandects (l. 8). Cicero (pro Murena, c. 9) and Lactantius (Institut. Divin. l. 1, c. 1) affect to laugh at the insignificant doctrine, de aqua pluvia arcenda, &c. Yet it might be of frequent use among litigious neighbours, both in town and country.

Jewish,* the Athenian,† or the English institutions.‡ On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown: the two sexes were placed on a just level; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal portion of the patrimonial estate; and if any of the sons had been intercepted by a premature death, his person was represented, and his share was divided by his surviving children. On the failure of the direct line, the right of succession must diverge to the collateral branches. The degrees of kindred§ are numbered by the civilians, ascending from the last possessor to a common parent, and descending from the common parent to the next heir: my father stands in the first degree, my brother in the second, his children in the third, and the remainder of the series may be conceived by fancy, or pictured in a genealogical table. In this computation, a distinction was made, essential to the laws and even the constitution of Rome; the *agnats*, or persons connected by a line of males, were called, as they stood in the nearest degree, to an equal partition; but a female was incapable of transmitting any legal claims; and

* Among the patriarchs, the first-born enjoyed a mystic and spiritual primogeniture. (Gen. xxv. 31.) In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance. (Deut. xxi. 17, with Le Clerc's judicious Commentary.)

† At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers. See the Κλήρικοι pleadings of Isæus (in the seventh volume of the Greek Orators), illustrated by the version and comment of Sir William Jones, a scholar, a lawyer, and a man of genius.

‡ In England, the eldest son alone inherits all the land; a law, says the orthodox judge Blackstone (Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. ii, p. 215), unjust only in the opinion of younger brothers. It may be of some political use in sharpening their industry. [Gibbon here refers to heritable lands, not those devised by will. He should have added, that unsettled landed property can be divided by a parent among all his children, and that even entails may be barred. There are also manors, in which the old Kentish law or custom of *Gavelkind* still divides unwilled lands equally among all the sons of the deceased lord; and others, in which that of *Borough-English* gives them to the youngest.—ED.]

§ Blackstone's Tables (vol. ii, p. 202) represent and compare the degrees of the civil with those of the canon and common law. A separate tract of Julius Paulus, de gradibus et affinibus, is inserted or abridged in the Pandects (l. 38, tit. 10). In the seventh degrees he computes (No. 18) one thousand and twenty-four persons.

the *cognats* of every rank, without excepting the dear relation of a mother and a son, were disinherited by the Twelve Tables, as strangers and aliens. Among the Romans, a *gens* or lineage was united by a common *name* and domestic rites: the various *cognomens* or *surnames* of Scipio or Marcellus, distinguished from each other the subordinate branches or families of the Cornelian or Claudian race: the default of the *agnats*, of the same surname, was supplied by the larger denomination of *Gentiles;* and the vigilance of the laws maintained, in the same name, the perpetual descent of religion and property. A similar principle dictated the Voconian law;* which abolished the right of female inheritance. As long as virgins were given or sold in marriage, the adoption of the wife extinguished the hopes of the daughter. But the equal succession of independent matrons supported their pride and luxury, and might transport into a foreign house the riches of their fathers. While the maxims of Cato† were revered, they tended to perpetuate in each family a just and virtuous mediocrity; till female blandishments insensibly triumphed, and every salutary restraint was lost in the dissolute greatness of the republic. The rigour of the decemvirs was tempered by the equity of the prætors. Their edicts restored emancipated and posthumous children to the rights of nature; and upon the failure of the *agnats*, they preferred the blood of the *cognats* to the name of the Gentiles, whose title and character were insensibly covered with oblivion. The reciprocal inheritance of mothers and sons was established in the Tertullian and Orphitian decrees by the humanity of the senate. A new and more impartial order was introduced by the Novels of Justinian, who affected to revive the jurisprudence of the Twelve Tables. The lines of masculine and female kindred were confounded: the descending, ascending, and collateral series, was accurately defined; and each degree, according to the proximity of blood and affec-

* The Voconian law was enacted in the year of Rome 584. The younger Scipio, who was then seventeen years of age (Freinshemius, Supplement. Livian. 46. 40), found an occasion of exercising his generosity to his mother, sisters, &c. (Polybius, tom. ii, l. 31, p. 1453—1464, edit. Gronov.—a domestic witness.)

† Legem Voconiam (Ernesti, Clavis Ciceroniana) magna voce bonis lateribus (at sixty-five years of age) suasissem, says old Cato. (De Senectute, c. 5.) Aulus Gellius (7, 13, 17, 6) has saved some passages.

tion, succeeded to the vacant possessions of a Roman citizen.*

The order of succession is regulated by nature, or at least by the general and permanent reason of the lawgiver; but this order is frequently violated by the arbitrary and partial *wills* which prolong the dominion of the testator beyond the grave.† In the simple state of society, this last use or abuse of the right of property is seldom indulged: it was introduced at Athens by the laws of Solon; and the private testaments of the father of a family are authorized by the Twelve Tables. Before the time of the decemvirs,‡ a Roman citizen exposed his wishes and motives to the assembly of the thirty curiæ or parishes, and the general law of inheritance was suspended by an occasional act of the legislature. After the permission of the decemvirs, each private lawgiver promulgated his verbal or written testament in the presence of five citizens, who represented the five classes of the Roman people; a sixth witness attested their concurrence; a seventh weighed the copper money, which was paid by an imaginary purchaser; and the estate was emancipated by a fictitious sale and immediate release. This singular ceremony,§ which excited the wonder of the Greeks, was still practised in the age of Severus; but the prætors had already approved a more simple testament, for which they required the seals and signatures of seven witnesses, free from all legal exception,

* See the law of succession in the Institutes of Caius (l. 2, tit. 8, p. 130—144), and Justinian (l. 3, tit. 1—6 with the Greek version of Theophilus, p. 515—575, 588—600), the Pandects (l. 38, tit. 6—17), the Code (l. 6, tit. 55—60), and the Novels (118).

† That succession was the rule, testament the exception, is proved by Taylor (Elements of Civil Law, p. 519—527), a learned, rambling, spirited writer. In the second and third books the method of the Institutes is doubtless preposterous; and the chancellor Duquesseau (Œuvres, tom. i, p. 275) wishes his countryman Domat in the place of Tribonian. Yet covenants before successions is not surely the natural order of the civil laws.

‡ Prior examples of testaments are perhaps fabulous. At Athens, a childless father only could make a will. (Plutarch, in Solon, tom. i, p. 164. See Isæus and Jones.)

§ The testament of Augustus is specified by Suetonius (in August. c. 101, in Neron. c. 4), who may be studied as a code of Roman antiquities. Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. ii, p. 976) is surprised ὅταν δὲ διαθήκας γράφωσιν ἕτέρους μὲν ἀπολείπουσι κληρονόμους, ἕτεροι δὲ πωλοῦσι τὰς οὐσίας. The language of Ulpian (Fragment. tit. 20, p. 627, edit. Schulting) is

and purposely summoned for the execution of that important act. A domestic monarch, who reigned over the lives and fortunes of his children, might distribute their respective shares according to the degrees of their merit or his affection: his arbitrary displeasure chastised an unworthy son by the loss of his inheritance and the mortifying preference of a stranger. But the experience of unnatural parents recommended some limitations of their testamentary powers. A son, or, by the laws of Justinian, even a daughter, could no longer be disinherited by their silence: they were compelled to name the criminal, and to specify the offence; and the justice of the emperor enumerated the sole causes that could justify such a violation of the first principles of nature and society.* Unless a legitimate portion, a fourth part, had been reserved for the children, they were entitled to institute an action or complaint of *inofficious* testament, to suppose that their father's understanding was impaired by sickness or age; and respectfully to appeal from his rigorous sentence to the deliberate wisdom of the magistrate. In the Roman jurisprudence, an essential distinction was admitted between the inheritance and the legacies. The heirs who succeeded to the entire unity, or to any of the twelve fractions of the substance of the testator, represented his civil and religious character, asserted his rights, fulfilled his obligations, and discharged the gifts of friendship or liberality which his last will had bequeathed under the name of legacies. But as the imprudence or prodigality of a dying man might exhaust the inheritance, and leave only risk and labour to his successor, he was empowered to retain the *Falcidian* portion; to deduct, before the payment of the legacies, a clear fourth for his own emolument.† A reasonable time

almost too exclusive—solum in usu est. * Justinian (Novel. 115, No. 3, 4) enumerates only the public and private crimes, for which a son might likewise disinherit his father.

† [After the Twelve Tables had allowed the free testamentary disposition of property, the privilege was greatly abused, to the injury of families and lawful heirs. So early as the year A.U.C. 450, an attempt was made to check this by the *Lex Furia Testamentaria* (Niebuhr's Lectures, 1. 303). In the last days of the republic, about A.U.C. 715, the tribune Falcidius proposed and carried a law, prohibiting a citizen to dispose of more than three-fourths of his property by his will, and thus securing at least the other fourth to his rightful heir or

was allowed to examine the proportion between the debts and the estate, to decide whether he should accept or refuse the testament; and if he used the benefit of an inventory, the demands of the creditors could not exceed the valuation of the effects. The last will of a citizen might be altered during his life, or rescinded after his death: the persons whom he named might die before him, or reject the inheritance, or be exposed to some legal disqualification. In the contemplation of these events, he was permitted to substitute second and third heirs, to replace each other according to the order of the testament; and the incapacity of a madman or an infant to bequeath his property, might be supplied by a similar substitution.* But the power of the testator expired with the acceptance of the testament: each Roman of mature age and discretion acquired the absolute dominion of his inheritance, and the simplicity of the civil law was never clouded by the long and intricate entails which confine the happiness and freedom of unborn generations.

Conquest and the formalities of law established the use of *codicils*. If a Roman was surprised by death in a remote province of the empire, he addressed a short epistle to his legitimate or testamentary heir; who fulfilled with honour, or neglected with impunity, this last request, which the judges before the age of Augustus were not authorized to enforce. A codicil might be expressed in any mode, or in any language; but the subscription of five witnesses must declare that it was the genuine composition of the author. His intention, however laudable, was sometimes illegal; and the invention of *fidei-commissa*, or trusts, arose from the struggle between natural justice and positive jurisprudence. A stranger of Greece or Africa might be the friend or benefactor of a childless Roman, but none, except a fellow-citizen, could act as his heir. The Voconian law, which abolished female succession, restrained the legacy or in-

heirs. This is the "*Falcidian* portion" to which Gibbon has alluded. —ED.]

* The *substitutions fidei-commissaires* of the modern civil law is a feudal idea grafted on the Roman jurisprudence, and bears scarcely any resemblance to the ancient fidei commissa. (Institutions du Droit François, tom. i, p. 347—383. Denissart, Décisions de Jurisprudence, tom. iv, p. 577—604.) They were stretched to the fourth degree by an abuse of the one hundred and fifty-ninth Novel; a partial, perplexed,

heritance of a woman to the sum of one hundred thousand sesterces;* and an only daughter was condemned almost as an alien in her father's house. The zeal of friendship and parental affection suggested a liberal artifice: a qualified citizen was named in the testament, with a prayer or injunction that he would restore the inheritance to the person for whom it was truly intended. Various was the conduct of the trustees in this painful situation: they had sworn to observe the laws of their country, but honour prompted them to violate their oath; and if they preferred their interest under the mask of patriotism, they forfeited the esteem of every virtuous mind. The declaration of Augustus relieved their doubts, gave a legal sanction to confidential testaments and codicils, and gently unravelled the forms and restraints of the republican jurisprudence.† But as the new practice of trusts degenerated into some abuse, the trustee was enabled by the Trebellian and Pegasian decrees, to reserve one-fourth of the estate, or to transfer on the head of the real heir all the debts and actions of the succession. The interpretation of testaments was strictly literal; but the language of *trusts* and codicils was delivered from the minute and technical accuracy of the civilians.‡

III. The general duties of mankind are imposed by their

declamatory law. * Dion Cassius (tom. ii, l. 56, p. 814, with Reimar's Notes) specifies in Greek money the sum of twenty-five thousand drachms. [Many and widely different have been the interpretations of this law. Gibbon, by "female succession," evidently means the general right of inheriting intestate property. Doujat, in his edition of Livy, "Ad usum Delphini," maintains, by a long note on Epitome, c. 41, that the exclusion extended only to the heiresses of first-class citizens—"non quorumvis civium, sed locupletiorum, primæ classis, qui 125 millia æris, ampliusve, censi erant." Niebuhr, on the other hand, makes it prohibit even legacies of any amount. He must have overlooked the passage in Dion Cassius. The law, in relation to an only daughter, is thus explained by him in his Lectures (2. 225). "The *Lex Voconia* forbade all bequests of property to females, except in the case of an only daughter. This clause was founded on the relations of the clans, such a child being bound, as in Attica, to marry within her own *gens*, so that the fortune did not go into another."—ED.]

† The revolutions of the Roman laws of inheritance are finely, though sometimes fancifully, deduced by Montesquieu. (Esprit des Loix, l. 27.) ‡ Of the civil jurisprudence of successions, testaments, codicils, legacies, and trusts, the principles are ascertained in the Institutes of Caius (l. 2, tit. 2–9, p. 91—144), Justinian (l. 2,

public and private relations: but their specific *obligations* to each other can only be the effect of, 1. a promise, 2. a benefit, or, 3. an injury: and when these obligations are ratified by law, the interested party may compel the performance by a judicial *action*. On this principle the civilians of every country have erected a similar jurisprudence, the fair conclusion of universal reason and justice.*

1. The goddess of *faith* (of human and social faith) was worshipped, not only in her temples, but in the lives of the Romans; and if that nation was deficient in the more amiable qualities of benevolence and generosity, they astonished the Greeks by their sincere and simple performance of the most burdensome engagements.† Yet among the same people, according to the rigid maxims of the patricians and decemvirs, *a naked pact*, a promise, or even an oath, did not create any civil obligation, unless it was confirmed by the legal form of a *stipulation*. Whatever might be the etymology of the Latin word, it conveyed the idea of a firm and irrevocable contract, which was always expressed in the mode of a question and answer. Do you promise to pay me one hundred pieces of gold? was the solemn interrogation of Seius. I do promise—was the reply of Sempronius. The friends of Sempronius, who answered for his ability and inclination, might be separately sued at the option of Seius: and the benefit of partition, or order of reciprocal actions, insensibly deviated from the strict theory of stipulation. The most cautious and deliberate consent was justly required to sustain the validity of a gratuitous promise; and the citizen who might have obtained a legal security, incurred the suspicion of fraud, and paid the forfeit of his neglect. But the ingenuity of the civilians successfully laboured to convert simple engagements into the form of solemn stipulations. The prætors, as the guardians of social faith, admitted every rational evidence of a voluntary and

tit. 10—25), and Theophilus (p. 328—514); and the immense detail occupies twelve books (28—39) of the Pandects.

* The Institutes of Caius (l. 2, tit. 9, 10, p. 144—214), of Justinian (l. 3, tit. 14—30; l. 4, tit. 1—6), and of Theophilus (p. 616—837), distinguish four sorts of obligations—aut re, aut verbis, aut literis, aut consensu; but I confess myself partial to my own division.

† How much is the cool, rational evidence of Polybius (l. 6, p. 693; l. 31, p. 1459, 1460) superior to vague, indiscriminate applause—omnium maxime et præcipue fidem coluit. (A. Gellius, 20. 1.)

deliberate act, which in their tribunal produced an equitable obligation, and for which they gave an action and a remedy.*

2. The obligations of the second class, as they were contracted by the delivery of a thing, are marked by the civilians with the epithet of real.† A grateful return is due to the author of a benefit; and whoever is intrusted with the property of another, has bound himself to the sacred duty of restitution. In the case of a friendly loan, the merit of generosity is on the side of the lender only; in a deposit, on the side of the receiver: but in a *pledge*, and the rest of the selfish commerce of ordinary life, the benefit is compensated by an equivalent, and the obligation to restore is variously modified by the nature of the transaction. The Latin language very happily expresses the fundamental difference between the *commodatum* and the *mutuum*, which our poverty is reduced to confound under the vague and common appellation of a loan. In the former, the borrower was obliged to restore the same individual thing with which he had been *accommodated* for the temporary supply of his wants; in the latter, it was destined for his use and consumption, and he discharged this *mutual* engagement, by substituting the same specific value, according to a just estimation of number, of weight, and of measure. In the contract of *sale*, the absolute dominion is transferred to the purchaser, and he repays the benefit with an adequate sum of gold or silver, the price and universal standard of all earthly possessions. The obligation of another contract, that of *location*, is of a more complicated kind. Lands or houses, labour or talents, may be hired for a definite term; at the expiration of the time, the thing itself must be restored to the owner with an

* The Jus Prætorium de Pactis et Transactionibus is a separate and satisfactory treatise of Gerard Noodt. (Op. tom. i, p. 483—564.) And I will here observe that the universities of Holland and Brandenburgh, in the beginning of the present century, appear to have studied the civil law on the most just and liberal principles. [Simple agreements (pacta) were as binding as solemn contracts. But every compact did not give an equal right to an action or direct judicial proceeding. It was the duty of the judge, in all other respects, to maintain the validity of a *pactum*. Every form of agreement ought to contain a stipulation, from which the right of action proceeded.—WARNKÖNIG.]

† The nice and various subject of contracts by consent is spread over four books (17—20) of the Pandects, and is one of the parts best deserving of the attention of an English student.

additional reward for the beneficial occupation and employment. In these lucrative contracts, to which may be added those of partnership and commissions, the civilians sometimes imagine the delivery of the object, and sometimes presume the consent of the parties. The substantial pledge has been refined into the invisible rights of a mortgage or *hypotheca;* and the agreement of sale, for a certain price, imputes, from that moment, the chances of gain or loss to the account of the purchaser. It may be fairly supposed, that every man will obey the dictates of his interest; and if he accepts the benefit, he is obliged to sustain the expense of the transaction. In this boundless subject, the historian will observe the *location* of land and money, the rent of the one and the interest of the other, as they materially affect the prosperity of agriculture and commerce. The landlord was often obliged to advance the stock and instruments of husbandry, and to content himself with a partition of the fruits. If the feeble tenant was oppressed by accident, contagion, or hostile violence, he claimed a proportionable relief from the equity of the laws: five years were the customary term, and no solid or costly improvements could be expected from a farmer, who, at each moment, might be ejected by the sale of the estate.* Usury,† the inveterate grievance of the city, had been discouraged by the Twelve Tables,‡ and

* The covenants of rent are defined in the Pandects (l. 19) and the Code (l. 4, tit. 65). The quinquennium, or term of five years, appears to have been a custom rather than a law; but in France all leases of land were determined in nine years. This limitation was removed only in the year 1775 (Encyclopèdie Methodique, tom. i, de la Jurisprudence, p. 668, 669), and I am sorry to observe that it yet prevails in the beauteous and happy country where I am permitted to reside.

† I might implicitly acquiesce in the sense and learning of the three books of G. Noodt, de fœnore et usuris (Opp. tom. i, p. 175—268). The interpretation of the asses or centesimæ usuræ at twelve, the unciariæ at one per cent. is maintained by the best critics and civilians; Noodt (l. 2, c. 2, p. 207), Gravina (Opp. p. 205, &c. 210), Heineccius (Antiquitat. ad Institut. l. 3, tit. 15), Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 22, c. 22, tom. ii, p. 36. Défense de l'Esprit des Loix, tom. iii, p. 478, &c.), and above all, John Frederic Gronovius (De Pecunia Veteri, l. 3, c. 13, p. 213—227), and his three Antexegeses (p. 455—655), the founder, or at least the champion, of this probable opinion; which is, however, perplexed with some difficulties.

‡ Primo duodecim tabulis sancitum est ne quis unciario fœnore amplius exerceret. (Tacit. Annal. 6. 16.) Pour peu (says Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. 22, c. 22), qu'on soit versé dans l'Histoire

abolished by the clamours of the people. It was revived by their wants and idleness, tolerated by the discretion of the prætors, and finally determined by the code of Justinian. Persons of illustrious rank were confined to the moderate profit of four *per cent.*; six was pronounced to be the ordinary and legal standard of interest; eight was allowed for the convenience of manufacturers and merchants; twelve was granted to nautical insurance, which the wiser ancients

de Rome, on verra qu'une pareille loi ne devoit pas être l'ouvrage des decemvirs. Was Tacitus ignorant—or stupid? But the wiser and more virtuous patricians might sacrifice their avarice to their ambition, and might attempt to check the odious practice by such interest as no lender would accept, and such penalties as no debtor would incur. [It is now well ascertained that the "fœnus unciarium" amounted to an annual rate of ten per cent. In M. Hugo's Magazine of Civil Law (vol. v, p. 180), there is an article in which M. Schrader carries on the conjectures of Niebuhr, Hist. Rom. ii, p. 431.—WARNKÖNIG.] [Niebuhr's latest views of this, as well as other subjects, are to be found in his Lectures. After referring (vol. i, p. 337) to this rate of interest, and his opinion as confirmed by his pupil, M. Schrader, he corrects a former mistake by admitting that the "fœnus unciarium was introduced, as stated by Tacitus, in the Twelve Tables;" but that the law against usury was re-enacted forty years after the taking of Rome by the Gauls. Then, treating of the period immediately antecedent to the Tarentine war A.U.C. 470, he says (p. 541): "To take interest was at that time forbidden, and money-lenders were obliged to use foreigners as screens. When negotiating a loan, on which interest was to be paid, the parties went to Præneste and Tibur. Some Tiburtine ostensibly furnished the money, and if any litigation arose out of the transaction, it was decided in his forum. Thus the prohibition of usury may be reconciled with the fact that it was nevertheless practised." After the close of the long contest with Carthage a hundred years later, he says again (ii, 192): "The monied interest became of great importance. The acquisition of Sicily opened a wide field for the employment of capital, and the enterprizing went into the provinces to make fortunes. In Rome, all interest was illegal; yet the prohibition to take it was evaded and unavailing. As in the middle ages such business was done through Jews, so in Rome it was carried on by foreigners and freedmen; while in the provinces it had no check whatever. The property (*publicanum*) of the Roman State had grown so vast, that it was leased out in lots, such as the mines of Spain, the tithes of Sicily or Illyricum, or the tunny-fisheries on the Sardinian coast. The farmers of these made immense profits, and became suddenly rich, as others do now by stock-jobbing. If a war-contribution was levied on any State, some *publicanus* was always ready to advance the money at twelve per cent., which was the very lowest rate, but often as high as twenty-four and even thirty-six per cent. Then the governors of the provinces took care that the lenders were repaid. A reckless circulation of money thus began."—ED.]

had not attempted to define; but except in this perilous adventure, the practice of exorbitant usury was severely restrained.* The most simple interest was condemned by the clergy of the East and West:† but the sense of mutual benefit, which had triumphed over the laws of the republic, has resisted with equal firmness the decrees of the church, and even the prejudices of mankind.‡

3. Nature and society impose the strict obligation of repairing an injury; and the sufferer by private injustice, acquires a personal right and a legitimate action. If the property of another be intrusted to our care, the requisite degree of care may rise and fall according to the benefit which we derive from such temporary possession; we are seldom made responsible for inevitable accident, but the consequences of a voluntary fault must always be imputed to the author.§ A Roman pursued and recovered his stolen goods by a civil action of theft; they might pass through a succession of pure and innocent hands, but nothing less than a prescription of thirty years could extinguish his original claim. They were restored by the sentence of the prætor, and the injury was compensated by double, or threefold, or even quadruple damages, as the deed had been perpetrated by secret fraud or open rapine, as the robber had been surprised in the fact, or detected by a subsequent research. The Aquilian law¶ defended the living property of a citizen, his slaves and cattle, from the stroke of malice or negligence: the highest price was allowed that could be

* Justinian has not condescended to give usury a place in his Institutes; but the necessary rules and restrictions are inserted in the Pandects (l. 22, tit. 1, 2) and the Code (l. 4, tit. 32, 33).

† The fathers are unanimous (Barbeyrac, Morale des Pères, p. 144, &c.), Cyprian, Lactantius, Basil, Chrysostom (see his frivolous arguments in Noodt, l. 1, c. 7, p. 188), Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, and a host of councils and casuists.

‡ Cato, Seneca, Plutarch, have loudly condemned the practice or abuse of usury. According to the etymology of fœnus and τοκὸς, the principal is supposed to generate the interest: a breed of barren metal, exclaims Shakspeare—and the stage is the echo of the public voice.

§ Sir William Jones has given an ingenious and rational Essay on the Law of Bailment (London, 1781, p. 127, in 8vo.). He is, perhaps, the only lawyer equally conversant with the year-books of Westminster, the Commentaries of Ulpian, the Attic pleadings of Isæus, and the sentences of Arabian and Persian cadhis.

¶ Noodt (Opp. tom. i, p. 137—172) has composed a separate treatise, ad Legem Aquiliam. (Pandect. l. 9, tit. 2.)

ascribed to the domestic animal at any moment of the year preceding his death; a similar latitude of thirty days was granted on the destruction of any other valuable effects. A personal injury is blunted or sharpened by the manners of the times and the sensibility of the individual: the pain or the disgrace of a word or blow cannot easily be appreciated by a pecuniary equivalent. The rude jurisprudence of the decemvirs had confounded all hasty insults, which did not amount to the fracture of a limb, by condemning the aggressor to the common penalty of twenty-five *ases*. But the same denomination of money was reduced, in three centuries, from a pound to the weight of half an ounce; and the insolence of a wealthy Roman indulged himself in the cheap amusement of breaking and satisfying the law of the Twelve Tables. Veratius ran through the streets striking on the face the inoffensive passengers, and his attendant purse-bearer immediately silenced their clamours by the legal tender of twenty-five pieces of copper, about the value of one shilling.* The equity of the prætors examined and estimated the distinct merits of each particular complaint. In the adjudication of civil damages, the magistrate assumed a right to consider the various circumstances of time and place, of age and dignity, which may aggravate the shame and sufferings of the injured person; but if he admitted the idea of a fine, a punishment, an example, he invaded the province, though, perhaps, he supplied the defects, of the criminal law.

The execution of the Alban dictator, who was dismembered by eight horses, is represented by Livy as the first and the last instance of Roman cruelty in the punishment of the most atrocious crimes.† But this act of justice, or revenge, was inflicted on a foreign enemy in the heat of victory, and at the command of a single man. The Twelve Tables afford

* Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. 20. 1) borrowed this story from the Commentaries of Q. Labeo on the Twelve Tables.

† The narrative of Livy (1. 28) is weighty and solemn. At tu dictis Albane maneres is a harsh reflection, unworthy of Virgil's humanity. (Æneid, 8. 643.) Heyne, with his usual good taste, observes that the subject was too horrid for the shield of Æneas (tom. iii, p. 229). [The fate of Mettus is regarded by Niebuhr as "undeniably poetical" (Lectures, i, 127). Livy altered some parts of the story to give it an air of plausibility, and took the opportunity of flattering his countrymen by a very undeserved compliment.—Ed.]

a more decisive proof of the national spirit, since they were framed by the wisest of the senate, and accepted by the free voices of the people; yet these laws, like the statutes of Draco,* are written in characters of blood.† They approve the inhuman and unequal principle of retaliation; and the forfeit of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a limb for a limb, is rigorously exacted, unless the offender can redeem his pardon by a fine of three hundred pounds of copper. The decemvirs distributed with much liberality the slighter chastisements of flagellation and servitude; and nine crimes of a very different complexion are adjudged worthy of death. 1. Any act of *treason* against the State, or of correspondence with the public enemy. The mode of execution was painful and ignominious; the head of the degenerate Roman was shrouded in a veil, his hands were tied behind his back, and, after he had been scourged by the lictor, he was suspended in the midst of the Forum on a cross, or inauspicious tree. 2. Nocturnal meetings in the city; whatever might be the pretence, of pleasure, or religion, or the public good. 3. The murder of a citizen; for which the common feelings of mankind demand the blood of the murderer. Poison is still more odious than the sword or dagger; and we are surprised to discover, in two flagitious events, how early such subtle wickedness had infected the simplicity of the republic, and the chaste virtues of the Roman matrons.‡

* The age of Draco (Olympiad 39, 1) is fixed by Sir John Marsham (Canon Chronicus, p. 593—596) and Corsini (Fasti Attici, tom. iii, p. 62). For his laws, see the writers on the government of Athens, Sigonius, Meursius, Potter, &c. † The seventh, de delictis, of the Twelve Tables, is delineated by Gravina. (Opp. p. 292, 293, with a Commentary, p. 214—230.) Aulus Gellius (20. 1) and the Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum afford much original information.

‡ Livy mentions two remarkable and flagitious eras, of three thousand persons accused, and of one hundred and ninety noble matrons convicted, of the crime of poisoning (40. 43. 8. 18). Mr. Hume discriminates the ages of private and public virtue (Essays, vol. i, p. 22, 23). I would rather say that such ebullitions of mischief (as in France in the year 1680) are accidents and prodigies which leave no marks on the manners of a nation. [Livy himself doubts the earliest of these: "non omnes auctores sunt." Great sickness and mortality prevailed in Rome A.U.C. 422, and the wives of 190 patricians are said to have been convicted on the evidence of an "ancilla," of having administered or prepared poison for all their families. No motive whatever is assigned for so diabolical a conspiracy, and the whole tale is so full of inconsistencies, that Niebuhr left it unnoticed. (See Appendix to

The parricide who violated the duties of nature and gratitude, was cast into the river or the sea, enclosed in a sack; and a cock, a viper, a dog, and a monkey, were successively added as the most suitable companions.* Italy produces no monkeys; but the want could never be felt, till the middle of the sixth century first revealed the guilt of a parricide.† 4. The malice of an *incendiary*. After the previous ceremony of whipping, he himself was delivered to the flames; and in this example alone our reason is tempted to applaud the justice of retaliation. 5. *Judicial perjury*. The corrupt or malicious witness was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock to expiate his falsehood, which was rendered still more fatal by the severity of the penal laws, and the deficiency of written evidence. 6. The corruption of a judge, who accepted bribes, to pronounce an iniquitous sentence. 7. Libels and satires, whose rude strains sometimes disturbed the peace of an illiterate city. The author was beaten with clubs, a worthy chastisement, but it is not certain that he was left to expire under the blows of the executioner.‡ 8. The nocturnal mischief of damaging or destroying a neighbour's corn. The criminal was suspended as a grateful victim to Ceres. But the Sylvan deities were

his History of Rome, vol. ii, p. 262, edit. Bohn.) The other is said to have occurred in Sardinia A.U.C. 574, when C. Mœnius was sent there as prætor. It is related with the most off-hand indifference. If 3000 persons had been implicated in such a crime, there would surely have been some formal record of their guilt and punishment. The criminals and their victims would have left the island almost uninhabited.—ED.]

* The Twelve Tables and Cicero (pro Roscio Amerino, c. 25, 26) are content with the sack; Seneca (Excerpt. Controvers. 5, 4) adorns it with serpents; Juvenal pities the guiltless monkey (innoxia simia—Satir. 13. 156) Hadrian (apud Dositheum Magistrum, l. 3, c. 16, p. 874—876, with Schulting's Note), Modestinus (Pandect. 48, tit. 9, leg. 9), Constantine (Cod. l. 9, tit. 17), and Justinian (Institut. l. 4, tit. 18), enumerate all the companions of the parricide. But this fanciful execution was simplified in practice. Hodie tamen vivi exuruntur vel ad bestias dantur (Paul. Sentent. Recept. l. 5, tit. 24, p. 512, edit. Schulting). † The first parricide at Rome was L. Ostius, after the second Punic war (Plutarch in Romulo, tom. i, p. 57). During the Cimbric, P. Malleolus was guilty of the first matricide (Liv. Epitom. l. 68). ‡ Horace talks of the formidine fustis (l. 2, epist. 2. 154); but Cicero de Republica (l. 4, apud Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, l. 2, c. 9, in Fragment. Philosoph. tom. iii, p. 393, edit. Olivet) affirms, that the decemvirs made libels a capital offence: cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent—*perpaucas!*

less implacable, and the extirpation of a more valuable tree was compensated by the moderate fine of twenty-five pounds of copper.. 9. Magical incantations; which had power, in the opinion of the Latin shepherds, to exhaust the strength of an enemy, to extinguish his life, and to remove from their seats his deep-rooted plantations. The cruelty of the Twelve Tables against insolvent debtors still remains to be told; and I shall dare to prefer the literal sense of antiquity, to the specious refinements of modern criticism.* After the judicial proof or confession of the debt, thirty days of grace were allowed before a Roman was delivered into the power of his fellow-citizen. In this private prison, twelve ounces

* Bynkershoek (Observat. Juris Rom. l. 1, c. 1, in Opp. tom. i, p. 9—11) labours to prove that the creditors divided not the body, but the price of the insolvent debtor. Yet his interpretation is one perpetual harsh metaphor; nor can he surmount the Roman authorities of Quintilian, Cæcilius, Favonius, and Tertullian. See Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. 20. 1. [Aulus Gellius, in an imaginary conversation, satirizes the barbarisms of early language, by laughing at a literal interpretation of the word *secanto* in the twelve tables. Cæcilius and Favonius are only supposed interlocutors, and must not be mistaken for assertors of a horrid legal right which never existed. No Roman jurist ever contended for it, and Gibbon treats it with the same irony as Aulus Gellius, who concludes in the following words: "Dissectum esse antiquitus neminem, equidem, neque legi, neque audivi." Had the question ever been gravely regarded in a different light Montesquieu would not have failed to notice it, when he so severely condemned the cruelty of the Roman law, for dooming an insolvent debtor even to slavery (Esprit des Lois, 12. 21). Niebuhr, who in his History (c. 40) had taken the word *secanto* literally, afterwards placed in a very clear and correct light the Roman "Law of Debtors" (Lectures 1. 224—238): A borrower could pledge himself and his family for the debt incurred. In the event of his inability to pay, they all became slaves, or more properly *nexi*. Sometimes the debtor himself was imprisoned and harshly treated, in the hope that his kindred would pay the money and release him: or they were all sold; or they were allowed to work till the produce of their labour was equivalent to the demand of the creditors, and then freedom was regained. In the two latter cases, where there were several creditors, each had his share; and this was the *division of the person*, which, by straining the letter of the law, might be mistaken for a *dismemberment of the body*. The individual who thus came into bondage was not termed *servus*, but *nexus*, as being conditionally *bound*, and could at any time be restored to full liberty, by the payment of what he owed. This is quite incompatible with the cruel right of putting him to death. More justly might it have been imagined that Shakspeare had studied the Roman law for his defence of Antonio against Shylock: "Si plus minusve secuerint, se fraude esto."—ED.]

of rice were his daily food; he might be bound with a chain of fifteen pounds weight; and his misery was thrice exposed in the market-place, to solicit the compassion of his friends and countrymen. At the expiration of sixty days, the debt was discharged by the loss of liberty or life; the insolvent debtor was either put to death, or sold in foreign slavery beyond the Tiber: but if several creditors were alike obstinate and unrelenting, they might legally dismember his body and satiate their revenge by this horrid partition. The advocates for this savage law have insisted, that it must strongly operate in deterring idleness and fraud from contracting debts which they were unable to discharge; but experience would dissipate this salutary terror, by proving that no creditor could be found to exact this unprofitable penalty of life or limb. As the manners of Rome were insensibly polished, the criminal code of the decemvirs was abolished by the humanity of accusers, witnesses, and judges; and impunity became the consequence of immoderate rigour. The Porcian and Valerian laws prohibited the magistrates from inflicting on a free citizen any capital, or even corporal punishment; and the obsolete statutes of blood were artfully, and perhaps truly, ascribed to the spirit, not of patrician, but of regal, tyranny.

In the absence of penal laws and the insufficiency of civil actions, the peace and justice of the city were imperfectly maintained by the private jurisdiction of the citizens. The malefactors who replenish our gaols are the outcasts of society, and the crimes for which they suffer may be commonly ascribed to ignorance, poverty, and brutal appetite. For the perpetration of similar enormities, a vile plebeian might claim and abuse the sacred character of a member of the republic: but on the proof or suspicion of guilt, the slave, or the stranger, was nailed to a cross, and this strict and summary justice might be exercised without restraint over the greatest part of the populace of Rome. Each family contained a domestic tribunal, which was not confined, like that of the prætor, to the cognizance of external actions: virtuous principles and habits were inculcated by the discipline of education; and the Roman father was accountable to the State for the manners of his children, since he disposed, without appeal, of their life, their liberty, and their inheritance. In some pressing emergencies, the citizen was

authorized to avenge his private or public wrongs. The consent of the Jewish, the Athenian, and the Roman laws, approved the slaughter of the nocturnal thief; though in open daylight a robber could not be slain without some previous evidence of danger and complaint. Whoever surprised an adulterer in his nuptial bed might freely exercise his revenge;* the most bloody or wanton outrage was excused by the provocation;† nor was it before the reign of Augustus that the husband was reduced to weigh the rank of the offender, or that the parent was condemned to sacrifice his daughter with her guilty seducer. After the expulsion of the kings, the ambitious Roman who should dare to assume their title, or imitate their tyranny, was devoted to the infernal gods: each of his fellow-citizens was armed with a sword of justice; and the act of Brutus, however repugnant to gratitude or prudence, had been already sanctified by the judgment of his country.‡ The barbarous practice of wearing arms in the midst of peace,§ and the bloody maxims of honour, were unknown to the Romans; and, during the two purest ages, from the establishment of equal freedom to the end of the Punic wars, the city was never disturbed by sedition, and rarely polluted with atrocious crimes. The failure of penal laws was more sensibly felt when every vice was inflamed by faction at home and dominion abroad. In the time of Cicero, each private citizen enjoyed the privilege of anarchy; each

* The first speech of Lysias (Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. v, p. 2—48) is in defence of a husband who had killed the adulterer. The right of husbands and fathers at Rome and Athens is discussed with much learning by Dr. Taylor (Lectiones Lysiacæ, c. 11, in Reiske, tom. vi, p. 301—308). † See Casaubon ad Athenæum (l. 1, c. 5, p. 19). Percurrent raphanique mugilesque (Catull. p. 41, 42, edit. Vossian.). Hunc mugilis intrat (Juvenal. Satir. 10. 317). Hunc perminxere calones (Horat. l. 1, Satir. 2. 44). Familiæ stuprandum dedit . . . fraudi non fuit (Val. Maxim. l. 6, c. 1, No. 13.). ‡ This law is noticed by Livy (2. 8) and Plutarch (in Publicola, tom. 1, p. 187); and it fully justifies the public opinion on the death of Cæsar, which Suetonius could publish under the imperial government. Jure cæsus existimatur (in Julio, c. 76). Read the letters that passed between Cicero and Matius a few months after the ides of March (ad Fam. 11. 27, 28).

§ Πρῶτοι δὲ Αθηναῖοι τόν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο. Thucydid. l. 1, c. 6. The historian who considers this circumstance as the test of civilization, would disdain the barbarism of a European court. [Rival factions disregarded this, and carried their concealed weapons ready to be opportunely used. See Horace, Epod. 7. Carm. 4, 15.—Ed.]

minister of the republic was exalted to the temptations of regal power, and their virtues are entitled to the warmest praise as the spontaneous fruits of nature or philosophy. After a triennial indulgence of lust, rapine, and cruelty, Verres, the tyrant of Sicily, could only be sued for the pecuniary restitution of three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and such was the temper of the laws, the judges, and perhaps the accuser himself,* that on refunding a thirteenth part of his plunder, Verres could retire to an easy and luxurious exile.†

The first imperfect attempt to restore the proportion of crimes and punishments, was made by the dictator Sylla, who in the midst of his sanguinary triumph, aspired to restrain the licence, rather than to oppress the liberty, of the Romans. He gloried in the arbitrary proscription of four thousand seven hundred citizens.‡ But in the character of a legislator, he respected the prejudices of the times; and instead of pronouncing a sentence of death against the robber or assassin, the general who betrayed an army, or the magistrate who ruined a province, Sylla was content to aggravate the pecuniary damages by the penalty of exile, or, in more constitutional language, by the interdiction of fire

* He first rated at millies (800,000*l.*) the damages of Sicily (Divinatio in Cæcilium, c. 5), which he afterwards reduced to quadringenties (320,000—1 Actio in Verrem, c. 18), and was finally content with tricies (24,000*l.*). Plutarch in Ciceron. (tom. iii. p. 1584) has not dissembled the popular suspicion and report.

† Verres lived near thirty years after his trial, till the second triumvirate, when he was proscribed by the taste of Mark Antony for the sake of his Corinthian plate (Plin. Hist. Natur. 34. 3).

‡ Such is the number assigned by Valerius Maximus (l. 9, c. 2, No. 1). Florus (4. 21) distinguishes two thousand senators and knights; Appian (de Bell. Civil. l. 1, c. 95, tom. ii, p. 133, edit. Schweighæuser) more accurately computes forty victims of the senatorian rank, and one thousand six hundred of the equestrian census or order. [Proneness to bloodshed has been already noticed as a feature of Roman character. Sylla "set the first example of a proscription, that is, he first made out a list of those who might not only be killed with impunity, but on whose heads a price was set. Yet his victims were few compared with those of Marius and Cinna, although his revenge was fearful in the extent of suffering which it inflicted. His proscription affected the lives of several thousands; it is said to have included two thousand four hundred knights alone; but this number seems doubtful. Appian says, two thousand six hundred; in these he included all who perished in battle." (Niebuhr, Lectures, ii. 383.)—Ed.]

and water. The Cornelian, and afterwards the Pompeian and Julian laws, introduced a new system of criminal jurisprudence;* and the emperors, from Augustus to Justinian, disguised their increasing rigour under the names of the original authors. But the invention and frequent use of *extraordinary pains*, proceeded from the desire to extend and conceal the progress of despotism. In the condemnation of illustrious Romans, the senate was always prepared to confound, at the will of their masters, the judicial and legislative powers. It was the duty of the governors to maintain the peace of their province, by the arbitrary and rigid administration of justice; the freedom of the city evaporated in the extent of empire, and the Spanish malefactor, who claimed the privilege of a Roman, was elevated by the command of Galba on a fairer and more lofty cross.† Occasional rescripts issued from the throne to decide the questions, which, by their novelty or importance, appeared to surpass the authority and discernment of a proconsul. Transportation and beheading were reserved for honourable persons; meaner criminals were either hanged or burnt, or buried in the mines, or exposed to the wild beasts of the amphitheatre. Armed robbers were pursued and extirpated as the enemies of society; the driving away horses or cattle was made a capital offence;‡ but simple theft was uniformly considered as a mere civil and private injury. The degrees of guilt, and the modes of punishment, were too often determined by the discretion of the rulers, and the subject was left in ignorance of the legal danger which he might incur by every action of his life.

A sin, a vice, a crime, are the objects of theology, ethics,

* For the penal laws (Leges Corneliæ, Pompeiæ, Juliæ, of Sylla, Pompey, and the Cæsars) see the sentences of Paulus (l. 4, tit. 18—30, p. 497—528, edit. Schulting); the Gregorian Code (Fragment. l. 19, p. 705, 706, in Schulting); the Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum (tit. 1—15); the Theodosian Code (l. 9); the Code Justinian (l. 9); the Pandects (48); the Institutes (l. 4, tit. 18); and the Greek version of Theophilus (p. 917—926).

† It was a guardian who had poisoned his ward. The crime was atrocious; yet the punishment is reckoned by Suetonius (c. 9) among the acts in which Galba shewed himself acer, vehemens, et in delictis coercendis immodicus.

‡ The abactores or abigeatores, who drove one horse, or two mares or oxen, or five hogs, or ten goats, were subject to capital punishment (Paul. Sentent. Recept. l. 4, tit. 18, p. 497, 498). Hadrian (ad Concil. Bœticæ), most severe where the offence was most frequent, condemns

and jurisprudence. Whenever their judgments agree, they corroborate each other; but as often as they differ, a prudent legislator appreciates the guilt and punishment according to the measure of social injury. On this principle, the most daring attack on the life and property of a private citizen, is judged less atrocious than the crime of treason or rebellion, which invades the *majesty* of the republic: the obsequious civilians unanimously pronounced, that the republic is contained in the person of its chief: and the edge of the Julian law was sharpened by the incessant diligence of the emperors. The licentious commerce of the sexes may be tolerated as an impulse of nature, or forbidden as a source of disorder and corruption: but the fame, the fortunes, the family of the husband, are seriously injured by the adultery of the wife. The wisdom of Augustus, after curbing the freedom of revenge, applied to this domestic offence the animadversion of the laws; and the guilty parties, after the payment of heavy forfeitures and fines, were condemned to long or perpetual exile in two separate islands.* Religion pronounces an equal censure against the infidelity of the husband; but as it is not accompanied by the same civil effects, the wife was never permitted to vindicate her wrongs;† and the distinction of simple or double adultery, so familiar and so important in the canon law, is unknown to the jurisprudence of the Code and Pandects. I touch with reluctance, and dispatch with impatience, a more odious vice, of which modesty rejects the name, and nature abominates the idea. The primitive Romans were infected by the example of the Etruscans‡

the criminals ad gladium, ludi damnationem (Ulpian de Officio Proconsulis, l. 8, in Collatione Legum Mosaic. et Rom. tit. 11, p. 235).

* Till the publication of the Julius Paulus of Schulting (l. 2, tit. 26, p. 317—323,) it was affirmed and believed, that the Julian laws punished adultery with death; and the mistake arose from the fraud or error of Tribonian. Yet Lipsius had suspected the truth from the narrative of Tacitus (Annal. 2, 50. 3, 24. 4, 42.) and even from the practice of Augustus, who distinguished the treasonable frailties of his female kindred. † In cases of adultery, Severus confined to the husband the right of public accusation. (Cod. Justinian. l. 9, tit. 9, leg. 1.) Nor is this privilege unjust—so different are the effects of male or female infidelity. ‡ Timon (l. 1,) and Theopompus (l. 43, apud Athenæum, l. 12, p. 517,) describe the luxury and lust of the Etruscans: *πολὺ μέν τοι γε χάιρουσι συνόντες τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς μειρακίοις.* About the same period, (A.U.C. 445,) the Roman

and Greeks;* in the mad abuse of prosperity and power, every pleasure that is innocent was deemed insipid; and the Scatinian law,† which had been extorted by an act of violence, was insensibly abolished by the lapse of time and the multitude of criminals. By this law, the rape, perhaps the seduction, of an ingenuous youth, was compensated, as a personal injury, by the poor damages of ten thousand sesterces, or fourscore pounds; the ravisher might be slain by the resistance or revenge of chastity; and I wish to believe, that at Rome, as in Athens, the voluntary and effeminate deserter of his sex was degraded from the honours and the rights of a citizen.‡ But the practice of vice was not discouraged by the severity of opinion: the indelible stain of manhood was confounded with the more venial transgressions of fornication and adultery, nor was the licentious lover exposed to the same dishonour which he impressed on the male or female partner of his guilt. From Catullus to Juvenal,§ the poets accuse and celebrate the degeneracy of the times, and the reformation of manners was feebly attempted by the reason and authority of the civilians, till the most virtuous of the Cæsars proscribed the sin against nature as a crime against society.¶

youth studied in Etruria. (Liv. 9. 36.) * The Persians had been corrupted in the same school: *ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται.* (Herodot. l. 1, c. 135.) A curious dissertation might be formed on the introduction of pæderasty after the time of Homer, its progress among the Greeks of Asia and Europe, the vehemence of their passions, and the thin device of virtue and friendship which amused the philosophers of Athens. But, scelera ostendi oportet dum puniuntur, abscondi flagitia. † The name, the date, and the provisions of this law, are equally doubtful. (Gravina, Op. p. 432, 433. Heineccius, Hist. Jur. Rom. No. 108. Ernesti, Clav. Ciceron. in Indice Legum.) But I will observe that the *nefanda* Venus of the honest German is styled *aversa* by the more polite Italian.

‡ See the Oration of Æschines against the catamite Timarchus. (in Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. iii, p. 21—184.) § A crowd of disgraceful passages will force themselves on the memory of the classic reader: I will only remind him of the cool declaration of Ovid:—

> Odi concubitus qui non utrumque resolvunt.
> Hoc est quod puerûm tangar amore *minus.*

¶ Ælius Lampridius, in Vit. Heliogabal. in Hist. August. p. 112. Aurelius Victor, in Philippo, Codex Theodos. l. 9, tit. 7, and leg. 7, and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. iii, p. 63. Theodosius abolished the subterraneous brothels of Rome, in which the prostitution of both sexes

A new spirit of legislation, respectable even in its error, arose in the empire with the religion of Constantine.* The laws of Moses were received as the divine original of justice, and the Christian princes adapted their penal statutes to the degrees of moral and religious turpitude. Adultery was first declared to be a capital offence: the frailty of the sexes was assimilated to poison or assassination, to sorcery or parricide; the same penalties were inflicted on the passive and active guilt of pæderasty; and all criminals of free or servile condition were either drowned, or beheaded, or cast alive into the avenging flames. The adulterers were spared by the common sympathy of mankind; but the lovers of their own sex were pursued by general and pious indignation; the impure manners of Greece still prevailed in the cities of Asia, and every vice was fomented by the celibacy of the monks and clergy. Justinian relaxed the punishment at least of female infidelity; the guilty spouse was only condemned to solitude and penance, and at the end of two years she might be recalled to the arms of a forgiving husband. But the same emperor declared himself the implacable enemy of unmanly lust, and the cruelty of his persecution can scarcely be excused by the purity of his motives.† In defiance of every principle of justice, he stretched to past as well as future offences the operations of his edicts, with the previous allowance of a short respite for confession and pardon. A painful death was inflicted by the amputation of the sinful instrument, or the insertion of sharp reeds into the pores and tubes of most exquisite sensibility; and Justinian defended the propriety of the execution, since the criminals would have lost their hands had they been convicted of sacrilege. In this state of disgrace and agony, two bishops, Isaiah of Rhodes, and Alexander of Diospolis, were dragged through the streets of Constantinople, while their brethren were admonished by the voice of a crier, to observe this awful lesson, and not to pollute the sanctity of their character. Perhaps these pre-

was acted with impunity.

* See the laws of Constantine and his successors against adultery, sodomy, &c. in the Theodosian (l. 9, tit. 7, leg. 7; l. 11, tit. 36, leg. 1. 4,) and Justinian Codes (l. 9, tit. 9, leg. 30, 31). These princes speak the language of passion as well as of justice, and fraudulently ascribe their own severity to the first Cæsars.

† Justinian, Novel. 77. 134. 141. Procopius, in Anecdot. c. 11. 16, with the Notes of Alemannus. Theophanes, p. 151. Cedrenus, p. 368,

lates were innocent. A sentence of death and infamy was often founded on the slight and suspicious evidence of a child or a servant; the guilt of the green faction, of the rich, and of the enemies of Theodora, was presumed by the judges, and pæderasty became the crime of those to whom no crime could be imputed. A French philosopher* has dared to remark, that whatever is secret must be doubtful, and that our natural horror of vice may be abused as an engine of tyranny. But the favourable persuasion of the same writer, that a legislator may confide in the taste and reason of mankind, is impeached by the unwelcome discovery of the antiquity and extent of the disease.†

The free citizens of Athens and Rome enjoyed, in all criminal cases, the invaluable privilege of being tried by their country.‡ 1. The administration of justice is the most ancient office of a prince: it was exercised by the Roman kings, and abused by Tarquin; who alone, without law or council, pronounced his arbitrary judgments. The first consuls succeeded to this regal prerogative; but the sacred right of appeal soon abolished the jurisdiction of the magistrates, and all public causes were decided by the supreme tribunal of the people. But a wild democracy, superior to the forms, too often disdains the essential principles, of justice: the pride of despotism was envenomed by plebeian envy, and the heroes of Athens might some-

Zonaras, l. 14, p. 64. * Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. 12 c. 6. That eloquent philosopher conciliates the rights of liberty and of nature, which should never be placed in opposition to each other.

† For the corruption of Palestine, two thousand years before the Christian era, see the history and laws of Moses. Ancient Gaul is stigmatized by Diodorus Siculus (tom. i, l. 5, p. 356); China by the Mahometan and Christian travellers, (Ancient Relations of India and China, p. 34, translated by Renaudot, and his bitter critic, the Père Premare, Lettres Edifiantes, tom. xix, p. 435); and native America by the Spanish historians. (Garcilaso de la Vega, l. 3, c. 13, Rycaut's translation; and Dictionnaire de Bayle, tom. iii, p. 88.) I believe, and hope, that the negroes, in their own country, were exempt from this moral pestilence.

‡ The important subject of the public questions and judgments at Rome is explained with much learning, and in a classic style, by Charles Sigonius, (l. 3, de Judiciis, in Op. tom. iii, 679—864,) and a good abridgment may be found in the République Romaine of Beaufort (tom. ii, l. 5, p. 1—121). Those who wish for more abstruse law, may study Noodt (de Jurisdictione et Imperio Libri duo, tom. i, p. 93—134), Heineccius (ad Pandect. l. 1. et 2, ad Institut. l. 4, tit. 17. Element. de Antiquitat.) and Gravina

times applaud the happiness of the Persian, whose fate depended on the caprice of a *single* tyrant. Some salutary restraints, imposed by the people on their own passions, were at once the cause and effect of the gravity and temperance of the Romans. The right of accusation was confined to the magistrates. A vote of the thirty-five tribes could inflict a fine: but the cognizance of all capital crimes was reserved by a fundamental law to the assembly of the centuries, in which the weight of influence and property was sure to preponderate. Repeated proclamations and adjournments were interposed, to allow time for prejudice and resentment to subside; the whole proceeding might be annulled by a seasonable omen, or the opposition of a tribune; and such popular trials were commonly less formidable to innocence, than they were favourable to guilt. But this union of the judicial and legislative powers left it doubtful whether the accused party was pardoned or acquitted; and in the defence of an illustrious client the orators of Rome and Athens addressed their arguments to the policy and benevolence, as well as to the justice, of their sovereign. 2. The task of convening the citizens for the trial of each offender became more difficult as the citizens and the offenders continually multiplied; and the ready expedient was adopted of delegating the jurisdiction of the people to the ordinary magistrates, or to extraordinary *inquisitors*. In the first ages these questions were rare and occasional. In the beginning of the seventh century of Rome they were made perpetual; for prætors were annually empowered to sit in judgment on the state offences of treason, extortion, peculation, and bribery; and Sylla added new prætors and new questions for those crimes which more directly injure the safety of individuals. By these *inquisitors* the trial was prepared and directed; but they could only pronounce the sentence of the majority of *judges*, who, with some truth, and more prejudice, have been compared to the English juries.* To discharge this

(Op. 230—251). * The office, both at Rome, and in England, must be considered as an occasional duty, and not a magistracy or profession. But the obligation of a unanimous verdict is peculiar to our laws, which condemn the jurymen to undergo the torture from which they have exempted the criminal. [The office of Judge underwent many changes, among the Romans. At first exercised by the people,

important though burthensome office, an annual list of ancient and respectable citizens was formed by the prætor. After many constitutional struggles, they were chosen in equal numbers from the senate, the equestrian order, and the people; four hundred and fifty were appointed for single questions; and the various rolls or *decuries* of judges must have contained the names of some thousand Romans, who represented the judicial authority of the state. In each particular cause, a sufficient number was drawn from the urn; their integrity was guarded by an oath; the mode of ballot secured their independence; the suspicion of partiality was removed by the mutual challenges of the accuser and defendant: and the judges of Milo, by the retrenchment of fifteen on each side, were reduced to fifty-one voices or tablets, of acquittal, of condemnation, or of favourable doubt.* 3. In his civil jurisdiction, the prætor of the city was truly a judge, and almost a legislator; but as soon as he had prescribed the action of law, he often referred to a delegate the determination of the fact. With the increase of legal proceedings, the tribunal of the centumvirs, in which he presided, acquired more weight and reputation. But whether he acted alone, or with the advice of his council, the most absolute powers might be trusted to a magistrate who was annually chosen by the votes of the people. The rules and precautions of freedom have required some explanations; the order of despotism is simple and inanimate. Before the age of Justinian, or perhaps of Diocletian, the decuries of Roman judges had

it was insensibly and gradually usurped by the Senators, till Caius Gracchus, about A.U.C. 628, obtained a law, which appointed something like a jury, to be selected out of three hundred knights. Then the *Lex Servilia*, A.U.C. 653, enacted, that, with the Knights, there should be an equal number of Senators. But this lasted only nine years, when the *Lex Livia* appointed a permanent commission, out of this mixed body, called the *Quæstiones Perpetuæ*, to try offenders and decide law-suits. Sylla next, about A.U.C. 670, transferred this power to the Prætors, whose number he increased to eight. They not only decided the question of innocence or guilt, but after having given their verdict and pronounced sentence, they had also the right of pardoning. (Niebuhr, Lectures, vol. ii, p. 297. 345. 389; vol. iii, p. 21.)—ED.]

* We are indebted for this interesting fact to a fragment of Asconius Pedianus,, who flourished under the reign of Tiberius. The loss of his Commentaries on the Orations of Cicero, has deprived us of a valuable fund of historical and legal knowledge.

sunk to an empty title; the humble advice of the assessors might be accepted or despised; and in each tribunal the civil and criminal jurisdiction was administered by a single magistrate, who was raised and disgraced by the will of the emperor.

A Roman accused of any capital crime might prevent the sentence of the law by voluntary exile or death. Till his guilt had been legally proved, his innocence was presumed, and his person was free; till the votes of the last *century* had been counted and declared, he might peaceably secede to any of the allied cities of Italy, or Greece, or Asia.* His fame and fortunes were preserved, at least to his children, by this civil death; and he might still be happy in every rational and sensual enjoyment, if a mind accustomed to the ambitious tumult of Rome could support the uniformity and silence of Rhodes or Athens. A bolder effort was required to escape from the tyranny of the Cæsars; but this effort was rendered familiar by the maxims of the Stoics, the example of the bravest Romans, and the legal encouragements of suicide. The bodies of condemned criminals were exposed to public ignominy, and their children, a more serious evil, were reduced to poverty by the confiscation of their fortunes. But if the victims of Tiberius and Nero anticipated the decree of the prince or senate, their courage and dispatch were recompensed by the applause of the public, the decent honours of burial, and the validity of their testaments.† The exquisite avarice and cruelty of Domitian appears to have deprived the unfortunate of this last consolation, and it was still denied even by the clemency of the Antonines. A voluntary death, which, in the case of a capital offence, intervened between the accusation and the sentence, was admitted as a confession of guilt, and the spoils of the deceased were seized by the inhuman claims of the treasury.‡ Yet the

* Polyb. l. 6, p. 643. The extension of the empire and city of Rome, obliged the exile to seek a more distant place of retirement. [Gibbon's misconception of the Roman law on this subject has been pointed out, and its true import stated in a Note on ch. 38, vol. iv, p. 186.—Ed.]

† Qui de se statuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta; pretium festinandi. Tacit. Annal. 6. 25, with the notes of Lipsius.

‡ Julius Paulus (Sentent. Recept. l. 5, tit. 12, p. 476), the Pandects l. 48, tit. 21), the Code (l. 9, tit. 50), Bynkershoek (tom. i, p. 59. Observat. J. C. R. 4. 4), and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 29, c. 9,)

civilians have always respected the natural right of a citizen to dispose of his life; and the posthumous disgrace invented by Tarquin * to check the despair of his subjects, was never revived or imitated by succeeding tyrants. The powers of this world have indeed lost their dominion over him who is resolved on death; and his arm can only be restrained by the religious apprehension of a future state. Suicides are enumerated by Virgil among the unfortunate, rather than the guilty;† and the poetical fables of the infernal shades could not seriously influence the faith or practice of mankind. But the precepts of the gospel, or the church, have at length imposed a pious servitude on the minds of Christians, and condemn them to expect, without a murmur, the last stroke of disease or the executioner.

The penal statutes form a very small proportion of the sixty-two books of the Code and Pandects; and, in all judicial proceeding, the life or death of a citizen is determined with less caution and delay than the most ordinary question of covenant or inheritance. This singular distinction, though something may be allowed for the urgent necessity of defending the peace of society, is derived from the nature of criminal and civil jurisprudence. Our duties to the state are simple and uniform; the law by which he is condemned is inscribed not only on brass or marble, but on the conscience of the offender, and his guilt is commonly proved by the testimony of a single fact. But our relations to each other are various and infinite: our obligations are created, annulled, and modified, by injuries, benefits, and

define the civil limitations of the liberty and privileges of suicide. The criminal penalties are the production of a later and darker age. [Byron, in the confession of his "Giaour," has stigmatized suicide as—

"the self-accorded grave
Of ancient fool and modern knave."

This opprobrious designation of the deed will do more than laws or penalties, to make it of less frequent recurrence.—ED.]

* Plin. Hist. Natur. 36. 24. When he fatigued his subjects in building the Capitol, many of the labourers were provoked to dispatch themselves; he nailed their dead bodies to crosses.

† The sole resemblance of a violent and premature death has engaged Virgil (Æneid, 6. 434—439) to confound suicides with infants, lovers, and persons unjustly condemned. Heyne, the best of his editors, is at a loss to deduce the idea, or ascertain the jurisprudence, of the Roman poet.

promises; and the interpretation of voluntary contracts and testaments, which are often dictated by fraud or ignorance, affords a long and laborious exercise to the sagacity of the judge. The business of life is multiplied by the extent of commerce and dominion, and the residence of the parties in the distant provinces of an empire is productive of doubt, delay, and inevitable appeals from the local to the supreme magistrate. Justinian, the Greek emperor of Constantinople and the East, was the legal successor of the Latian shepherd who had planted a colony on the banks of the Tiber. In a period of thirteen hundred years, the laws had reluctantly followed the changes of government and manners: and the laudable desire of conciliating ancient names with recent institutions destroyed the harmony, and swelled the magnitude, of the obscure and irregular system. The laws which excuse, on any occasions, the ignorance of their subjects, confess their own imperfections; the civil jurisprudence, as it was abridged by Justinian, still continued a mysterious science and a profitable trade, and the innate perplexity of the study was involved in tenfold darkness by the private industry of the practitioners. The expense of the pursuit sometimes exceeded the value of the prize, and the fairest rights were abandoned by the poverty or prudence of the claimants. Such costly justice might tend to abate the spirit of litigation, but the unequal pressure serves only to increase the influence of the rich, and to aggravate the misery of the poor. By these dilatory and expensive proceedings, the wealthy pleader obtains a more certain advantage than he could hope from the accidental corruption of his judge. The experience of an abuse, from which our own age and country are not perfectly exempt, may sometimes provoke a generous indignation, and extort the hasty wish of exchanging our elaborate jurisprudence for the simple and summary decrees of a Turkish cadhi. Our calmer reflection will suggest, that such forms and delays are necessary to guard the person and property of the citizen; that the discretion of the judge is the first engine of tyranny, and that the laws of a free people should foresee and determine every question that may probably arise in the exercise of power and the transactions of industry. But the government of Justinian united the evils of liberty and servitude:

and the Romans were oppressed at the same time by the multiplicity of their laws, and the arbitrary will of their master.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO CH. XLIV.

[The subjects of the additional notes to the chapter here concluded, have been selected with a view to historical illustration rather than legal commentary. Other writers might have been quoted, and tedious dissertations copied or translated on more technical and abstruse points; but the indifference of English readers to such matters is seen in the fact, that Dr. Cathcart, the translator of Savigny's History of the Roman Law, found so limited a sale for the first volume, that he was discouraged from proceeding with the work. For practitioners in the ecclesiastical and Scotch courts, where this system of jurisprudence still reigns, our own literature probably affords sufficient information; for general readers it must assume a more popular form. This it received from Gibbon, by whose forty-fourth chapter "the English civilians have all been totally eclipsed." Such at least is the opinion of Dr. Irving in his Introduction to the Study of the Civil Law (p. 188), a work which may be usefully consulted by those who wish for biographical and literary notices of the numerous writers referred to in this chapter. Some additional particulars respecting the Glossators may also be found there (p. 7 n. and 273), and likewise on the discovery of the Pandects at Amalphi (p. 78). But it contains few expositions of facts to throw light on the Roman history, character, and manners. One exception to this is found (p. 12—20), in some observations on the origin of the Twelve Tables and the share which Hermodorus had in preparing them. Incidentally to these remarks, the author has introduced a defence of the erroneous opinion, that the Roman law empowered creditors to cut in pieces and divide among themselves the body of an insolvent debtor. This question, he says, "gave rise to the most learned controversy that occurs in the annals of jurisprudence." If it were to be decided by the mere authority of names, those of Annæus Robertus, Heroldus, Bynkershoek, and Lord Kames, who dissent from the opinion, will probably be thought to outweigh those of its advocates, Salmasius, Dr. Taylor, and Dr. Valpy. Into the scale of the former may be thrown the explanation of Dr. Geldart (see the heads of

his Lectures in his edition of Dr. Hallifax's Analysis of the Civil Law (p. 75). No authority on this subject can, however, supersede that of Aulus Gellius (quoted in the Editor's note, page 80 of this volume), to which it must appear strange that Dr. Irving makes no reference. The *sectio bonorum*, which the same law authorized (see Hallifax's Analysis, p. 75), might as well have been supposed to give creditors the power of cutting up the bodies of the slaves belonging to their debtors.

To the British public there are two interesting points in Roman law: 1. That which regulates the distribution of the estates of intestates; and 2. That which regards contracts of marriage. On the former, Dr. Irving says (p. 93), "The Statute Law of England is in a great measure borrowed from the eighteenth Novel of Justinian; and the Statute of Distribution is known to have been prepared by a professional civilian, Sir Leoline Jenkins, judge of the High Court of Admiralty." On the latter of these two points depends the validity of Scotch marriages. This is decided by the Digest (l. 1, tit. xvii. fr. 30), where it is enacted, *Nuptias non concubitus, sed consensus facit.* But the same writer adds, "this consent must be real, not merely apparent; it must be free consent, and not produced by fear or delusion." This concurs with the opinion of Dr. Hallifax (Analysis, c. 6, sec. 3). This last mentioned work in its execution corresponds with its title. The author of it was first the King's Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, and afterwards in succession bishop of Gloucester and St. Asaph. To such authorities it is satisfactory to appeal for confirmation of the views taken of legal points in the Editor's notes to the foregoing chapter. It is sufficient to refer to Irving (p. 105) for the resemblance between early Roman legislation and our decrees of Chancery, pointed out at p. 16; to Hallifax (p. 15) for "the questionable piece of history" relating to divorces at Rome, discredited at p. 54; to the same work (p. 30) for the distinction between the *res mancipi* and *nec mancipi*, as shown at p. 64; and again (p. 116. 138) for the *Actio Familiæ erciscundæ*, quoted at p. 32. The words which the Roman buyer repeated in the ceremony of *mancipation*, are not to be found in either of these works. In the purchase of a slave, the following was the form used:—*Hunc ego hominem ex jure Quiritium meum esse aio, isque mihi emptus est hoc ære æneâque librâ.* (By the right of a Roman citizen, I hereby declare this man to be my property, for I have bought him with the money now weighed in these scales of brass.) This was varied according to the description of property acquired, and shows the nature of the proceeding.—Ed.]

CHAPTER XLV.—REIGN OF THE YOUNGER JUSTIN.—EMBASSY OF THE AVARS.—THEIR SETTLEMENT ON THE DANUBE.—CONQUEST OF ITALY BY THE LOMBARDS.—ADOPTION AND REIGN OF TIBERIUS.—OF MAURICE.—STATE OF ITALY UNDER THE LOMBARDS AND EXARCHS OF RAVENNA.—DISTRESS OF ROME.—CHARACTER AND PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE FIRST.

During the last years of Justinian, his infirm mind was devoted to heavenly contemplation, and he neglected the business of the lower world. His subjects were impatient of the long continuance of his life and reign; yet all who were capable of reflection apprehended the moment of his death, which might involve the capital in tumult, and the empire in civil war. Seven nephews* of the childish monarch, the sons or grandsons of his brother and sister, had been educated in the splendour of a princely fortune; they had been shewn in high commands to the provinces and armies; their characters were known, their followers were zealous, and as the jealousy of age postponed the declaration of a successor, they might expect with equal hopes the inheritance of their uncle. He expired in his palace after a reign of thirty-eight years; and the decisive opportunity was embraced by the friends of Justin, the son of Vigilantia.† At the hour of midnight, his domestics were awakened by an importunate crowd, who thundered at his door, and obtained admittance by revealing themselves to be the principal members of the senate. These welcome deputies announced the recent and momentous secret of the emperor's decease: reported, or perhaps invented, his dying choice of the best beloved and the most deserving of his nephews, and conjured Justin to prevent the disorders

* See the family of Justin and Justinian in the Familiæ Byzantinæ of Ducange, p. 89—101. The devout civilians, Ludwig (in Vit. Justinian, p. 131), and Heineccius (Hist. Juris. Roman. p. 374), have since illustrated the genealogy of their favourite prince.

† In the story of Justin's elevation I have translated into simple and concise prose, the eight hundred verses of the two first books of Corippus, De Laudibus Justini, Appendix Hist. Byzant. p. 401—416.

of the multitude, if they should perceive, with the return of light, that they were left without a master. After composing his countenance to surprise, sorrow, and decent modesty, Justin, by the advice of his wife Sophia, submitted to the authority of the senate. He was conducted with speed and silence to the palace; the guards saluted their new sovereign, and the martial and religious rites of his coronation were diligently accomplished. By the hands of the proper officers he was invested with the imperial garments, the red buskins, white tunic, and purple robe. A fortunate soldier, whom he instantly promoted to the rank of tribune, encircled his neck with a military collar: four robust youths exalted him on a shield; he stood firm and erect to receive the adoration of his subjects; and their choice was sanctified by the benediction of the patriarch, who imposed the diadem on the head of an orthodox prince. The hippodrome was already filled with innumerable multitudes; and no sooner did the emperor appear on his throne, than the voices of the blue and green factions were confounded in the same loyal acclamations. In the speeches which Justin addressed to the senate and people, he promised to correct the abuses which had disgraced the age of his predecessor, displayed the maxims of a just and beneficent government, and declared, that on the approaching calends of January,* he would revive, in his own person, the name and liberality of a Roman consul. The immediate discharge of his uncle's debts exhibited a solid pledge of his faith and generosity; a train of porters laden with bags of gold advanced into the midst of the hippodrome, and the hopeless creditors of Justinian accepted this equitable payment as a voluntary gift. Before the end of three years his example was imitated and surpassed by the empress Sophia, who delivered many indigent citizens from the weight of debt and usury; an act of benevolence the best entitled to gratitude, since it relieves the most intolerable distress; but in which the bounty of a prince is the most liable to be abused by the claims of prodigality and fraud.†

Rome, 1777. * It is surprising how Pagi (Critica in Annal. Baron. tom. ii, p. 639,) could be tempted by any chronicles to contradict the plain and decisive text of Corippus (vicina dona, l. 2, 354; vicina dies, l. 4. 1,) and to postpone, till A.D. 567, the consulship of Justin. † Theophan. Chronograph. p. 205. Whenever

On the seventh day of his reign, Justin gave audience to the ambassadors of the Avars, and the scene was decorated to impress the barbarians with astonishment, veneration, and terror. From the palace-gate, the spacious courts and long porticoes were lined with the lofty crests and gilt bucklers of the guards, who presented their spears and axes with more confidence than they would have shewn in a field of battle. The officers who exercised the power, or attended the person of the prince, were attired in their richest habits, and arranged according to the military and civil order of the hierarchy. When the veil of the sanctuary was withdrawn, the ambassadors beheld the emperor of the East on his throne, beneath a canopy or dome, which was supported by four columns, and crowned with a winged figure of Victory. In the first emotions of surprise, they submitted to the servile adoration of the Byzantine court; but as soon as they rose from the ground, Targetius, the chief of the embassy, expressed the freedom and pride of a barbarian. He extolled, by the tongue of his interpreter, the greatness of the Chagan, by whose clemency the kingdoms of the south were permitted to exist, whose victorious subjects had traversed the frozen rivers of Scythia, and who now covered the banks of the Danube with innumerable tents. The late emperor had cultivated, with annual and costly gifts, the friendship of a grateful monarch, and the enemies of Rome had respected the allies of the Avars. The same prudence would instruct the nephew of Justinian to imitate the liberality of his uncle, and to purchase the blessings of peace from an invincible people, who delighted and excelled in the exercise of war. The reply of the emperor was delivered in the same strain of haughty defiance, and he derived his confidence from the God of the Christians, the ancient glory of Rome, and the recent triumphs of Justinian. "The empire (said he) abounds with men and horses, and arms sufficient to defend our frontiers, and to chastise the barbarians. You offer aid, you threaten hostilities: we despise your enmity and your aid. The conquerors of the Avars solicit our alliance; shall we dread their fugitives and exiles?* The bounty of our uncle was

Cedrenus or Zonaras are mere transcribers, it is superfluous to allege their testimony. * Corippus, l. 3, 390. The unquestionable sense relates to the Turks, the conquerors of the Avars; but the word

granted to your misery, to your humble prayers. From us you shall receive a more important obligation, the knowledge of your own weakness. Retire from our presence; the lives of ambassadors are safe; and if you return to implore our pardon, perhaps you will taste of our benevolence."* On the report of his ambassadors, the chagan was awed by the apparent firmness of a Roman emperor, of whose character and resources he was ignorant. Instead of executing his threats against the Eastern empire, he marched into the poor and savage countries of Germany, which were subject to the dominion of the Franks. After two doubtful battles, he consented to retire: and the Austrasian king relieved the distress of his camp with an immediate supply of corn and cattle.† Such repeated disappointments had chilled the spirit of the Avars; and their power would have dissolved away in the Sarmatian desert, if the alliance of Alboin, king of the Lombards, had not given a new object to their arms, and a lasting settlement to their wearied fortunes.

While Alboin served under his father's standard, he encountered in battle, and transpierced with his lance, the rival prince of the Gepidæ. The Lombards, who applauded such early prowess, requested his father, with unanimous acclamations, that the heroic youth, who had shared the dangers of the field, might be admitted to the feast of victory. "You are not unmindful (replied the inflexible Audoin) of the wise customs of our ancestors. Whatever may be his merit, a prince is incapable of sitting at table with his father

scultor has no apparent meaning, and the sole MS. of Corippus, from whence the first edition (1581, apud Plantin) was printed, is no longer visible. The last editor, Foggini of Rome, has inserted the conjectural emendation of *soldan:* but the proofs of Ducange (Joinville, Dissert. 16, p. 238—240) for the early use of this title among the Turks and Persians, are weak or ambiguous. And I must incline to the authority of D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orient. p. 825,) who ascribes the word to the Arabic and Chaldean tongues, and the date to the beginning of the eleventh century, when it was bestowed by the khalif of Bagdad on Mahmud, prince of Gazna, and conqueror of India.

* For these characteristic speeches, compare the verse of Corippus (l. 3, 251—401,) with the prose of Menander (Excerpt. Legation. p. 102, 103). Their diversity proves that they did not copy each other; their resemblance, that they drew from a common original.

† For the Austrasian war, see Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 110), Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franc. l. 4, c. 29), and Paul the deacon (de

till he has received his arms from a foreign and royal hand." Alboin bowed with reverence to the institutions of his country; selected forty companions, and boldly visited the court of Turisund, king of the Gepidæ, who embraced and entertained, according to the laws of hospitality, the murderer of his son. At the banquet, whilst Alboin occupied the seat of the youth whom he had slain, a tender remembrance arose in the mind of Turisund. "How dear is that place—how hateful is that person"—were the words that escaped, with a sigh, from the indignant father. His grief exasperated the national resentment of the Gepidæ; and Cunimund, his surviving son, was provoked by wine, or fraternal affection, to the desire of vengeance. "The Lombards (said the rude barbarian) resemble in figure and in smell, the mares of our Sarmatian plains." And this insult was a coarse allusion to the white bands which enveloped their legs. "Add another resemblance (replied an audacious Lombard), you have felt how strongly they kick. Visit the plain of Asfeld, and seek for the bones of thy brother: they are mingled with those of the vilest animals." The Gepidæ, a nation of warriors, started from their seats, and the fearless Alboin, with his forty companions, laid their hands on their swords. The tumult was appeased by the venerable interposition of Turisund. He saved his own honour and the life of his guest; and, after the solemn rites of investiture, dismissed the stranger in the bloody arms of his son—the gift of a weeping parent. Alboin returned in triumph; and the Lombards, who celebrated his matchless intrepidity, were compelled to praise the virtues of an enemy.* In this extraordinary visit he had probably seen the daughter of Cunimund, who soon after ascended the throne of the Gepidæ. Her name was Rosamond, an appellation expressive of female beauty, and which our own history or romance has consecrated to amorous tales. The king of the Lombards, (the father of Alboin no longer lived) was contracted to the grand-daughter of Clovis; but the restraints of faith and policy soon yielded to the hope of possessing the fair Rosamond, and of insulting her family and nation. The arts of

Gest. Langobard. l. 2, c. 10). * Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Friuli, de Gest. Langobard. l. 1, c. 23, 24. His pictures of national manners, though rudely sketched, are more lively and faithful than those of Bede, or Gregory of Tours.

persuasion were tried without success: and the impatient lover, by force and stratagem, obtained the object of his desires. War was the consequence which he foresaw and solicited; but the Lombards could not long withstand the furious assault of the Gepidæ, who were sustained by a Roman army. And as the offer of marriage was rejected with contempt, Alboin was compelled to relinquish his prey, and to partake of the disgrace which he had inflicted on the house of Cunimund.*

When a public quarrel is envenomed by private injuries, a blow that is not mortal or decisive can be productive only of a short truce, which allows the unsuccessful combatant to sharpen his arms for a new encounter. The strength of Alboin had been found unequal to the gratification of his love, ambition, and revenge: he condescended to implore the formidable aid of the chagan; and the arguments that he employed are expressive of the art and policy of the barbarians. In the attack of the Gepidæ he had been prompted by the just desire of extirpating a people, whom their alliance with the Roman empire had rendered the common enemies of the nations, and the personal adversaries of the chagan. If the forces of the Avars and the Lombards should unite in this glorious quarrel, the victory was secure, and the reward inestimable: the Danube, the Hebrus, Italy, and Constantinople, would be exposed, without a barrier, to their invincible arms. But if they hesitated or delayed to prevent the malice of the Romans, the same spirit which had insulted would pursue the Avars to the extremity of the earth. These specious reasons were heard by the chagan with coldness and disdain: he detained the Lombard ambassadors in his camp, protracted the negotiation, and by turns alleged his want of inclination, or his want of ability, to undertake this important enterprise. At length he signified the ultimate price of his alliance, that the Lombards should immediately present him with the tithe of their cattle; that the spoils and captives should be equally divided; but that the lands of the Gepidæ should become the sole patrimony of the Avars. Such hard conditions were eagerly accepted by the passions of Alboin; and as the Romans were dissatisfied with the ingratitude and

* The story is told by an impostor (Theophylact. Simocat. l. 6, c. 10,) but he had art enough to build his fictions on public and noto-

perfidy of the Gepidæ, Justin abandoned that incorrigible people to their fate, and remained the tranquil spectator of this unequal conflict. The despair of Cunimund was active and dangerous. He was informed that the Avars had entered his confines; but on the strong assurance, that, after the defeat of the Lombards, these foreign invaders would easily be repelled, he rushed forward to encounter the implacable enemy of his name and family. But the courage of the Gepidæ could secure them no more than an honourable death. The bravest of the nation fell in the field of battle; the king of the Lombards contemplated with delight the head of Cunimund; and his skull was fashioned into a cup, to satiate the hatred of the conqueror, or, perhaps to comply with the savage custom of his country.* After this victory, no farther obstacle could impede the progress of the confederates, and they faithfully executed the terms of their agreement.† The fair countries of Walachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the parts of Hungary beyond the Danube, were occupied without resistance, by a new colony of Scythians: and the Dacian empire of the chagans subsisted with splendour above two hundred and thirty years. The nation of the Gepidæ was dissolved; but, in the distribution of the captives, the slaves of the Avars were less fortunate than the companions of the Lombards, whose generosity adopted a valiant foe, and whose freedom was incompatible with cool and deliberate tyranny. One moiety of the spoil introduced into the camp of Alboin more wealth than a barbarian could readily compute. The fair Rosamond was persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the rights of her victorious lover; and the daughter of Cunimund appeared to forgive those crimes which might be imputed to her own irresistible charms.

The destruction of a mighty kingdom established the fame of Alboin. In the days of Charlemagne, the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the other tribes of the Teutonic language,

rious facts.

* It appears from Strabo, Pliny, and Ammianus Marcellinus, that the same practice was common among the Scythian tribes (Muratori, Scriptores Rer. Italic. tom. i, p. 424). The scalps of North America are likewise trophies of valour. The skull of Cunimund was preserved above two hundred years among the Lombards; and Paul himself was one of the guests to whom duke Ratchis exhibited this cup on a high festival (l. 2, c. 28).

† Paul l. 1, c. 27. Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 110, 111.

still repeated the songs which described the heroic virtues, the valour, liberality, and fortune of the king of the Lombards.* But his ambition was yet unsatisfied: and the conqueror of the Gepidæ turned his eyes from the Danube to the richer banks of the Po and the Tiber. Fifteen years had not elapsed since his subjects, the confederates of Narses, had visited the pleasant climate of Italy: the mountains, the rivers, the highways, were familiar to their memory: the report of their success, perhaps the view of their spoils, had kindled in the rising generation the flame of emulation and enterprise. Their hopes were encouraged by the spirit and eloquence of Alboin; and it is affirmed, that he spoke to their senses, by producing at the royal feast, the fairest and most exquisite fruits that grew spontaneously in the garden of the world. No sooner had he erected his standard, than the native strength of the Lombards was multiplied by the adventurous youth of Germany and Scythia. The robust peasantry of Noricum and Pannonia had resumed the manners of barbarians; and the names of the Gepidæ, Bulgarians, Sarmatians, and Bavarians, may be distinctly traced in the provinces of Italy.† Of the Saxons, the old allies of the Lombards, twenty thousand warriors, with their wives and children, accepted the invitation of Alboin. Their bravery contributed to his success; but the accession or the absence of their numbers was not sensibly felt in the magnitude of his host. Every mode of religion was freely practised by its respective votaries. The king of the Lombards had been educated in the Arian heresy; but the Catholics, in their public worship, were allowed to pray for his conversion; while the more stubborn barbarians sacrificed a she-goat, or perhaps a captive, to the gods

* Ut hactenus etiam tam apud Bajoariorum gentem, quam et Saxonum, sed et alios ejusdem linguæ homines in eorum carminibus celebretur. Paul. l. 1, c. 27. He died A.D. 799. (Muratori, in Præfat. tom. i, p. 397.) These German songs, some of which might be as old as Tacitus (de Moribus Germ. c. 2,) were compiled and transcribed by Charlemagne. Barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit, memoriæque mandavit. (Eginard, in Vit. Carol. Magn. c. 29, p. 130, 131.) The poems, which Goldast commends (Animadvers. ad Eginard. p. 207,) appear to be recent and contemptible romances. † The other nations are rehearsed by Paul (l. 2, c. 6. 26). Muratori (Antichità Italiane, tom. i, dissertat. 1, p. 4,) has discovered the village of the Bava-

of their fathers.* The Lombards, and their confederates, were united by their common attachment to a chief, who excelled in all the virtues and vices of a savage hero; and the vigilance of Alboin provided an ample magazine of offensive and defensive arms for the use of the expedition. The portable wealth of the Lombards attended the march; their lands they cheerfully relinquished to the Avars, on the solemn promise, which was made and accepted without a smile, that if they failed in the conquest of Italy, these voluntary exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions.

They might have failed, if Narses had been the antagonist of the Lombards; and the veteran warriors, the associates of his Gothic victory, would have encountered with reluctance an enemy whom they dreaded and esteemed. But the weakness of the Byzantine court was subservient to the barbarian cause; and it was for the ruin of Italy, that the emperor once listened to the complaints of his subjects. The virtues of Narses were stained with avarice; and in his provincial reign of fifteen years he accumulated a treasure of gold and silver which surpassed the modesty of a private fortune. His government was oppressive or unpopular, and the general discontent was expressed with freedom by the deputies of Rome. Before the throne of Justin they boldly declared, that their Gothic servitude had been more tolerable than the despotism of a Greek eunuch; and that, unless their tyrant were instantly removed, they would consult their own happiness in the choice of a master. The apprehension of a revolt was urged by the voice of envy and detraction, which had so recently triumphed over the merit of Belisarius. A new exarch, Longinus, was appointed to supersede the conqueror of Italy; and the base motives of his recall were revealed in the insulting mandate of the empress Sophia, "that he should leave to MEN the exercise of arms, and return to his proper station among the maidens of the palace, where a distaff should be again placed in the hand of the eunuch."—"I will spin her such a thread as she shall not easily unravel!" is said to have been the reply which indignation and conscious virtue ex-

rians, three miles from Modena. * Gregory the Roman (Dialog. l. 3, c. 27, 28, apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 579, No. 10,) supposes that they likewise adored this she-goat. I know but of one religion in which the god and the victim are the same.

torted from the hero. Instead of attending, a slave and a victim, at the gate of the Byzantine palace, he retired to Naples, from whence (if any credit is due to the belief of the times) Narses invited the Lombards to chastise the ingratitude of the prince and people.* But the passions of the people are furious and changeable; and the Romans soon recollected the merits, or dreaded the resentment, of their victorious general. By the mediation of the pope, who undertook a special pilgrimage to Naples, their repentance was accepted; and Narses, assuming a milder aspect and a more dutiful language, consented to fix his residence in the Capitol. His death,† though in the extreme period of old age, was unseasonable and premature, since *his* genius alone could have repaired the last and fatal error of his life. The reality, or the suspicion of a conspiracy, disarmed and disunited the Italians. The soldiers resented the disgrace, and bewailed the loss, of their general. They were ignorant of their new exarch; and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province. In the preceding years, Italy had been desolated by pestilence and famine; and a disaffected people ascribed the calamities of nature to the guilt or folly of their rulers.‡

Whatever might be the grounds of his security, Alboin neither expected nor encountered a Roman army in the field. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which his victory communicated the perpetual appellation of LOMBARDY. A faithful chieftain, and a select band, were

* The charge of the deacon against Narses (l. 2, c. 5,) may be groundless; but the weak apology of the cardinal (Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 567, No. 8—12,) is rejected by the best critics—Pagi (tom. ii, p. 639, 640), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v, p. 160—163), and the last editors, Horatius Blancus (Script. Rerum Italic. tom. i, p. 427, 428), and Philip Argelatus (Sigon. Opera, tom. ii, p. 11, 12). The Narses who assisted at the coronation of Justin (Corippus, l. 3. 221), is clearly understood to be a different person.

† The death of Narses is mentioned by Paul, l. 2, c. 11; Anastas. in Vit. Johan. 3, p. 43; Agnellus, Liber Pontifical. Raven. in Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. ii, part 1, p. 114. 124. Yet I cannot believe with Agnellus that Narses was ninety-five years of age. Is it probable that all his exploits were performed at fourscore?

‡ The designs of Narses and of the Lombards for the invasion of Italy, are exposed in the last chapter of the first book, and the seven first chapters of the second book, of Paul the deacon.

stationed at Forum Julii, the modern Friuli, to guard the passes of the mountains. The Lombards respected the strength of Pavia, and listened to the prayers of the Trevisans: their slow and heavy multitudes proceeded to occupy the palace and city of Verona; and Milan, now rising from her ashes, was invested by the powers of Alboin five months after his departure from Pannonia. Terror preceded his march; he found everywhere, or he left, a dreary solitude; and the pusillanimous Italians presumed, without a trial, that the stranger was invincible. Escaping to lakes, or rocks, or morasses, the affrighted crowds concealed some fragments of their wealth, and delayed the moment of their servitude. Paulinus, the patriarch of Aquileia, removed his treasures, sacred and profane, to the isle of Grado,* and his successors were adopted by the infant republic of Venice, which was continually enriched by the public calamities. Honoratus, who filled the chair of St. Ambrose, had credulously accepted the faithless offers of a capitulation; and the archbishop, with the clergy and nobles of Milan, were driven by the perfidy of Alboin to seek a refuge in the less accessible ramparts of Genoa. Along the maritime coast, the courage of the inhabitants was supported by the facility of supply, the hopes of relief, and the power of escape; but from the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome, the inland regions of Italy became, without a battle or a siege, the lasting patrimony of the Lombards. The submission of the people invited the barbarian to assume the character of a lawful sovereign, and the helpless exarch was confined to the office of announcing to the emperor Justin, the rapid and irretrievable loss of his provinces and cities.†

* Which from this translation was called New Aquileia (Chron. Venet. p. 3). The patriarch of Grado soon became the first citizen of the republic (p. 9, &c.,) but his seat was not removed to Venice till the year 1450. He is now decorated with titles and honours; but the genius of the church has bowed to that of the State, and the government of a Catholic city is strictly presbyterian. Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i, p. 156, 157. 161—165. Amelot de la Houssaye, Gouvernement de Venise, tom. 1, p. 256—261. [The citizens of Aquileia were said (ch. 35, vol. iv, p. 29) to have sought the refuge in these islands in 451, at which time they did not exist. In the course of a hundred and twenty years, two of them, Grado and Malamocco, had risen sufficiently out of the waters, to receive the fugitives.—ED.]

† Paul has given a description of Italy, as it was then divided into eighteen regions. (l. 2, c. 14—24.) The Dissertatio Chorographica de

One city which had been diligently fortified by the Goths, resisted the arms of a new invader; and while Italy was subdued by the flying detachments of the Lombards, the royal camp was fixed above three years before the western gate of Ticinum, or Pavia. The same courage which obtains the esteem of a civilized enemy, provokes the fury of a savage, and the impatient besieger had bound himself by a tremendous oath, that age, and sex, and dignity, should be confounded in a general massacre. The aid of famine at length enabled him to execute his bloody vow; but as Alboin entered the gate, his horse stumbled, fell, and could not be raised from the ground. One of his attendants was prompted by compassion, or piety, to interpret this miraculous sign as the wrath of heaven: the conqueror paused and relented; he sheathed his sword, and, peacefully reposing himself in the palace of Theodoric, proclaimed to the trembling multitude, that they should live and obey. Delighted with the situation of a city, which was endeared to his pride by the difficulty of the purchase, the prince of the Lombards disdained the ancient glories of Milan; and Pavia, during some ages, was respected as the capital of the kingdom of Italy.*

The reign of the founder was splendid and transient; and before he could regulate his new conquests, Alboin fell a sacrifice to domestic treason and female revenge. In a palace near Verona, which had not been erected for the barbarians, he feasted the companions of his arms; intoxication was the reward of valour, and the king himself was tempted by appetite, or vanity, to exceed the ordinary measure of his intemperance. After draining many capacious bowls of Rhætian or Falernian wine, he called for the skull of Cunimund, the noblest and most precious ornament of his sideboard. The cup of victory was accepted with horrid applause by the circle of the Lombard chiefs. "Fill it again with wine," exclaimed the inhuman conqueror, "fill it to the brim; carry this goblet to the queen,

Italia Medii Ævi, by father Beretti, a Benedictine monk, and Regius professor at Pavia, has been usefully consulted.

* For the conquest of Italy, see the original materials of Paul (l. 2, c. 7—10. 12. 14. 25—27), the eloquent narrative of Sigonius (tom. ii, de Regno Italiæ (l. 1, p. 13—19), and the correct and critical review of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v, p. 164—180).

and request in my name that she would rejoice with her father." In an agony of grief and rage, Rosamond had strength to utter, "Let the will of my lord be obeyed," and, touching it with her lips, pronounced a silent imprecation, that the insult should be washed away in the blood of Alboin. Some indulgence might be due to the resentment of a daughter, if she had not already violated the duties of a wife. Implacable in her enmity, or inconstant in her love, the queen of Italy had stooped from the throne to the arms of a subject; and Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder he could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helmichis trembled when he revolved the danger, as well as the guilt, when he recollected the matchless strength and intrepidity of a warrior, whom he had so often attended in the field of battle. He pressed and obtained that one of the bravest champions of the Lombards should be associated to the enterprise; but no more than a promise of secrecy could be drawn from the gallant Peredeus; and the mode of seduction employed by Rosamond betrays her shameless insensibility both to honour and love. She supplied the place of one of her female attendants, who was beloved by Peredeus, and contrived some excuse for darkness and silence, till she could inform her companion that he had enjoyed the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of Alboin, must be the consequence of such treasonable adultery. In this alternative, he chose rather to be the accomplice than the victim of Rosamond,* whose undaunted spirit was incapable of fear or remorse. She expected, and soon found, a favourable moment, when the king, oppressed with wine, had retired from the table to his afternoon slumbers. His faithless spouse was anxious for his health and repose; the gates of the palace were shut, the arms removed, the attendants dismissed, and Rosamond, after lulling him to rest by her tender caresses, unbolted

* The classical reader will recollect the wife and murder of Candaules, so agreeably told in the first book of Herodotus. The choice of Gyges, *αἱρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι*, may serve as the excuse of Peredeus; and this soft insinuation of an odious idea has been imitated by the best writers of antiquity. (Grævius, ad Ciceron. Orat. pro Milone, c. 10.)

the chamber-door, and urged the reluctant conspirators to the instant execution of the deed. On the first alarm, the warrior started from his couch; his sword, which he attempted to draw, had been fastened to the scabbard by the hand of Rosamond; and a small stool, his only weapon, could not long protect him from the spears of the assassins. The daughter of Cunimund smiled in his fall; his body was buried under the staircase of the palace, and the grateful posterity of the Lombards revered the tomb and the memory of their victorious leader.

The ambitious Rosamond aspired to reign in the name of her lover; the city and palace of Verona were awed by her power, and a faithful band of her native Gepidæ was prepared to applaud the revenge, and to second the wishes, of their sovereign. But the Lombard chiefs, who fled in the first moments of consternation and disorder, had resumed their courage and collected their powers; and the nation, instead of submitting to her reign, demanded with unanimous cries, that justice should be executed on the guilty spouse and the murderers of their king. She sought a refuge among the enemies of her country, and a criminal who deserved the abhorrence of mankind was protected by the selfish policy of the exarch. With her daughter, the heiress of the Lombard throne, her two lovers, her trusty Gepidæ, and the spoils of the palace of Verona, Rosamond descended the Adige and the Po, and was transported by a Greek vessel to the safe harbour of Ravenna. Longinus beheld with delight the charms and the treasures of the widow of Alboin: her situation and her past conduct might justify the most licentious proposals: and she readily listened to the passion of a minister, who, even in the decline of the empire, was respected as the equal of kings. The death of a jealous lover was an easy and grateful sacrifice, and as Helmichis issued from the bath, he received the deadly potion from the hand of his mistress. The taste of the liquor, its speedy operation, and his experience of the character of Rosamond, convinced him that he was poisoned; he pointed his dagger to her breast, compelled her to drain the remainder of the cup, and expired in a few minutes, with the consolation that she could not survive to enjoy the fruits of her wickedness. The daughter of Alboin and Rosamond, with the richest spoils of the Lombards, was

embarked for Constantinople; the surprising strength of Peredeus amused and terrified the imperial court; his blindness and revenge exhibited an imperfect copy of the adventures of Samson. By the free suffrage of the nation, in the assembly of Pavia, Clepho, one of their noblest chiefs, was elected as the successor of Alboin. Before the end of eighteen months, the throne was polluted by a second murder; Clepho was stabbed by the hand of a domestic; the regal office was suspended above ten years, during the minority of his son Autharis; and Italy was divided and oppressed by a ducal aristocracy of thirty tyrants.*

When the nephew of Justinian ascended the throne, he proclaimed a new era of happiness and glory. The annals of the second Justin† are marked with disgrace abroad and misery at home. In the West the Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. Injustice prevailed both in the capital and the provinces; the rich trembled for their property, the poor for their safety, the ordinary magistrates were ignorant or venal, the occasional remedies appear to have been arbitrary and violent, and the complaints of the people could no longer be silenced by the splendid names of a legislator and a conqueror. The opinion which imputes to the prince all the calamities of his times may be countenanced by the historian as a serious truth or a salutary prejudice. Yet a candid suspicion will arise, that the sentiments of Justin were pure and benevolent, and that he might have filled his station without reproach, if the faculties of his mind had not been impaired by disease, which deprived the emperor of the use of his feet, and confined him to the palace, a stranger to the complaints of the people and the vices of the government. The tardy knowledge of his own impotence determined him to lay down the weight of the diadem; and in the choice of a worthy substitute, he shewed some symptoms of a discerning and even magnanimous spirit. The only son of Justin and Sophia died in his infancy: their

* See the history of Paul, l. 2, c. 28—32. I have borrowed some interesting circumstances from the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus, in Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii, p. 124. Of all chronological guides, Muratori is the safest.

† The original authors for the reign of Justin the Younger, are Evagrius, Hist. Eccles. l. 5, c. 1—12. Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 204—210. Zonaras, tom. ii, l. 14, p. 70—72. Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 388—392.

daughter Arabia was the wife of Baduarius,* superintendent of the palace, and afterwards commander of the Italian armies, who vainly aspired to confirm the rights of marriage by those of adoption. While the empire appeared an object of desire, Justin was accustomed to behold with jealousy and hatred his brothers and cousins, the rivals of his hopes; nor could he depend on the gratitude of those who would accept the purple as a restitution, rather than a gift. Of these competitors, one had been removed by exile, and afterwards by death; and the emperor himself had inflicted such cruel insults on another, that he must either dread his resentment or despise his patience. This domestic animosity was refined into a generous resolution of seeking a successor, not in his family, but in the republic: and the artful Sophia recommended Tiberius,† his faithful captain of the guards, whose virtues and fortune the emperor might cherish as the fruit of his judicious choice. The ceremony of his elevation to the rank of Cæsar, or Augustus, was performed in the portico of the palace, in the presence of the patriarch and the senate. Justin collected the remaining strength of his mind and body; but the popular belief that his speech was inspired by the Deity betrays a very humble opinion both of the man and of the times.‡—"You behold," said the emperor, "the ensigns of supreme power. You are about to receive them not from my hand, but from the hand of God. Honour them, and from them you will derive honour. Respect the empress your mother; you are now her son;

* Dispositorque novus sacræ Baduarius aulæ.
Successor soceri mox factus cura-palati.
Corippus.

Baduarius is enumerated among the descendants and allies of the house of Justinian. A family of noble Venetians (Casa Badoero) built churches and gave dukes to the republic as early as the ninth century; and if their descent be admitted, no kings in Europe can produce a pedigree so ancient and illustrious. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 99. Amelot de la Houssaye, Gouvernement de Venise, tom. ii, p. 555.

† The praise bestowed on princes before their elevation, is the purest and most weighty. Corippus has celebrated Tiberius at the time of the accession of Justin (l. 1, 212—222). Yet even a captain of the guards might attract the flattery of an African exile.

‡ Evagrius (l. 5, c. 13) has added the reproach to his ministers. He applies this speech to the ceremony when Tiberius was invested with the rank of Cæsar. The loose expression, rather than the positive error, of Theophanes, &c. has delayed it to his Augustan investiture

before, you were her servant. Delight not in blood; abstain from revenge; avoid those actions by which I have incurred the public hatred; and consult the experience, rather than the example, of your predecessor. As a man, I have sinned; as a sinner, even in this life, I have been severely punished; but these servants," and he pointed to his ministers, "who have abused my confidence, and inflamed my passions, will appear with me before the tribunal of Christ. I have been dazzled by the splendour of the diadem: be thou wise and modest; remember what you have been, remember what you are. You see around us your slaves and your children; with the authority, assume the tenderness, of a parent. Love your people like yourself; cultivate the affections, maintain the discipline, of the army: protect the fortunes of the rich, relieve the necessities of the poor."* The assembly, in silence, and in tears, applauded the counsels, and sympathised with the repentance, of their prince: the patriarch rehearsed the prayers of the church; Tiberius received the diadem on his knees, and Justin, who in his abdication appeared most worthy to reign, addressed the new monarch in the following words:—"If you consent, I live; if you command, I die: may the God of heaven and earth infuse into your heart whatever I have neglected or forgotten." The four last years of the emperor Justin were passed in tranquil obscurity: his conscience was no longer tormented by the remembrance of those duties which he was incapable of discharging: and his choice was justified by the filial reverence and gratitude of Tiberius.

Among the virtues of Tiberius,† his beauty (he was one of the tallest and most comely of the Romans) might introduce him to the favour of Sophia; and the widow of Justin was persuaded that she should preserve her station and influence under the reign of a second and more youthful husband.

immediately before the death of Justin.

* Theophylact Simocatta (l. 3, c. 11) declares, that he shall give to posterity the speech of Justin as it was pronounced, without attempting to correct the imperfections of language or rhetoric. Perhaps the vain sophist would have been incapable of producing such sentiments.

† For the character and reign of Tiberius, see Evagrius, l. 5, c. 13. Theophylact, l. 3, c. 12, &c. Theophanes, in Chron. p. 210—213. Zonaras, tom. ii, l. 14, p. 72. Cedrenus, p. 392. Paul Warnefrid, de Gestis Langobard. l. 3, c. 11, 12. The deacon of Forum Julii appears to have possessed some curious and authentic facts.

But if the ambitious candidate had been tempted to flatter and dissemble, it was no longer in his power to fulfil her expectations, or his own promise. The factions of the hippodrome demanded, with some impatience, the name of their new empress; both the people and Sophia were astonished by the proclamation of Anastasia, the secret, though lawful, wife of the emperor Tiberius. Whatever could alleviate the disappointment of Sophia, imperial honours, a stately palace, a numerous household, was liberally bestowed by the piety of her adopted son; on solemn occasions he attended and consulted the widow of his benefactor: but her ambition disdained the vain semblance of royalty, and the respectful appellation of mother served to exasperate, rather than appease, the rage of an injured woman. While she accepted, and repaid with a courtly smile, the fair expressions of regard and confidence, a secret alliance was concluded between the dowager empress and her ancient enemies; and Justinian, the son of Germanus, was employed as the instrument of her revenge. The pride of the reigning house supported, with reluctance, the dominion of a stranger: the youth was deservedly popular; his name after the death of Justin, had been mentioned by a tumultuous faction; and his own submissive offer of his head, with a treasure of sixty thousand pounds, might be interpreted as an evidence of guilt, or at least of fear. Justinian received a free pardon, and the command of the Eastern army. The Persian monarch fled before his arms; and the acclamations which accompanied his triumph declared him worthy of the purple. His artful patroness had chosen the month of the vintage, while the emperor, in a rural solitude, was permitted to enjoy the pleasures of a subject. On the first intelligence of her designs he returned to Constantinople, and the conspiracy was suppressed by his presence and firmness. From the pomp and honours which she had abused, Sophia was reduced to a modest allowance; Tiberius dismissed her train, intercepted her correspondence, and committed to a faithful guard the custody of her person. But the services of Justinian were not considered by that excellent prince as an aggravation of his offences; after a mild reproof, his treason and ingratitude were forgiven; and it was commonly believed, that the emperor entertained some thoughts of contracting a double alliance with the rival of his throne.

The voice of an angel (such a fable was propagated) might reveal to the emperor, that he should always triumph over his domestic foes; but Tiberius derived a firmer assurance from the innocence and generosity of his own mind.

With the odious name of Tiberius, he assumed the more popular appellation of Constantine, and imitated the purer virtues of the Antonines. After recording the vice or folly of so many Roman princes, it is pleasing to repose, for a moment, on a character conspicuous by the qualities of humanity, justice, temperance, and fortitude; to contemplate a sovereign affable in his palace, pious in the church, impartial on the seat of judgment, and victorious, at least by his generals, in the Persian war, The most glorious trophy of his victory consisted in a multitude of captives whom Tiberius entertained, redeemed, and dismissed to their native homes with the charitable spirit of a Christian hero. The merit or misfortunes of his own subjects had a dearer claim to his beneficence, and he measured his bounty not so much by their expectations as by his own dignity. This maxim, however dangerous in a trustee of the public wealth, was balanced by a principle of humanity and justice, which taught him to abhor, as of the basest alloy, the gold that was extracted from the tears of the people. For their relief, as often as they had suffered by natural or hostile calamities, he was impatient to remit the arrears of the past, or the demands of future taxes: he sternly rejected the servile offerings of his ministers, which were compensated by tenfold oppression: and the wise and equitable laws of Tiberius excited the praise and regret of succeeding times. Constantinople believed that the emperor had discovered a treasure: but his genuine treasure consisted in the practice of liberal economy, and the contempt of all vain and superfluous expense. The Romans of the East would have been happy, if the best gift of Heaven, a patriot king, had been confirmed as a proper and permanent blessing. But in less than four years after the death of Justin, his worthy successor sank into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to restore the diadem, according to the tenure by which he held it, to the most deserving of his fellow-citizens. He selected Maurice from the crowd, a judgment more precious than the purple itself: the patriarch and senate were summoned to the bed of the dying prince;

he bestowed his daughter and the empire; and his last advice was solemnly delivered by the voice of the quæstor. Tiberius expressed his hope, that the virtues of his son and successor would erect the noblest mausoleum to his memory. His memory was embalmed by the public affliction; but the most sincere grief evaporates in the tumult of a new reign, and the eyes and acclamations of mankind were speedily directed to the rising sun.

The emperor Maurice derived his origin from ancient Rome,* but his immediate parents were settled at Arabissus in Cappadocia, and their singular felicity preserved them alive to behold and partake the fortune of their *august* son. The youth of Maurice was spent in the profession of arms; Tiberius promoted him to the command of a new and favourite legion of twelve thousand confederates; his valour and conduct were signalized in the Persian war; and he returned to Constantinople to accept, as his just reward, the inheritance of the empire. Maurice ascended the throne at the mature age of forty-three years; and he reigned above twenty years over the East and over himself;† expelling from his mind the wild democracy of passions, and establishing (according to the quaint expression of Evagrius) a perfect aristocracy of reason and virtue. Some suspicion will degrade the testimony of a subject, though he protests that his secret praise should never reach the ear of his sovereign,‡ and some failings seem to place the character of Maurice below the purer merit of his predecessor. His cold and reserved demeanour might be imputed to arrogance; his justice was not always exempt

* It is therefore singular enough that Paul (l. 3, c. 15) should distinguish him as the first Greek emperor—primus ex Græcorum genere in imperio constitutus. His immediate predecessors had indeed been born in the Latin provinces of Europe; and a various reading, in Græcorum imperio, would apply the expression to the empire rather than the prince.

† Consult for the character and reign of Maurice, the fifth and sixth books of Evagrius, particularly l. 6, c. 1, the eight books of his prolix and florid history by Theophylact Simocatta. Theophanes, p. 213, &c. Zonaras, tom. ii, l. 14, p. 73. Cedrenus, p. 394.

‡ Αὐτοκράτωρ ὄντως γενόμενος τὴν μὲν ὀχλοκρατείαν τῶν παθῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐξενηλάτησε ψυχῆς· ἀριστοκρατείαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς καταστησάμενος. Evagrius composed his history in the twelfth year of Maurice; and he had been so wisely indiscreet, that the emperor knew and rewarded his favourable opinion (l. 6, c. 24).

from cruelty, nor his clemency from weakness; and his rigid economy too often exposed him to the reproach of avarice. But the rational wishes of an absolute monarch must tend to the happiness of his people; Maurice was endowed with sense and courage to promote that happiness, and his administration was directed by the principles and example of Tiberius. The pusillanimity of the Greeks had introduced so complete a separation between the offices of king and of general, that a private soldier, who had deserved and obtained the purple, seldom or never appeared at the head of his armies. Yet the emperor Maurice enjoyed the glory of restoring the Persian monarch to his throne: his lieutenants waged a doubtful war against the Avars of the Danube; and he cast an eye of pity, of ineffectual pity, on the abject and distressful state of his Italian provinces.

From Italy the emperors were incessantly tormented by tales of misery and demands of succour, which extorted the humiliating confession of their own weakness. The expiring dignity of Rome was only marked by the freedom and energy of her complaints. "If you are incapable," she said, "of delivering us from the sword of the Lombards, save us at least from the calamity of famine." Tiberius forgave the reproach, and relieved the distress: a supply of corn was transported from Egypt to the Tiber; and the Roman people, invoking the name, not of Camillus, but of St. Peter, repulsed the barbarians from their walls. But the relief was accidental, the danger was perpetual and pressing: and the clergy and senate, collecting the remains of their ancient opulence, a sum of three thousand pounds of gold, dispatched the patrician Pamphronius to lay their gifts and their complaints at the foot of the Byzantine throne. The attention of the court, and the forces of the East, were diverted by the Persian war; but the justice of Tiberius applied the subsidy to the defence of the city; and he dismissed the patrician with his best advice, either to bribe the Lombard chiefs, or to purchase the aid of the kings of France. Notwithstanding this weak invention, Italy was still afflicted, Rome was again besieged, and the suburb of Classe, only three miles from Ravenna, was pillaged and occupied by the troops of a simple duke of Spoleto. Maurice gave audience to a second deputation of priests and senators; the duties and the menaces of religion

were forcibly urged in the letters of the Roman pontiff; and his nuncio, the deacon Gregory, was alike qualified to solicit the powers either of heaven or of the earth. The emperor adopted with stronger effect the measures of his predecessor; some formidable chiefs were persuaded to embrace the friendship of the Romans; and one of them, a mild and faithful barbarian, lived and died in the service of the exarch: the passes of the Alps were delivered to the Franks; and the pope encouraged them to violate, without scruple, their oaths and engagements to the misbelievers. Childebert, the great-grandson of Clovis, was persuaded to invade Italy by the payment of fifty thousand pieces; but as he had viewed with delight some Byzantine coin of the weight of one pound of gold, the king of Austrasia might stipulate, that the gift should be rendered more worthy of his acceptance, by a proper mixture of these respectable medals. The dukes of the Lombards had provoked by frequent inroads their powerful neighbours of Gaul. As soon as they were apprehensive of a just retaliation, they renounced their feeble and disorderly independence: the advantages of regal government, union, secrecy, and vigour, were unanimously confessed; and Autharis, the son of Clepho, had already attained the strength and reputation a warrior. Under the standard of their new king, the conquerors of Italy withstood three successive invasions, one of which was led by Childebert himself, the last of the Merovingian race who descended from the Alps. The first expedition was defeated by the jealous animosity of the Franks and Allemanni. In the second they were vanquished in a bloody battle, with more loss and dishonour than they had sustained since the foundation of their monarchy. Impatient for revenge, they returned a third time with accumulated force, and Autharis yielded to the fury of the torrent. The troops and treasures of the Lombards were distributed in the walled towns between the Alps and the Apennine. A nation, less sensible of danger than of fatigue and delay, soon murmured against the folly of their twenty commanders; and the hot vapours of an Italian sun infected with disease those tramontane bodies which had already suffered the vicissitudes of intemperance and famine. The powers that were inadequate to the conquest were more than sufficient for the desolation of the country;

nor could the trembling natives distinguish between their enemies and their deliverers. If the junction of the Merovingian and imperial forces had been effected in the neighbourhood of Milan, perhaps they might have subverted the throne of the Lombards; but the Franks expected six days the signal of a flaming village, and the arms of the Greeks were idly employed in the reduction of Modena and Parma, which were torn from them after the retreat of their transalpine allies. The victorious Autharis asserted his claim to the dominion of Italy. At the foot of the Rhætian Alps, he subdued the resistance, and rifled the hidden treasures, of a sequestered island in the lake of Comum. At the extreme point of Calabria he touched with his spear a column on the sea-shore of Rhegium,* proclaiming that ancient land-mark to stand the immoveable boundary of his kingdom.†

During a period of two hundred years, Italy was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna. The offices and professions, which the jealousy of Constantine had separated, were united by the indulgence of Justinian; and eighteen successive exarchs were invested, in the decline of the empire, with the full remains of civil, of military, and even of ecclesiastical power. Their immediate jurisdiction, which was afterwards consecrated as the patrimony of St. Peter, extended over the modern Romagna, the marshes or valleys of Ferrara and Commachio;‡ five maritime cities from Rimini

* The Columna Rhegina, in the narrowest part of the Faro of Messina, one hundred stadia from Rhegium itself, is frequently mentioned in ancient geography. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii, p. 1295. Lucas Holsten. Annotat. ad Cluver. p. 301. Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 106. [The Columna Rhegina was the termination of the Antonini Iter through the whole length of Italy from Mediolanum. The site of this column is now marked by the village of Catona, where the small river Cessis flows into the straits of Messina.—Ed.] † The Greek historians afford some faint hints of the wars of Italy. (Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 124. 126. Theophylact, l. 3, c. 4.) The Latins are more satisfactory; and especially Paul Warnefrid (l. 3, c. 13—34), who had read the more ancient histories of Secundus and Gregory of Tours. Baronius produces some letters of the popes, &c. and the times are measured by the accurate scale of Pagi and Muratori. ‡ The papal advocates, Zacagni and Fontanini, might justly claim the valley or morass of Commachio as a part of the exarchate. But the ambition of including Modena, Reggio, Parma and Placentia, has darkened a

to Ancona, and a second inland Pentapolis, between the Adriatic coast and the hills of the Apennine. Three subordinate provinces, of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples, which were divided by hostile lands from the palace of Ravenna, acknowledged, both in peace and war, the supremacy of the exarch. The duchy of Rome appears to have included the Tuscan, Sabine, and Latian conquests of the first four hundred years of the city, and the limits may be distinctly traced along the coast from Civita Vecchia, to Terracina, and with the course of the Tiber from Ameria and Narni to the port of Ostia. The numerous islands from Grado to Chiozza, composed the infant dominion of Venice; but the more accessible towns on the continent were overthrown by the Lombards, who beheld with impotent fury a new capital rising from the waves. The power of the dukes of Naples was circumscribed by the bay and the adjacent isles, by the hostile territory of Capua, and by the Roman colony of Amalphi,* whose industrious

geographical question somewhat doubtful and obscure. Even Muratori, as the servant of the house of Este, is not free from partiality and prejudice. [Tasso has marked the situation of Commachio,

"dove impaluda
Ne' seni di Commachio il nostro mar."
Gerusalemme Liberata, 7. 46.

It was one of the early islands, formed by two branches of the Po, now called di Volana and di Primaro; and received from the Gauls the usual Celtic designation of a "meeting of waters."—ED.]

* See Brenckman, Dissert. 1ma de Republica Amalphitana, p. 1—42, ad calcem Hist. Pandect. Florent. [The invention of the mariner's compass at Amalphi in 1302, by Flavio Gioja, is now generally discredited. It is very improbable that such a discovery should have been made in a fallen city, which had ceased to be commercially active since its capture by the Pisans more than a century and a half before (A.D. 1137, Sismondi, Repub. du Moyen Age, tom. i, p. 303), when it was completely ruined. The English reader may refer to Mr. Hallam's authorities (Middle Ages, iii. 394) for this important aid to navigation having been known and mentioned so early as 1100; and the German student may be instructed by M. Wachsmuth's Dissertation (Ersch und Gruber. Allg. Encyc. 3. 302), which carries it back only to 1250, when it was among the scientific novelties patronized by Birger Jarl, the regent of Sweden. The Italians derived their term *bussola*, from the French *boussole*, which was taken from the Dutch or Flemish *boxel* (büchse or box), whence we no doubt have our *boxing* the compass. Some early merchant-adventurer of the Netherlands probably brought it from a distant country, but never arrogated to himself the merit of the discovery.—ED.]

citizens, by the invention of the mariner's compass, have unveiled the face of the globe. The three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the empire; and the acquisition of the farther Calabria removed the landmark of Autharis from the shore of Rhegium to the isthmus of Consentia. In Sardinia, the savage mountaineers preserved the liberty and religion of their ancestors; but the husbandmen of Sicily were chained to their rich and cultivated soil. Rome was oppressed by the iron sceptre of the exarchs, and a Greek, perhaps a eunuch, insulted with impunity the ruins of the Capitol. But Naples soon acquired the privilege of electing her own dukes;* the independence of Amalphi was the fruit of commerce; and the voluntary attachment of Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the Eastern empire. On the map of Italy, the measure of the exarchate occupies a very inadequate space, but it included an ample proportion of wealth, industry, and population. The most faithful and valuable subjects escaped from the barbarian yoke; and the banners of Pavia and Verona, of Milan and Padua, were displayed in their respective quarters by the new inhabitants of Ravenna. The remainder of Italy was possessed by the Lombards; and from Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avars, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Austrasia and Burgundy. In the language of modern geography, it is now represented by the Terra Firma of the Venetian republic, Tyrol, the Milanese, Piedmont, the coast of Genoa, Mantua, Parma, and Modena, the grand duchy of Tuscany, and a large portion of the ecclesiastical state from Perugia to the Adriatic. The dukes, and at length the princes, of Beneventum survived the monarchy, and propagated the name of the Lombards. From Capua to Tarentum they reigned near five hundred years over the greatest part of the present kingdom of Naples.†

* Gregor. Magn. l. 3, epist. 23. 25—27.

† I have described the state of Italy from the excellent Dissertation of Beretti. Giannone (Istoria Civile, tom. i, p. 374—387) has followed the learned Camillo Pellegrini in the geography of the kingdom of Naples. After the loss of the true Calabria, the vanity of the Greeks substituted that name instead of the more ignoble appellation of Bruttium; and the change appears to have taken place before the time of

In comparing the proportion of the victorious and the vanquished people, the change of language will afford the most probable inference. According to this standard it will appear, that the Lombards of Italy, and the Visigoths of Spain, were less numerous than the Franks or Burgundians; and the conquerors of Gaul must yield, in their turn, to the multitude of Saxons and Angles who almost eradicated the idioms of Britain. The modern Italian has been insensibly formed by the mixture of nations: the awkwardness of the barbarians in the nice management of declensions and conjugations, reduced them to the use of articles and auxiliary verbs; and many new ideas have been expressed by Teutonic appellations. Yet the principal stock of technical and familiar words is found to be of Latin derivation;*

Charlemagne (Eginard, p. 75). [*Why* was the name of Bruttium ignoble? and *how* did that of Calabria gratify the vanity of the Greeks? The south-eastern peninsula of Italy was first called by them Iapygia and then Messapia. Calabria was of Latin invention. If antiquity ennobles, the Bruttii of the south-western peninsula share the glory, for they are among the most ancient people of the country (Niebuhr, Lec. 1, 120. 419). Their name adhered to that point of land through all Roman times. In the sixth century it is described by Cassiodorus (Var. viii, 31), and in the eighth by Paulus Diaconus. In the next century, Zonaras called the same district Calabria. The name was transferred about the time of the Saracenic invasions, and was probably carried by emigrants or fugitives, who left one peninsula to seek safety in the less accessible mountain-tracts of the other. The original Calabria is now La Terra di Otranto. The former Ager Bruttius is Calabria Oltra, and the southern part of Lucania, Calabria Citra. —ED.]

* Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part 1, p. 310—321) and Muratori (Antichitá Italiane, tom. ii, Dissertazione 32, 33, p. 71—365), have asserted the native claims of the Italian idiom: the former with enthusiasm, the latter with discretion; both with learning, ingenuity, and truth. [Gibbon has here applied a very just test to decide the relative proportion of races in the different countries of Europe after the fall of the Roman empire. The retirement of the Celtic population into remote corners, the progress of the Gothic, and their commixture with the Latin and Latino-Celtic, are subjects that have often come under our notice. Mr. Hallam (iii. 313—330), has some excellent observations, particularly on the Roman pronunciation of their language. Of this, which is so necessary to a clear understanding of Latin and the modern dialects into which it has been variously infused, our most corrupt and barbarous mode of uttering it makes us very incompetent judges. Quintilian (l. 9, c. 4) has given some concise rules, which we ought not to have neglected. The treatise of Justus Lipsius, De Pronuntiatione Linguæ Latinæ, may be use-

and if we were sufficiently conversant with the obsolete, the rustic, and the municipal dialects of ancient Italy, we should trace the origin of many terms which might, perhaps, be rejected by the classic purity of Rome. A numerous army constitutes but a small nation, and the powers of the Lombards were soon diminished by the retreat of twenty thousand Saxons, who scorned a dependent situation, and returned, after many bold and perilous adventures, to their native country.* The camp of Alboin was of formidable extent, but the extent of a camp would be easily circumscribed within the limits of a city; and its martial inhabitants must be thinly scattered over the face of a large country. When Alboin descended from the Alps, he invested his nephew, the first duke of Friuli, with the command of the province and the people; but the prudent Gisulf would have declined the dangerous office, unless he had been permitted to choose, among the nobles of the Lombards, a sufficient number of families† to form a perpetual colony of soldiers and subjects. In the progress of conquest, the same option could not be granted to the dukes of Brescia or Bergamo, of Pavia or Turin, of Spoleto or Beneventum; but each of these, and each of their col-

fully consulted; but his system is, in some parts, too intricate and perplexed.—ED.]

* Paul, De Gest. Langobard. l. 3, c. 5—7.

† Paul, l. 2, c. 9. He calls these families or generations by the Teutonic name of *Faras*, which is likewise used in the Lombard laws. The humble deacon was not insensible of the nobility of his own race. See l. 4, c. 39. [What Goth has not reason to be proud of his lineage? The term *faras* denoted, in primæval nomade times, those who wandered or *fared* together. Its root is the Gothic *fœra*, whence the Anglo-Saxons had their ꝼeꝼan, the Germans their *fahren*, the Dutch their *vaaren*, the Italians their *Faro* di Messina, and we our thorough-*fare*, way-*farer*, *ferry*, &c. It first signified the moving of the person, and was afterwards extended (see Somner's Lexicon) by the wild wanderer, to the conveyance of his chattels with him. In Ingram's Saxon Chronicle (p. 178), ꝼeꝼde is erroneously translated "forded." The modern use of the term is unquestionable; and as the Germans employ *geführte*, originally a fellow-traveller, to denote generally a companion, so of old the Lombards applied their *faras*, or bands of wanderers, to express companies or families. F. Wachter, a name of repute in such inquiries, has given a long and learned dissertation on the word *far* (Allgem. Encyc. 41. 391—399), in which he alludes briefly to the Lombard use of it, and to its occurrence in the Frank name of Faramund (the Protector of families or races).—ED.]

leagues, settled in his appointed district with a band of followers who resorted to his standard in war and his tribunal in peace. Their attachment was free and honourable: resigning the gifts and benefits which they had accepted, they might emigrate with their families into the jurisdiction of another duke; but their absence from the kingdom was punished with death, as a crime of military desertion.* The posterity of the first conquerors struck a deeper root into the soil, which, by every motive of interest and honour, they were bound to defend. A Lombard was born the soldier of his king and his duke; and the civil assemblies of the nation displayed the banners, and assumed the appellation, of a regular army. Of this army, the pay and the rewards were drawn from the conquered provinces; and the distribution, which was not effected till after the death of Alboin, is disgraced by the foul marks of injustice and rapine. Many of the most wealthy Italians were slain or banished; the remainder were divided among the strangers; and a tributary obligation was imposed (under the name of hospitality), of paying to the Lombards a third part of the fruits of the earth. Within less than seventy years, this artificial system was abolished by a more simple and solid tenure.† Either the Roman landlord was expelled by his strong and insolent guest; or the annual payment, a third of the produce, was exchanged by a more equitable transaction for an adequate proportion of landed property. Under these foreign masters, the business of agriculture, in the cultivation of corn, vines, and olives, was exercised with degenerate skill and industry by the labour of the slaves and natives. But the occupations of a pastoral life were more pleasing to the idleness of the barbarians. In the rich meadows of Venetia, they restored and improved the breed of horses for which that province had once been illustrious,‡ and the Italians beheld with astonishment a

* Compare No. 3 and 177 of the laws of Rotharis.

† Paul, l. 2, c. 31, 32; l. 3, c. 16. The laws of Rotharis, promulgated A.D. 643, do not contain the smallest vestige of this payment of thirds; but they preserve many curious circumstances of the state of Italy and the manners of the Lombards.

‡ The studs of Dionysius of Syracuse, and his frequent victories in the Olympic games, had diffused among the Greeks the fame of the Venetian horses; but the breed was extinct in the time of Strabo (l. 5, p. 325). Gisulf obtained from his uncle generosarum equarum greges. Paul,

foreign race of oxen or buffaloes.* The depopulation of Lombardy, and the increase of forests, afforded an ample range for the pleasures of the chase.† That marvellous art which teaches the birds of the air to acknowledge the voice, and execute the commands, of their master, had been unknown to the ingenuity of the Greeks and Romans.‡

l. 2, c. 9. The Lombards afterwards introduced caballi sylvatici—wild horses. Paul, l. 4, c. 11. [See in ch. 40 (vol. iv, p. 301) the note on the *Veneti* of the circus, and that on Sicilian horses, ch. 41 (Ib. p. 370).—Ed.]

* Tunc (A.D. 596) primum, bubali in Italiam delati Italiæ populis miracula fuere (Paul Warnefrid, l. 4, c. 11). The buffaloes, whose native climate appears to be Africa and India, are unknown to Europe, except in Italy, where they are numerous and useful. ' The ancients were ignorant of these animals, unless Aristotle (Hist. Animal. l. 2, c. 1, p. 58, Paris, 1783), has described them as the wild oxen of Arachosia. See Buffon (Hist. Naturelle, tom. xi, and Supplement, tom. vi. Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. i, p. 7. 481; ii, 105; iii, 291; iv, 234. 461; v, 193; vi. 491; viii, 400; x, 666. Pennant's Quadrupeds, p. 24. Dictionnaire d'Hist. Naturelle, par Valmont de Bomare, tom. ii, p. 74). Yet I must not conceal the suspicion that Paul, by a vulgar error, may have applied the name of bubalus to the aurochs, or wild bull, of ancient Germany. [The vulgar error of giving the name of *bubalus* to the *urus*, was as old as the time of Pliny (8. 15). This animal is again mentioned by him (11. 45) as supplying the barbarians of the North with drinking-cups made from its horns. His *urus* was the *urochs* of the early Germans, now altered to *auerochs* (Adelung Wört. l. 419). *Ur* was a primitive term in use among them (Goth. Jör. Ang.-Sax. eor) to mark pre-eminence in antiquity, greatness, strength, courage, &c. Macrobius confounded the names of countries when he wrote (Saturn. 6. 4) "Uri enim *Gallica* vox est, qua feri boves significantur." Gallia never had either the name or the animal. When Charlemagne wished to hunt it, he went to the Hartz mountains for the sport. It is now unknown in Germany, but still found in parts of former Poland. See ch. 41, vol. iv, p. 427.—Ed.]

† Consult the twenty-first Dissertation of Muratori.

‡ Their ignorance is proved by the silence even of those who professedly treat of the arts of hunting and the history of animals. Aristotle (Hist. Animal. l. 9, c. 36, tom. i, p. 586, and the notes of his last editor, M. Camus, tom. ii, p. 314), Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. 10, c. 10), Ælian (De Natur. Animal. l. 2, c. 42), and perhaps Homer (Odyss. 22. 302—306), describe with astonishment a tacit league and common chase between the hawks and the Thracian fowlers. [Gibbon cannot here mean that the art of employing falcons in the chase of other birds was unknown to the ancients; but that it was not carried by them to the degree of perfection in which it was practised by later generations. Beckmann (Hist. of Inventions, edit. Bohn, i. 200) quotes a passage in a work ascribed to Aristotle (De Mirabilibus Auscultat. c. 128), in which the sport is clearly described. From Ælian's account, it appears that the Greeks had received their knowledge of this art

Scandinavia and Scythia produce the boldest and most tractable falcons:* they were tamed and educated by the roving inhabitants always on horseback and in the field. This favourite amusement of our ancestors was introduced by the barbarians into the Roman provinces; and the laws of Italy esteem the sword and the hawk as of equal dignity and importance in the hands of a noble Lombard.†

So rapid was the influence of climate and example, that the Lombards of the fourth generation surveyed with curiosity and affright the portraits of their savage forefathers.‡ Their heads were shaven behind, but the shaggy locks hung over their eyes and mouth, and a long beard represented the name and character of the nation. Their dress consisted of loose linen garments, after the fashion of the Anglo-Saxons, which were decorated, in their opinion, with broad stripes of variegated colours. The legs and feet were clothed in long hose, and open sandals; and even in the security of peace a trusty sword was constantly girt to their side. Yet this strange apparel, and horrid aspect, often concealed a gentle and generous disposition; and as

through the Persians, from the Indians. Its early use in Oriental lands is thought by some to be intimated in the Book of Baruch (3. 17), where mention is made of "those who have their pastime with the fowls of the air." One of the first notices of it among the Gothic races, is in the Annals of the Franks, where it is recorded that Merovæus ordered his dogs, horses, and birds, to be taken to the Abbey of Tours for his amusement. In the twelfth century the emperor Frederic II. wrote a book in Latin, De Arte Venandi cum Avibus. This curious MS. was first printed at Augsburg in 1596, and in 1788–9 it was reprinted at Leipzig, with an elaborate commentary by J. G. Schneider. There is a MS. in the Bibl. Mazarine, which contains two-thirds more than has yet been published.—ED.]

* Particularly the gerfaut or gyrfalcon, of the size of a small eagle. See the animated description of M. de Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xvi, p. 239, &c.

† Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i, part 2, p. 129. This is the sixteenth law of the emperor Lewis the Pious. His father, Charlemagne, had falconers in his household as well as huntsmen. (Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de St. Palaye, tom. iii, p. 175.) I observe in the laws of Rotharis a more early mention of the art of hawking (No. 322), and in Gaul, in the fifth century, it is celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris among the talents of Avitus (202—207).

‡ The epitaph of Droctulf (Paul, l. 3, c. 19) may be applied to many of his countrymen:

Terribilis visu facies, sed corde benignus
Longaque robusto pectore barba fuit.

The portraits of the old Lombards might still be seen in the palace of Monza, twelve miles from Milan, which had been founded or restored

soon as the rage of battle had subsided, the captives and subjects were sometimes surprised by the humanity of the victor. The vices of the Lombards were the effect of passion, of ignorance, of intoxication; their virtues are the more laudable, as they were not affected by the hypocrisy of social manners, nor imposed by the rigid constraint of laws and education. I should not be apprehensive of deviating from my subject, if it were in my power to delineate the private life of the conquerors of Italy; and I shall relate with pleasure the adventurous gallantry of Autharis, which breathes the true spirit of chivalry and romance.* After the loss of his promised bride, a Merovingian princess, he sought in marriage the daughter of the king of Bavaria; and Garibald accepted the alliance of the Italian monarch. Impatient of the slow progress of negotiation, the ardent lover escaped from his palace and visited the court of Bavaria in the train of his own embassy. At the public audience, the unknown stranger advanced to the throne, and informed Garibald, that the ambassador was indeed the minister of state, but that he alone was the friend of Autharis, who had trusted him with the delicate commission of making a faithful report of the charms of his spouse. Theudelinda was summoned to undergo this important examination; and after a pause of silent rapture, he hailed her as the queen of Italy, and humbly requested, that, according to the custom of the nation, she would present a cup of wine to the first of her new subjects. By the command of her father she obeyed: Autharis received the cup in his turn, and, in restoring it to the princess, he secretly touched her hand, and drew his own finger over his face and lips. In the evening, Theudelinda imparted to her nurse the indiscreet familiarity of the stranger, and was comforted by the assurance, that such boldness could proceed only from the king her husband, who by his beauty and courage, appeared worthy of her love. The ambassadors were dismissed; no sooner did they reach the confines of Italy, than Autharis, raising himself on his horse, darted his battle-axe against a tree with incomparable strength and dexterity.

by queen Theudelinda (l. 4. 22, 23). See Muratori, tom. i, dissertaz. 23, p. 300. * The story of Autharis and Theudelinda is related by Paul, l. 3, c. 29. 34, and any fragment of Bavarian antiquity excites the indefatigable diligence of the count de Buat. Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. xi, p. 595—635; tom. xii, p. 1—53.

"Such," said he to the astonished Bavarians, "such are the strokes of the king of the Lombards." On the approach of a French army, Garibald and his daughter took refuge in the dominions of their ally; and the marriage was consummated in the palace of Verona. At the end of one year, it was dissolved by the death of Autharis: but the virtues of Theudelinda* had endeared her to the nation, and she was permitted to bestow, with her hand, the sceptre of the Italian kingdom.

From this fact, as well as from similar events,† it is certain that the Lombards possessed freedom to elect their sovereign, and sense to decline the frequent use of that dangerous privilege. The public revenue arose from the produce of land, and the profits of justice. When the independent dukes agreed that Autharis should ascend the throne of his father, they endowed the regal office with a fair moiety of their respective domains. The proudest nobles aspired to the honours of servitude near the person of their prince: he rewarded the fidelity of his vassals by the precarious gift of pensions and *benefices;* and atoned for the injuries of war by the rich foundation of monasteries and churches. In peace a judge, a leader in war, he never usurped the powers of a sole and absolute legislator. The king of Italy convened the national assemblies in the palace, or more probably in the fields of Pavia: his great council was composed of the persons most eminent by their birth and dignities; but the validity, as well as the execution, of their decrees, depended on the approbation of the *faithful* people, the *fortunate* army of the Lombards. About fourscore years after the conquest of Italy, their traditional customs were transcribed in Teutonic Latin,‡ and ratified by the consent of the prince and people: some new regulations were introduced, more suitable to their present condition; the example of Rotharis was imitated by the wisest

* Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i, p. 263) has justly censured the impertinence of Boccaccio (Gior. 3. Novel. 2) who, without right, or truth, or pretence, has given the pious queen Theudelinda to the arms of a muleteer.

† Paul, l. 3, c. 16. The first dissertations of Muratori, and the first volume of Giannone's history, may be consulted for the state of the kingdom of Italy.

‡ The most accurate edition of the laws of the Lombards is to be found in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. i, part 2, p. 1—181, collated from the most ancient MSS. and illustrated by the critical

of his successors, and the laws of the Lombards have been esteemed the least imperfect of the barbaric codes.* Secure by their courage in the possession of liberty, these rude and hasty legislators were incapable of balancing the powers of the constitution, or of discussing the nice theory of political government. Such crimes as threatened the life of the sovereign, or the safety of the state, were adjudged worthy of death; but their attention was principally confined to the defence of the person and property of the subject. According to the strange jurisprudence of the times, the guilt of blood might be redeemed by a fine; yet the high price of nine hundred pieces of gold declares a just sense of the value of a simple citizen. Less atrocious injuries, a wound, a fracture, a blow, an opprobrious word, were measured with scrupulous and almost ridiculous diligence; and the prudence of the legislator encouraged the ignoble practice of bartering honour and revenge for a pecuniary compensation. The ignorance of the Lombards, in the state of Paganism or Christianity, gave implicit credit to the malice and mischief of witchcraft; but the judges of the seventeenth century might have been instructed and confounded by the wisdom of Rotharis, who derides the absurd superstition, and protects the wretched victims of popular or judicial cruelty.† The same spirit

notes of Muratori.

* Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. 28, c. 1. Les loix des Bourguignons sont assez judicieuses; celles de Rotharis et des autres princes Lombards le sont encore plus.

† See Leges Rotharis, No. 379, p. 47. *Striga* is used as the name of a witch. It is of the purest classic origin (Horat. epod. 5, 20. Petron. c. 134), and, from the words of Petronius (quæ striges comederunt nervos tuos?) it may be inferred that the prejudice was of Italian rather than barbaric extraction. [The "nocturnæ strigis" of Horace, in the passage here referred to, did not denote the sorceress herself, but the "bird of night" whose plumage was one of the ingredients used by her. Pliny (11. 95) seems to have regarded the *strix* as a creature of fable like the harpy. His description of its imputed habits makes it probable that the *striges* of Petronius were these imaginary birds, and not beings wearing the human form like the *lamiæ* of Horace. (A. P. v. 340.) The witchcraft of classic times was very different from that of later ages. Medea, Circe, the monsters of Colchis, Canidia, and Sagana, used drugged cups, distillations from poisonous herbs, broth of putrid offal, potions or ointments. These, applied to the living, might produce vertigoes and illusions, which ignorant credulity mistook for realities. Witchcraft assumed its later character when it pretended to rival the miracles which Christian

of a legislator, superior to his age and country, may be ascribed to Luitprand, who condemns, while he tolerates, the impious and inveterate abuse of duels,* observing from his own experience, that the juster cause had often been oppressed by successful violence. Whatever merit may be discovered in the laws of the Lombards, they are the genuine fruit of the reason of the barbarians, who never admitted the bishops of Italy to a seat in their legislative councils. But the succession of their kings is marked with virtue and ability; the troubled series of their annals is adorned with fair intervals of peace, order, and domestic happiness; and the Italians enjoyed a milder and more equitable government than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the Western empire.†

Amidst the arms of the Lombards, and under the despotism of the Greeks, we again inquire into the fate of Rome,‡ which had reached, about the close of the sixth century, the lowest period of her depression. By the removal of the seat of empire, and the successive loss of the provinces, the sources of public and private opulence were exhausted; the lofty tree under whose shade the nations of the earth had reposed, was deprived of its leaves and branches, and the sapless trunk was left to wither on

enthusiasts in the second century pretended to perform. It was then that Lucian and Apuleius wrote. Then the fanatical extravagances and deceptions trickeries of the Ultra Neo-Platonists encouraged the popular belief; and in more recent periods, the cruelties exercised on professed or reputed witches were instigated by ecclesiastics and monks, jealous of competitors, who claimed to share their assumed power of arresting the course of nature.—ED.]

* Quia incerti sumus de judicio Dei, et multos audivimus per pugnam sine justâ causâ suam causam perdere. Sed propter consuetudinem gentem nostram Langobardorum legem impiam vetare non possumus. See p. 74, No. 65 of the Laws of Luitprand, promulgated A.D. 724.

† Read the history of Paul Warnefrid, particularly l. 3, c. 16. Baronius rejects the praise, which appears to contradict the invectives of pope Gregory the Great; but Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v, p. 217) presumes to insinuate that the saint may have magnified the faults of Arians and enemies. [Again we observe the beneficent influence of Gothic government. The Lombards had a sage perception of the danger that impended over them; but the withholding of education, and the teachings of superstition, soon reversed the picture.—ED.]

‡ The passages of the homilies of Gregory, which represent the miserable state of the city and country, are transcribed in the Annals of Baronius, A.D. 590, No. 16; A.D. 595,

the ground. The ministers of command, and the messengers of victory, no longer met on the Appian or Flaminian way; and the hostile approach of the Lombards was often felt, and continually feared. The inhabitants of a potent and peaceful capital, who visit without an anxious thought the garden of the adjacent country, will faintly picture in their fancy the distress of the Romans; they shut or opened their gates with a trembling hand, beheld from the walls the flames of their houses, and heard the lamentations of their brethren, who were coupled together like dogs, and dragged away into distant slavery beyond the sea and the mountains. Such incessant alarms must annihilate the pleasures, and interrupt the labours, of a rural life; and the Campagna of Rome was speedily reduced to the state of a dreary wilderness, in which the land is barren, the waters are impure, and the air is infectious. Curiosity and ambition no longer attracted the nations to the capital of the world: but if chance or necessity directed the steps of a wandering stranger, he contemplated with horror the vacancy and solitude of the city, and might be tempted to ask, Where is the senate, and where are the people? In a season of excessive rains, the Tiber swelled above its banks, and rushed with irresistible violence into the valleys of the seven hills. A pestilential disease arose from the stagnation of the deluge, and so rapid was the contagion, that fourscore persons expired in an hour, in the midst of a solemn procession which implored the mercy of Heaven.* A society in which marriage is encouraged and industry prevails, soon repairs the accidental losses of pestilence and war; but as the far greater part of the Romans was condemned to hopeless indigence and celibacy, the depopulation was constant and visible, and the gloomy enthusiasts might expect the approaching failure of the human race.†

No. 2, &c. &c.

* The inundation and plague were reported by a deacon, whom his bishop, Gregory of Tours, had dispatched to Rome for some relics. The ingenious messenger embellished his tale and the river with a great dragon and a train of little serpents (Greg. Turon. l. 10, c. 1).

† Gregory of Rome (Dialog. l. 2, c. 15), relates a memorable prediction of St. Benedict. Roma a Gentilibus non exterminabitur sed tempestatibus, coruscis turbinibus ac terræ motu in semetipsa marcescet. Such a prophecy melts into true history, and becomes the evidence of the fact after which it was invented.

Yet the number of citizens still exceeded the measure of subsistence: their precarious food was supplied from the harvests of Sicily or Egypt; and the frequent repetition of famine betrays the inattention of the emperor to a distant province. The edifices of Rome were exposed to the same ruin and decay; the mouldering fabrics were easily overthrown by inundations, tempests, and earthquakes; and the monks, who had occupied the most advantageous stations, exulted in their base triumph over the ruins of antiquity.* It is commonly believed, that pope Gregory I attacked the temples, and mutilated the statues, of the city; that by the command of the barbarian, the Palatine library was reduced to ashes; and that the history of Livy was the peculiar mark of his absurd and mischievous fanaticism. The writings of Gregory himself reveal his implacable aversion to the monuments of classic genius: and he points his severest censure against the profane learning of a bishop, who taught the art of grammar, studied the Latin poets, and pronounced with the same voice the praises of Jupiter and those of Christ. But the evidence of his destructive rage is doubtful and recent; the temple of Peace, or the theatre of Marcellus, have been demolished by the slow operation of ages, and a formal proscription would have multiplied the copies of Virgil and Livy in the countries which were not subject to the ecclesiastical dictator.†

Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion. A vague tradition was embraced, that two Jewish teachers, a tent-maker and a fisherman, had formerly been executed in the circus of Nero; and at the end of five hundred years their genuine or fictitious relics were adored as the Palladium of Christian Rome. The pilgrims of the East and West resorted to the holy

* Quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus, Christi laudes non capiunt, et quam grave nefandumque sit episcopis canere quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considera. (l. 9, ep. 4.) The writings of Gregory himself attest his innocence of any classic taste or literature.

† Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, tom. ii, p. 598, 599,) in a very good article of Gregoire I. has quoted for the buildings and statues, Platina in Gregorio I. for the Palatine library, John of Salisbury (de Nugis Curialium, l. 2, c. 26,) and for Livy, Antoninus of Florence the oldest of the three lived in the twelfth century.

threshold; but the shrines of the apostles were guarded by miracles and invisible terrors; and it was not without fear that the pious Catholic approached the object of his worship. It was fatal to touch, it was dangerous to behold, the bodies of the saints; and those who, from the purest motives, presumed to disturb the repose of the sanctuary, were affrighted by visions, or punished with sudden death. The unreasonable request of an empress, who wished to deprive the Romans of their sacred treasure, the head of St. Paul, was rejected with the deepest abhorrence; and the pope asserted, most probably with truth, that a linen which had been sanctified in the neighbourhood of his body, or the filings of his chain, which it was sometimes easy and sometimes impossible to obtain, possessed an equal degree of miraculous virtue.* But the power as well as virtue of the apostles resided with living energy in the breasts of their successors; and the chair of St. Peter was filled under the reign of Maurice by the first and greatest of the name of Gregory.† His grandfather Felix had himself been pope, and as the bishops were already bound by the law of celibacy, his consecration must have been preceded by the death of his wife.

* Gregor. l. 3, epist. 24, edict. 12, &c. From the epistles of Gregory, and the eighth volume of the Annals of Baronius, the pious reader may collect the particles of holy iron which were inserted in keys or crosses of gold, and distributed in Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, and Egypt. The pontifical smith who handled the file must have understood the miracles which it was in his own power to operate or withhold; a circumstance which abates the superstition of Gregory at the expense of his veracity. † Besides the epistles of Gregory himself, which are methodized by Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclés. tom. v, p. 103—126,) we have three lives of the pope; the two first written in the eighth and ninth centuries (de Triplici Vita St. Greg. Preface to the fourth volume of the Benedictine edition), by the deacons Paul (p. 1—18,) and John (p. 19—188,) and containing much original, though doubtful, evidence; the third, a long and laboured compilation by the Benedictine editors (p. 199—305.) The Annals of Baronius are a copious but partial history. His papal prejudices are tempered by the good sense of Fleury (Hist. Ecclés. tom. viii,) and his chronology has been rectified by the criticism of Pagi and Muratori. [The character of Gregory is ably drawn by Gibbon; but the successful efforts of that ambitious pontiff to increase the papal power are more clearly set forth by Mr. Hallam, (Middle Ages, 2. 228—233,) who has subjoined a long note to disprove "the supposed concession of the title of Universal Bishop, made by the emperor Phocas." A title, in itself so absurd, could have derived no sanction from such authority, had it been real.—ED.]

The parents of Gregory, Sylvia and Gordian, were the noblest of the senate, and the most pious of the church of Rome: his female relations were numbered among the saints and virgins; and his own figure with those of his father and mother were represented near three hundred years in a family portrait,* which he offered to the monastery of St. Andrew. The design and colouring of this picture afford an honourable testimony that the art of painting was cultivated by the Italians of the sixth century; but the most abject ideas must be entertained of their taste and learning, since the epistles of Gregory, his sermons, and his dialogues, are the work of a man who was second in erudition to none of his contemporaries:† his birth and abilities had raised him to the office of prefect of the city, and he enjoyed the merit of renouncing the pomp and vanities of this world. His ample patrimony was dedicated to the foundation of seven monasteries,‡ one in Rome,§ and six in Sicily: and it was the wish of Gregory that he might be unknown in this life, and glorious only in the next. Yet his devotion, and it might be sincere, pursued the path which would have been chosen by a crafty and ambitious statesman. The talents of Gregory, and the splendour which

* John the deacon has described them like an eye-witness, (l. 4, c. 83, 84,) and his description is illustrated by Angelo Rocca, a Roman antiquary (St. Greg. Opera, tom. iv, p. 312—326,) who observes, that some mosaics of the popes of the seventh century are still preserved in the old churches of Rome. (p. 321—323.) The same walls which represented Gregory's family, are now decorated with the martyrdom of St. Andrew, the noble contest of Dominichino and Guido.

† Disciplinis vero liberalibus, hoc est grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica, ita a puero est institutus, ut quamvis eo tempore florerent adhuc Romæ studia literarum, tamen nulli in urbe ipsâ secundus putaretur. Paul. Diacon. in Vit. S. Gregor. c. 2.

‡ The Benedictines (Vit. Greg. l. 1, p. 205—208,) labour to reduce the monasteries of Gregory within the rule of their own order; but as the question is confessed to be doubtful, it is clear that these powerful monks are in the wrong. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. iii, p. 145, a work of merit; the sense and learning belong to the author—his prejudices are those of his profession.

§ Monasterium Gregorianum in ejusdem Beati Gregorii ædibus ad clivum Scauri prope ecclesiam SS. Johannis et Pauli in honorem St. Andreæ (John in Vit. Greg. l. 1, c. 3, Greg. l. 7, epist. 13). This house and monastery were situate on the side of the Cælian hill which fronts the Palatine; they are now occupied by the Camaldoli; San Gregorio triumphs, and St. Andrew has retired to a small chapel. Nardini, Roma Antica, l. 3, c. 6, p. 100. Descrizione di Roma, tom. i, p. 442—446).

accompanied his retreat, rendered him dear and useful to the church; and implicit obedience has been always inculcated as the first duty of a monk. As soon as he had received the character of deacon, Gregory was sent to reside at the Byzantine court, the nuncio or minister of the apostolic see; and he boldly assumed, in the name of St. Peter, a tone of independent dignity, which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious layman of the empire. He returned to Rome with a just increase of reputation, and after a short exercise of the monastic virtues, he was dragged from the cloister to the papal throne, by the unanimous voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people. He alone resisted, or seemed to resist, his own elevation; and his humble petition, that Maurice would be pleased to reject the choice of the Romans, could only serve to exalt his character in the eyes of the emperor and the public. When the fatal mandate was proclaimed, Gregory solicited the aid of some friendly merchants to convey him in a basket beyond the gates of Rome, and modestly concealed himself some days among the woods and mountains, till his retreat was discovered, as it is said, by a celestial light.

The pontificate of Gregory the *Great*, which lasted thirteen years six months and ten days, is one of the most edifying periods of the history of the church. His virtues, and even his faults, a singular mixture of simplicity and cunning, of pride and humility, of sense and superstition, were happily suited to his station and to the temper of the times. In his rival, the patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the antichristian title of universal bishop, which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede and too feeble to assume; and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory was confined to the triple character of bishop of Rome, primate of Italy, and apostle of the West. He frequently ascended the pulpit, and kindled, by his rude, though pathetic, eloquence, the congenial passions of his audience: the language of the Jewish prophets was interpreted and applied; and the minds of a people, depressed by their present calamities, were directed to the hopes and fears of the invisible world. His precepts and example defined the model of the Roman liturgy;* the distribution of the

* The Lord's prayer consists of half a dozen lines: the Sacramentarius and Antiphonarius of Gregory fill eight hundred and eighty

parishes, the calendar of festivals, the order of processions, the service of the priests and deacons, the variety and change of sacerdotal garments. Till the last days of his life, he officiated in the canon of the mass, which continued above three hours; the Gregorian chant* has preserved the vocal and instrumental music of the theatre, and the rough voices of the barbarians attempted to imitate the melody of the Roman school.† Experience had shewn him the efficacy of these solemn and pompous rites, to soothe the distress, to confirm the faith, to mitigate the fierceness, and to dispel the dark enthusiasm, of the vulgar; and he readily forgave their tendency to promote the reign of priesthood and superstition. The bishops of Italy and the adjacent islands acknowledged the Roman pontiff as their special metropolitan. Even the existence, the union, or the translation of episcopal seats, was decided by his absolute discretion: and his successful inroads into the provinces of Greece, of Spain, and of Gaul, might countenance the more lofty pretensions of succeeding popes. He interposed to prevent the abuses of popular elections; his jealous care maintained the purity of faith and discipline; and the apostolic shepherd assiduously watched over the faith and discipline of the subordinate pastors. Under his reign, the Arians of Italy and Spain were reconciled to the Catholic church, and the conquest of Britain reflects less glory on the name of Cæsar, than on that of Gregory I. Instead of six legions, forty monks were embarked for that distant island, and the

folio pages, (tom. iii, pt. i, p. 1—880); yet these only constitute a part of the *Ordo Romanus*, which Mabillon has illustrated and Fleury has abridged. (Hist. Ecclés. tom. viii, p. 139—152.)

* I learn from the Abbé Dubos (Réflexions sur la Poésie et la Peinture, tom. iii, p. 174, 175,) that the simplicity of the Ambrosian chant was confined to four modes, while the more perfect harmony of the Gregorian comprised the eight modes or fifteen chords of the ancient music. He observes (p. 332) that the connoisseurs admire the preface and many passages of the Gregorian office. † John the deacon in Vit. Greg. l. 2, c. 7,) expresses the carly contempt of the Italians for tramontane singing. Alpina scilicet corpora vocum suarum tonitruis altisone perstrepentia, susceptæ modulationis dulcedinem proprie non resultant: quia bibuli gutturis barbara feritas dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia, rigidas voces jactat, &c. In the time of Charlemagne, the Franks, though with some reluctance, admitted the justice of the reproach. Muratori, Dissert. 25.

pontiff lamented the austere duties which forbade him to partake the perils of their spiritual warfare. In less than two years he could announce to the archbishop of Alexandria, that they had baptised the king of Kent with ten thousand of his Anglo-Saxons; and that the Roman missionaries, like those of the primitive church, were armed only with spiritual and supernatural powers. The credulity or the prudence of Gregory was always disposed to confirm the truths of religion by the evidence of ghosts, miracles, and resurrections;* and posterity has paid to *his* memory the same tribute, which he freely granted to the virtue of his own or the preceding generation. The celestial honours have been liberally bestowed by the authority of the popes; but Gregory is the last of their own order whom they have presumed to inscribe in the calendar of saints.

Their temporal power insensibly arose from the calamities of the times: and the Roman bishops, who have deluged Europe and Asia with blood, were compelled to reign as the ministers of charity and peace. I. The church of Rome, as it has been formerly observed, was endowed with ample possessions in Italy, Sicily, and the more distant provinces; and her agents, who were commonly subdeacons, had acquired a civil, and even criminal, jurisdiction over their tenants and husbandmen. The successor of St. Peter administered his patrimony with the temper of a vigilant and moderate landlord;† and the epistles of Gregory are filled with salutary instructions to abstain from doubtful or vexatious lawsuits; to preserve the integrity of weights and measures; to grant every reasonable delay; and to reduce the capitation of the slaves of the glebe, who purchased the right of marriage by the payment of an arbitrary fine.‡

* A French critic (Petrus Gussanvillus, Opera, tom. ii, p. 105—112,) has vindicated the right of Gregory to the entire nonsense of the Dialogues. Dupin (tom. v, p. 138) does not think that any one will vouch for the truth of all these miracles; I should like to know how many of them he believed himself. † Baronius is unwilling to expatiate on the care of the patrimonies, lest he should betray that they consisted not of *kingdoms* but *farms*. The French writers, the Benedictine editors (tom. iv, l. 3, p. 272, &c.) and Fleury (tom. viii, p. 29, &c.), are not afraid of entering into these humble, though useful, details; and the humanity of Fleury dwells on the social virtues of Gregory. ‡ I much suspect that this pecuniary fine on the marriage of villains produced the famous, and often fabulous, right

The rent or the produce of these estates was transported to the mouth of the Tiber, at the risk and expense of the pope; in the use of wealth he acted like a faithful steward of the church and the poor, and liberally applied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order. The voluminous account of his receipts and disbursements was kept above three hundred years in the Lateran, as the model of Christian economy. On the four great festivals, he divided their quarterly allowance to the clergy, to his domestics, to the monasteries, the churches, the places of burial, the alms-houses and the hospitals of Rome, and the rest of the diocese. On the first day of every month, he distributed to the poor, according to the season, their stated portion of corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, oil, fish, fresh provisions, clothes, and money; and his treasurers were continually summoned to satisfy, in his name, the extraordinary demands of indigence and merit. The instant distress of the sick and helpless, of strangers and pilgrims, was relieved by the bounty of each day, and of every hour: nor would the pontiff indulge himself in a frugal repast, till he had sent the dishes from his own table to some objects deserving of his compassion. The misery of the times had reduced the nobles and matrons of Rome to accept, without a blush, the benevolence of the church: three thousand virgins received their food and raiment from the hand of their benefactor; and many bishops of Italy escaped from the barbarians to the hospitable threshold of the Vatican. Gregory might justly be styled the father of his country; and such was the extreme sensibility of his conscience, that, for the death of a beggar who had perished in the streets, he interdicted himself during several days from the exercise of sacerdotal functions. II. The misfortunes of Rome involved the apostolical pastor in the business of peace and war; and it might be doubtful to himself, whether piety or ambition prompted him to supply the place of his absent sovereign. Gregory awakened the emperor from a long slumber, exposed the guilt or incapacity of the exarch and his inferior ministers, complained that the veterans

de cuissage, de marquette, &c. With the consent of her husband, a handsome bride might commute the payment in the arms of a young landlord, and the mutual favour might afford a precedent of local rather than legal tyranny.

were withdrawn from Rome for the defence of Spoleto, encouraged the Italians to guard their cities and altars, and condescended, in the crisis of danger, to name the tribunes, and to direct the operations of the provincial troops. But the martial spirit of the pope was checked by the scruples of humanity and religion: the imposition of tribute, though it was employed in the Italian war, he freely condemned as odious and oppressive; whilst he protected, against the imperial edicts, the pious cowardice of the soldiers who deserted a military for a monastic life. If we may credit his own declarations, it would have been easy for Gregory to exterminate the Lombards by their domestic factions, without leaving a king, a duke, or a count, to save that unfortunate nation from the vengeance of their foes. As a Christian bishop, he preferred the salutary offices of peace; his mediation appeased the tumult of arms; but he was too conscious of the arts of the Greeks, and the passions of the Lombards, to engage his sacred promise for the observance of the truce. Disappointed in the hope of a general and lasting treaty, he presumed to save his country without the consent of the emperor or the exarch. The sword of the enemy was suspended over Rome; it was averted by the mild eloquence and seasonable gifts of the pontiff, who commanded the respect of heretics and barbarians. The merits of Gregory were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult; but in the attachment of a grateful people, he found the purest reward of a citizen, and the best right of a sovereign.*

CHAPTER XLVI.—REVOLUTIONS OF PERSIA AFTER THE DEATH OF CHOSROES OR NUSHIRVAN. — HIS SON, HORMOUZ, A TYRANT, IS DEPOSED. — USURPATION OF BAHRAM. — FLIGHT AND RESTORATION OF CHOSROES II. — HIS GRATITUDE TO THE ROMANS. — THE CHAGAN OF THE AVARS. — REVOLT OF THE ARMY AGAINST MAURICE. — HIS DEATH. — TYRANNY OF PHOCAS. — ELEVATION OF HERACLIUS. — THE PERSIAN WAR. — CHOSROES SUBDUES SYRIA, EGYPT, AND ASIA MINOR. — SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE PERSIANS AND AVARS. — PERSIAN EXPEDITIONS. — VICTORIES AND TRIUMPH OF HERACLIUS.

THE conflict of Rome and Persia was prolonged form the death of Crassus to the reign of Heraclius. An experience

* The temporal reign of Gregory I, is ably exposed by Sigonius in the first book, de Regno Italiæ. See his works, tom. ii, p. 44—75.

of seven hundred years might convince the rival nations of the impossibility of maintaining their conquests, beyond the fatal limits of the Tigris and Euphrates. Yet the emulation of Trajan and Julian was awakened by the trophies of Alexander, and the sovereigns of Persia indulged the ambitious hope of restoring the empire of Cyrus.* Such extraordinary efforts of power and courage will always command the attention of posterity; but the events by which the fate of nations is not materially changed, leave a faint impression on the page of history, and the patience of the reader would be exhausted by the repetition of the same hostilities, undertaken without cause, prosecuted without glory, and terminated without effect. The arts of negotiation, unknown to the simple greatness of the senate and the Cæsars, were assiduously cultivated by the Byzantine princes; and the memorials of their perpetual embassies† repeat, with the same uniform prolixity, the language of falsehood and declamation, the insolence of the barbarians, and the servile temper of the tributary Greeks. Lamenting the barren superfluity of materials, I have studied to compress the narrative of these uninteresting transactions: but the just Nushirvan is still applauded as the model of Oriental kings, and the ambition of his grandson Chosroes prepared the revolution of the East, which was speedily accomplished by the arms and the religion of the successors of Mahomet.

In the useless altercations that precede and justify the quarrels of princes, the Greeks and the Barbarians accused each other of violating the peace which had been concluded between the two empires about four years before the death of Justinian. The sovereign of Persia and India aspired to reduce under his obedience the province of Yemen or Arabia‡ Felix; the distant land of myrrh and frankincense,

* Missis qui . . . reposcerent . . . veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa Cyro et post Alexandro, per vaniloquentiam ac minas jaciebat. Tacit. Annal. 6. 31. Such was the language of the Arsacides; I have repeatedly marked the lofty claims of the Sassanians.

† See the embassies of Menander, extracted and preserved in the tenth century by the order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

‡ The general independence of the Arabs, which cannot be admitted without many limitations, is blindly asserted in a separate dissertation of the authors of the Universal History, vol. xx, p. 196—250. A perpetual miracle is supposed to have guarded the prophecy in favour of the posterity of Ishmael; and these learned

which had escaped, rather than opposed, the conquerors of the East. After the defeat of Abrahah under the walls of Mecca, the discord of his sons and brothers gave an easy entrance to the Persians: they chased the strangers of Abyssinia beyond the Red Sea; and a native prince of the ancient Homerites was restored to the throne as the vassal or viceroy of the great Nushirvan.* But the nephew of Justinian declared his resolution to avenge the injuries of his Christian ally the prince of Abyssinia, as they suggested a decent pretence to discontinue the annual *tribute*, which was poorly disguised by the name of pension. The churches of Persarmenia were oppressed by the intolerant spirit of the Magi: they secretly invoked the protector of the Christians, and, after the pious murder of their satraps, the rebels were avowed and supported as the brethren and subjects of the Roman emperor. The complaints of Nushirvan were disregarded by the Byzantine court; Justin yielded to the importunities of the Turks, who offered an alliance against the common enemy; and the Persian monarchy was threatened at the same instant by the united forces of Europe, of Æthiopia, and of Scythia. At the age of fourscore, the sovereign of the East would perhaps have

bigots are not afraid to risk the truth of Christianity on this frail and slippery foundation.

* D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 477. Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 64, 65. Father Pagi (Critica, tom. ii, p. 646,) has proved that, after ten years' peace, the Persian war, which continued twenty years, was renewed A.D. 571. Mahomet was born A.D. 569, in the year of the elephant, or the defeat of Abrahah (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i, p. 89, 90. 98); and this account allows two years for the conquest of Yemen. [The discrepancies between the Byzantine writers and the Abyssinian annals have been already remarked. (ch. 42, vol. iv, p. 494.) By the latter (Bruce's Travels, i. 510) the "war of the elephant" is carried back to the joint reign of Abrahah and Atzbeha, between A.D. 333 and 360. The former of these princes has evidently been confounded with the governor of the Homerites, of the same name, who was ordered by Caled to protect the Christians of Yemen. What is called the "war of the elephant," was incidental to that contest, and its actual date about the year 521. In the above quoted work may be traced the connected course of events, which, by erroneous dates, have been mixed up with the last war between the Greek empire and Nushirvan. Neander (Hist. of Chris. 3. 171) could not reconcile the "conflicting notices" given of these events by Theophanes and Procopius, with those which Walch had collected from Oriental writers; he might have formed a consistent narrative by the aid of the information which Bruce has afforded.—ED.]

chosen the peaceful enjoyment of his glory and greatness; but as soon as war became inevitable, he took the field with the alacrity of youth, whilst the aggressor trembled in the palace of Constantinople. Nushirvan, or Chosroes, conducted in person the siege of Dara; and although that important fortress had been left destitute of troops and magazines, the valour of the inhabitants resisted above five months the archers, the elephants, and the military engines of the great king. In the mean while his general Adarman advanced from Babylon, traversed the desert, passed the Euphrates, insulted the suburbs of Antioch, reduced to ashes the city of Apamea, and laid the spoils of Syria at the feet of his master, whose perseverance, in the midst of winter, at length subverted the bulwark of the East. But these losses, which astonished the provinces and the court, produced a salutary effect in the repentance and abdication of the emperor Justin; a new spirit arose in the Byzantine councils; and a truce of three years was obtained by the prudence of Tiberius. That seasonable interval was employed in the preparations of war; and the voice of rumour proclaimed to the world, that from the distant countries of the Alps and the Rhine, from Scythia, Mæsia, Pannonia, Illyricum, and Isauria, the strength of the imperial cavalry was reinforced with one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. Yet the king of Persia, without fear, or without faith, resolved to prevent the attack of the enemy; again passed the Euphrates, and dismissing the ambassadors of Tiberius, arrogantly commanded them to await his arrival at Cæsarea, the metropolis of the Cappadocian provinces. The two armies encountered each other in the battle of Melitene; the barbarians, who darkened the air with a clould of arrows, prolonged their line, and extended their wings across the plain; while the Romans, in deep and solid bodies, expected to prevail in closer action, by the weight of their swords and lances. A Scythian chief, who commanded their right wing, suddenly turned the flank of the enemy, attacked their rear-guard in the presence of Chosroes, penetrated to the midst of the camp, pillaged the royal tent, profaned the eternal fire, loaded a train of camels with the spoils of Asia, cut his way through the Persian host, and returned with songs of victory to his friends, who had consumed the day in single combats, or ineffectual skirmishes. The darkness of the

night, and the separation of the Romans, afforded the Persian monarch an opportunity of revenge; and one of their camps was swept away by a rapid and impetuous assault. But the review of his loss and the consciousness of his danger, determined Chosroes to a speedy retreat; he burnt, in his passage, the vacant town of Melitene,* and, without consulting the safety of his troops, boldly swam the Euphrates on the back of an elephant. After this unsuccessful campaign, the want of magazines, and perhaps some inroad of the Turks, obliged him to disband or divide his forces; the Romans were left masters of the field, and their general Justinian, advancing to the relief of the Persarmenian rebels, erected his standard on the banks of the Araxes. The great Pompey had formerly halted within three days' march of the Caspian:† that inland sea was explored for the first time, by a hostile fleet,‡ and seventy thousand captives were transplanted from Hyrcania to the isle of Cyprus. On the return of spring, Justinian descended into the fertile plains of Assyria, the flames of war approached the residence of Nushirvan, the indignant monarch sank into the grave, and his last edict restrained his successors from exposing their person in a battle against the Romans. Yet the memory of this transient affront was lost in the glories of a long reign; and his formidable enemies, after indulging their dream of conquest, again solicited a short respite from the calamities of war.§

* [The ill-fated city appears never to have recovered from this disaster. Its former celebrity, as Melitene, is lost under the modern name of Mazak.—ED.]

† He had vanquished the Albanians, who brought into the field twelve thousand horse and sixty thousand foot; but he dreaded the multitude of venomous reptiles, whose existence may admit of some doubt, as well as that of the neighbouring Amazons. Plutarch. in Pompeio, tom. ii, p. 1165, 1166.

‡ In the history of the world I can only perceive two navies on the Caspian.—1. Of the Macedonians, when Patrocles, the admiral of the kings of Syria, Seleucus and Antiochus, descended most probably the river Oxus, from the confines of India. (Plin. Hist. Natur. 6. 21.) 2. Of the Russians, when Peter I. conducted a fleet and army from the neighbourhood of Moscow to the coast of Persia. (Bell's Travels, vol. ii, p. 325—352.) He justly observes, that such martial pomp had never been displayed on the Volga.

§ For these Persian wars and treaties, see Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 113—125. Theophanes Byzant. apud Photium, cod. 64, p. 77. 80, 81. Evagrius, l. 5. c. 7—15. Theophylact, l. 3, c. 9—16. Agathias, l. 4, p. 140.

The throne of Chosroes Nushirvan was filled by Hormouz, or Hormisdas, the eldest or the most favoured of his sons. With the kingdoms of Persia and India, he inherited the reputation and example of his father, the service, in every rank, of his wise and valiant officers, and a general system of administration, harmonized by time and political wisdom to promote the happiness of the prince and people. But the royal youth enjoyed a still more valuable blessing, the friendship of a sage who had presided over his education, and who always preferred the honour to the interest of his pupil, his interest to his inclination. In a dispute with the Greek and Indian philosophers, Buzurg * had once maintained, that the most grievous misfortune of life is old age without the remembrance of virtue; and our candour will presume that the same principle compelled him, during three years, to direct the councils of the Persian empire. His zeal was rewarded by the gratitude and docility of

* Buzurg Mihir may be considered, in his character and station, as the Seneca of the East; but his virtues, and perhaps his faults, are less known than those of the Roman, who appears to have been much more loquacious. The Persian sage was the person who imported from India the game of chess and the fables of Pilpay. Such has been the fame of his wisdom and virtues, that the Christians claim him as a believer in the gospel; and the Mahometans revere Buzurg as a premature Mussulman. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 218. [This wise man of the East was named Abouzurdhé Mihr, or more correctly Buzurdhé Mihr, which in ancient Persian signified "a great sun." He is evidently the same, whom Gibbon mentioned before (ch. 42, vol. iv, p. 469) as "the physician Perozes." Another form, in which his name is given, is Burzouyéh or Bourzevyéh. The collection of fables and stories, which he obtained for Nushirvan, was not written by Pilpay or Bidpay, but by the Brachman Vishnu Sarmâ, under the title of Hitopadesa, or "Friendly Instruction." When the extension of our empire in India had made Sanskrit literature more accessible to scholars, curiosity was excited to discover the original of a work, which under the denomination of "Kalila and Dimna," and the humbler title of "Pilpay's Fables," had made the tour of the old continent, and been translated into every cultivated Asiatic and European tongue." This was first made known to the English public, by Mr. Charles Wilkins, in his "Heetopades," 8vo. Bath, 1787. Sir W. Jones then directed further attention to it. In France it was illustrated by De Sacy, and in Germany by Augustus Wm. Schlegel and Professor Lassen of Bonn. It is now a regular class book for Sanskrit students. The latest edition of the original text is in 4to. 1847, by Professor Johnson of the East India College, to whose Preface and the "Notice of the Work," by Professor Wilson of Oxford, reference may be made for fuller information.—ED.]

Hormouz, who acknowledged himself more indebted to his preceptor than to his parent; but when age and labour had impaired the strength, and perhaps the faculties, of this prudent counsellor, he retired from court, and abandoned the youthful monarch to his own passions and those of his favourites. By the fatal vicissitude of human affairs, the same scenes were renewed at Ctesiphon, which had been exhibited in Rome after the death of Marcus Antoninus. The ministers of flattery and corruption, who had been banished by the father, were recalled and cherished by the son; the disgrace and exile of the friends of Nushirvan established their tyranny; and virtue was driven by degrees from the mind of Hormouz, from his palace, and from the government of the State. The faithful agents, the eyes and ears of the king, informed him of the progress of disorder, that the provincial governors flew to their prey with the fierceness of lions and eagles, and that their rapine and injustice would teach the most loyal of his subjects to abhor the name and authority of their sovereign. The sincerity of this advice was punished with death; the murmurs of the cities were despised, their tumults were quelled by military execution; the intermediate powers between the throne and the people were abolished; and the childish vanity of Hormouz, who affected the daily use of the tiara, was fond of declaring, that he alone would be the judge as well as the master of his kingdom. In evey word, and in every action, the son of Nushirvan degenerated from the virtues of his father. His avarice defrauded the troops; his jealous caprice degraded the satraps; the palace, the tribunals, the waters of the Tigris, were stained with the blood of the innocent, and the tyrant exulted in the sufferings and execution of thirteen thousand victims. As the excuse of his cruelty, he sometimes condescended to observe, that the fears of the Persians would be productive of hatred, and that their hatred must terminate in rebellion; but he forgot that his own guilt and folly had inspired the sentiments which he deplored, and prepared the event which he so justly apprehended. Exasperated by long and hopeless oppression, the provinces of Babylon, Susa, and Carmania, erected the standard of revolt; and the princes of Arabia, India, and Scythia, refused the customary tribute to the unworthy successor of Nushirvan. The arms of the

Romans, in slow sieges and frequent inroads, afflicted the frontiers of Mesopotamia and Assyria; one of their generals professed himself the disciple of Scipio, and the soldiers were animated by a miraculous image of Christ, whose mild aspect should never have been displayed in the front of battle.* At the same time the Eastern provinces of Persia were invaded by the great khan, who passed the Oxus at the head of three or four hundred thousand Turks. The imprudent Hormouz accepted their perfidious and formidable aid; the cities of Khorasan or Bactriana were commanded to open their gates; the march of the barbarians towards the mountains of Hyrcania revealed the correspondence of the Turkish and Roman arms; and their union must have subverted the throne of the house of Sassan.

Persia had been lost by a king; it was saved by a hero. After his revolt, Varanes or Bahram is stigmatized by the son of Hormouz as an ungratefal slave; the proud and ambiguous reproach of despotism, since he was truly descended from the ancient princes of Rei,† one of the seven

* See the imitation of Scipio in Theophylact. l. 1, c. 14; the image of of Christ, l. 2, c. 3. Hereafter I shall speak more amply of the Christian images—I had almost said idols. This, if I am not mistaken, is the oldest ἀχειροποίητος of divine manufacture; but in the next thousand years, many others issued from the same workshop.

† Ragæ, or Rei, is mentioned in the apocryphal book of Tobit as already flourishing, seven hundred years before Christ, under the Assyrian empire. Under the foreign names of Europus and Arsacia, this city, five hundred stadia to the south of the Caspian gates, was successively embellished by the Macedonians and Parthians. (Strabo, l. 11, p. 796.) Its grandeur and populousness in the ninth century is exaggerated beyond the bounds of credibility; but Rei has been since ruined by wars and the unwholesomness of the air. Chardin, Voyage en Perse, tom. i, p. 279, 280. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Oriental. p. 714. [According to Strabo (tom. ii, p. 524) Ragæ was one of the many cities, built in Asia by Seleucus Nicator, and was called by him Europus, after a town in Macedonia (perhaps the place of his birth). But the Persian histories record its foundation by Houshong, long before the age of Cyrus. (Porter's Travels, l. 357.) Not only does the book of Tobit assign to it an early date, but Arrian also proves that it existed before the reign of Seleucus, for he says (l. 3, c. 20) that Alexander encamped there. Cellarius (2. 670) reconciles these contradictions, by suggesting that there were two towns, the old and the new, which were after a time blended into one. Stephanus Byzantinus explains it better by stating, that the ancient city having been destroyed by an earthquake, Europus was raised on its ruins, and

families whose splendid, as well as substantial prerogatives, exalted them above the heads of the Persian nobility.* At the siege of Dara, the valour of Bahram was signalized under the eyes of Nushirvan, and both the father and son successively promoted him to the command of armies, the government of Media, and the superintendence of the palace. The popular prediction which marked him as the deliverer of Persia might be inspired by his past victories and extraordinary figure: the epithet *Giubin* is expressive of the quality of *dry wood*; he had the strength and stature of a giant, and his savage countenance was fancifully compared to that of a wild cat. While the nation trembled, while Hormouz disguised his terror by the name of suspicion, and his servants concealed their disloyalty under the mask of fear, Bahram alone displayed his undaunted courage and apparent fidelity: and as soon as he found that no more than twelve thousand soldiers would follow him against the enemy, he prudently declared, that to this fatal number, Heaven had reserved the honours of the triumph. The steep and narrow descent of the Pule Rudbar,† or

became so important that the Parthians made it their seat of government under the name of Arsacia. The people of the country, however, always preserved its early appellation, which was afterwards restored to it, in the form of Rei, Rhay or Hrey. After many ages of splendid importance, during which the birth of Harun al Raschid made it illustrious, it was destroyed by the immediate successors of Zingis Khan, so as to be "no more a residence of man." Sir R. K. Porter, who visited its ruins, about five miles south-east of Teheran, describes the remains of its walls as still of prodigious thickness, and many feet in height. They enclose a triangular space, about three English miles in length; but beyond this, mounds and traces of buildings indicate the reports of its vast extent, though exaggerated, to have been well founded.—ED.]

* Theophylact, l. 3, c. 18. The story of the seven Persians is told in the third book of Herodotus; and their noble descendants are often mentioned, especially in the fragments of Ctesias. Yet the independence of Otanes (Herodot. l. 3, c. 83, 84,) is hostile to the spirit of despotism, and it may not seem probable that the seven families could survive the revolutions of eleven hundred years. They might, however, be represented by the seven ministers, (Brisson, de Regno Persico, l. 1, p. 190); and some Persian nobles, like the kings of Pontus (Polyb. l. 5, p. 540), and Cappadocia, (Diodor. Sicul. l. 31, tom. ii, p. 517,) might claim their descent from the bold companions of Darius.

† See an accurate description of this mountain by Olearius, (Voyage en Perse, p. 997, 998,) who ascended it with much difficulty and danger in his return from Ispahan to the Caspian sea. Sir R. K. Porter has described (Travels, i. 289) the present aspect of

Hyrcanian rock, is the only pass through which an army can penetrate into the territory of Rei and the plains of Media. From the commanding heights, a band of resolute men might overwhelm with stones and darts the myriads of the Turkish host: their emperor and his son were transpierced with arrows; and the fugitives were left, without council or provisions, to the revenge of an injured people. The patriotism of the Persian general was stimulated by his affection for the city of his forefathers; in the hour of victory every peasant became a soldier, and every soldier a hero; and their ardour was kindled by the gorgeous spectacle of beds, and thrones, and tables of massy gold, the spoils of Asia, and the luxury of the hostile camp. A prince of a less malignant temper could not easily have forgiven his benefactor, and the secret hatred of Hormouz was envenomed by a malicious report, that Bahram had privately retained the most precious fruits of his Turkish victory. But the approach of a Roman army on the side of the Araxes compelled the implacable tyrant to smile and to applaud; and the toils of Bahram were rewarded with the permission of encountering a new enemy, by their skill and discipline more formidable than a Scythian multitude. Elated by his recent success, he dispatched a herald with a bold defiance to the camp of the Romans, requesting them to fix a day of battle, and to choose whether they would pass the river themselves, or allow a free passage to the arms of the great king. The lieutenant of the emperor Maurice preferred the safer alternative, and this local circumstance, which would have enhanced the victory of the Persians, rendered their defeat more bloody, and their escape more difficult. But the loss of his subjects, and the danger of his kingdom, were overbalanced in the mind of Hormouz by the disgrace of his personal enemy; and no sooner had Bahram collected and reviewed his forces, than he received from a royal messenger the insulting gift of a distaff, a spinning-wheel, and a complete suit of female apparel. Obedient to the will of his sovereign, he showed

the precipitous ravines, commanding heights, and impregnable strongholds, in the "Roodbar country," still bearing the name of "the sanguinary people, that rendered those passes formidable." These must have been the "Caspiæ Portæ" of antiquity.—ED.]

himself to the soldiers in this unworthy disguise: they resented his ignominy and their own: a shout of rebellion ran through the ranks, and the general accepted their oath of fidelity and vows of revenge. A second messenger, who had been commanded to bring the rebel in chains, was trampled under the feet of an elephant, and manifestos were diligently circulated, exhorting the Persians to assert their freedom against an odious and contemptible tyrant. The defection was rapid and universal; his loyal slaves were sacrificed to the public fury; the troops deserted to the standard of Bahram; and the provinces again saluted the deliverer of his country.

As the passes were faithfully guarded, Hormouz could only compute the number of his enemies by the testimony of a guilty conscience, and the daily defection of those who, in the hour of his distress, avenged their wrongs, or forgot their obligations. He proudly displayed the ensigns of royalty; but the city and palace of Modain had already escaped from the hand of the tyrant. Among the victims of his cruelty, Bindoes, a Sassanian prince, had been cast into a dungeon: his fetters were broken by the zeal and courage of a brother; and he stood before the king at the head of those trusty guards who had been chosen as the ministers of his confinement, and perhaps of his death. Alarmed by the hasty intrusion and bold reproaches of the captive, Hormouz looked round, but in vain, for advice or assistance; discovered that his strength consisted in the obedience of others, and patiently yielded to the single arm of Bindoes, who dragged him from the throne to the same dungeon in which he himself had been so lately confined. At the first tumult, Chosroes, the eldest of the sons of Hormouz, escaped from the city; he was persuaded to return by the pressing and friendly invitation of Bindoes, who promised to seat him on his father's throne, and who expected to reign under the name of an inexperienced youth. In the just assurance that his accomplices could neither forgive nor hope to be forgiven, and that every Persian might be trusted as the judge and enemy of the tyrant, he instituted a public trial without a precedent and without a copy in the annals of the East. The son of Nushirvan, who had requested to plead in his own defence,

was introduced as a criminal into the full assembly of the nobles and satraps.* He was heard with decent attention as long as he expatiated on the advantages of order and obedience, the danger of innovation, and the inevitable discord of those who had encouraged each other to trample on their lawful and hereditary sovereign. By a pathetic appeal to their humanity, he extorted that pity which is seldom refused to the fallen fortunes of a king; and while they beheld the abject posture and squalid appearance of the prisoner, his tears, his chains, and the marks of ignominious stripes, it was impossible to forget how recently they had adored the divine splendour of his diadem and purple. But an angry murmur arose in the assembly as soon as he presumed to vindicate his conduct, and to applaud the victories of his reign. He defined the duties of a king, and the Persian nobles listened with a smile of contempt; they were fired with indignation when he dared to vilify the character of Chosroes; and by the indiscreet offer of resigning the sceptre to the second of his sons, he subscribed his own condemnation, and sacrificed the life of his innocent favourite. The mangled bodies of the boy and his mother were exposed to the people; the eyes of Hormouz were pierced with a hot needle; and the punishment of the father was succeeded by the coronation of his eldest son. Chosroes had ascended the throne without guilt, and his piety strove to alleviate the misery of the abdicated monarch: from the dungeon he removed Hormouz to an apartment of the palace, supplied with liberality the consolations of sensual enjoyment, and patiently endured the furious sallies of his resentment and despair. He might despise the resentment of a blind and unpopular tyrant, but the tiara was trembling on his head, till he could subvert the power, or acquire the friendship, of the great Bahram, who sternly denied the justice of a revolution in which himself and his soldiers, the true representatives of Persia, had never been consulted. The offer of a general amnesty, and of the second rank in his kingdom, was answered by an epistle from Bahram, friend of the gods, conqueror of men, and enemy of tyrants, the satrap of satraps, general of the Persian armies, and a prince adorned

* The Orientals suppose that Bahram convened this assembly and proclaimed Chosroes; but Theophylact is, in this instance, more

with the title of eleven virtues.* He commands Chosroes, the son of Hormouz, to shun the example and fate of his father, to confine the traitors who had been released from their chains, to deposit in some holy place the diadem which he had usurped, and to accept from his gracious benefactor the pardon of his faults and the government of a province. The rebel might not be proud, and the king most assuredly was not humble; but the one was conscious of his strength, the other was sensible of his own weakness; and even the modest language of his reply still left room for treaty and reconciliation. Chosroes led into the field the slaves of the palace and the populace of the capital: they beheld with terror the banners of a veteran army; they were encompassed and surprised by the evolutions of the general; and the satraps who had deposed Hormouz, received the punishment of their revolt, or expiated their first treason by a second and more criminal act of disloyalty. The life and liberty of Chosroes were saved, but he was reduced to the necessity of imploring aid or refuge in some foreign land; and the implacable Bindoes, anxious to secure an unquestionable title, hastily returned to the palace, and ended, with a bow-string, the wretched existence of the son of Nushirvan.†

While Chosroes dispatched the preparations of his retreat, he deliberated with his remaining friends,‡ whether he should lurk in the valleys of mount Caucasus, or fly to the tents of the Turks, or solicit the protection of the emperor. The long emulation of the successors of Artaxerxes and Constantine increased his reluctance to appear as a suppliant in a rival court; but he weighed the forces

distinct and credible.

* See the words of Theophylact, lib. 4, c. 7. Βαράμ *φίλος τοῖς θεοῖς, νικητὴς ἐπιφανὴς, τυράννων ἔχθρος, σατράπης μεγιστάνων, τῆς* Περσικῆς *ἄρχων δυνάμεως*, &c. In his answer, Chosroes styles himself *τῇ νυκτὶ χαριζόμενος ὄμματα ὁ τοὺς* Ἄσωνας (the genii) *μισθούμενος*. This is genuine Oriental bombast.

† Theophylact (l. 4, c. 7) imputes the death of Hormouz to his son, by whose command he was beaten to death with clubs. I have followed the milder account of Khondemir and Eutychius, and shall always be content with the slightest evidence to extenuate the crime of parracide.

‡ After the battle of Pharsalia, the Pompey of Lucan (l. 8, 256—455) holds a similar debate. He was himself desirous of seeking the Parthians; but his companions abhorred the unnatural alliance; and the adverse prejudices might operate as forcibly on Chosroes and his companions, who

of the Romans, and prudently considered that the neighbourhood of Syria would render his escape more easy, and their succours more effectual. Attended only by his concubines, and a troop of thirty guards, he secretly departed from the capital, followed the banks of the Euphrates, traversed the desert, and halted at the distance of ten miles from Circesium. About the third watch of the night the Roman prefect was informed of his approach, and he introduced the royal stranger to the fortress at the dawn of day. From thence the king of Persia was conducted to the more honourable residence of Hierapolis; and Maurice dissembled his pride, and displayed his benevolence, at the reception of the letters and ambassadors of the grandson of Nushirvan. They humbly represented the vicissitudes of fortune and the common interest of princes, exaggerated the ingratitude of Bahram, the agent of the evil principle, and urged, with specious argument, that it was for the advantage of the Romans themselves to support the two monarchies which balance the world, the two great luminaries by whose salutary influence it is vivified and adorned. The anxiety of Chosroes was soon relieved by the assurance that the emperor had espoused the cause of justice and royalty; but Maurice prudently declined the expense and delay of his useless visit to Constantinople. In the name of his generous benefactor, a rich diadem was presented to the fugitive prince, with an inestimable gift of jewels and gold; a powerful army was assembled on the frontiers of Syria and Armenia, under the command of the valiant and faithful Narses,* and this general, of his own nation and his own choice, was directed to pass the Tigris and never to sheath his sword till he had restored Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors. The enterprise, however

could describe, with the same vehemence, the contrast of laws, religion, and manners, between the East and West. * In this age there were three warriors of the name of Narses, who have been often confounded. (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii, p. 640.) 1. A Persarmenian, the brother of Isaac and Armatius, who, after a successful action against Belisarius, deserted from his Persian sovereign, and afterwards served in the Italian war. 2. The eunuch who conquered Italy. 3. The restorer of Chosroes, who is celebrated in the poem of Corippus (l. 3, 220 — 227) as excelsus super omnia vertice agmina habitu modestus . . . morum probitate placens, virtute verendus; fulmineus, cautus, vigilans, &c.

splendid, was less arduous than it might appear. Persia had already repented of her fatal rashness, which betrayed the heir of the house of Sassan to the ambition of a rebellious subject: and the bold refusal of the Magi to consecrate his usurpation, compelled Bahram to assume the sceptre, regardless of the laws and prejudices of the nation. The palace was soon distracted with conspiracy, the city with tumult, the provinces with insurrection; and the cruel execution of the guilty and the suspected served to irritate rather than subdue the public discontent. No sooner did the grandson of Nushirvan display his own and the Roman banners beyond the Tigris, than he was joined each day by the increasing multitudes of the nobility and people; and as he advanced, he received from every side the grateful offerings of the keys of his cities and the heads of his enemies. As soon as Modain was freed from the presence of the usurper, the loyal inhabitants obeyed the first summons of Mebodes at the head of only two thousand horse, and Chosroes accepted the sacred and precious ornaments of the palace as the pledge of their truth and a presage of his approaching success. After the junction of the imperial troops, which Bahram vainly struggled to prevent, the contest was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab, and the confines of Media. The Romans, with the faithful subjects of Persia, amounted to sixty thousand, while the whole force of the usurper did not exceed forty thousand men: the two generals signalized their valour and ability, but the victory was finally determined by the prevalence of numbers and discipline. With the remnant of a broken army, Bahram fled towards the eastern provinces of the Oxus: the enmity of Persia reconciled him to the Turks; but his days were shortened by poison, perhaps the most incurable of poisons, the stings of remorse and despair, and the bitter remembrance of lost glory. Yet the modern Persians still commemorate the exploits of Bahram; and some excellent laws have prolonged the duration of his troubled and transitory reign.

The restoration of Chosroes was celebrated with feasts and executions; and the music of the royal banquet was often disturbed by the groans of dying or mutilated criminals. A general pardon might have diffused comfort and tranquillity through a country which had been shaken

by the late revolutions; yet before the sanguinary temper of Chosroes is blamed, we should learn whether the Persians had not been accustomed either to dread the rigour, or to despise the weakness, of their sovereign. The revolt of Bahram, and the conspiracy of the satraps, were impartially punished by the revenge or justice of the conqueror; the merits of Bindoes himself could not purify his hand from the guilt of royal blood; and the son of Hormouz was desirous to assert his own innocence, and to vindicate the sanctity of kings. During the vigour of the Roman power, several princes were seated on the throne of Persia by the arms and the authority of the first Cæsars. But their new subjects were soon disgusted with the vices or virtues which they had imbibed in a foreign land; the instability of their dominion gave birth to a vulgar observation, that the choice of Rome was solicited and rejected with equal ardour by the capricious levity of Oriental slaves.* But the glory of Maurice was conspicuous in the long and fortunate reign of his *son* and his ally. A band of a thousand Romans, who continued to guard the person of Chosroes, proclaimed his confidence in the fidelity of the strangers; his growing strength enabled him to dismiss this unpopular aid, but he steadily professed the same gratitude and reverence to his adopted father; and till the death of Maurice, the peace and alliance of the two empires were faithfully maintained. Yet the mercenary friendship of the Roman prince had been purchased with costly and important gifts; the strong cities of Martyropolis and Dara were restored, and the Persarmenians became the willing subjects of an empire, whose eastern limit was extended, beyond the example of former times, as far as the banks of the Araxes and the neighbourhood of the Caspian. A pious hope was indulged that the church, as well as the state, might triumph in this revolution: but if Chosroes had sincerely listened to the Christian bishops, the impression was erased by the zeal and eloquence of the Magi; if he was armed with philosophic indifference, he accommodated his belief, or rather his pro-

* Experimentis cognitum est barbaros malle Româ petere reges quam habere. These experiments are admirably represented in the invitation and expulsion of Vonones (Annal. 2, 1—3), Tiridates (Annal. 6, 32—44), and Meherdates (Annal. 11. 10. 12, 10—14). The eye of Tacitus seems to have transpierced the camp of the Parthians

fessions, to the various circumstances of an exile and a sovereign. The imaginary conversion of the king of Persia was reduced to a local and superstitious veneration for Sergius,* one of the saints of Antioch, who heard his prayers and appeared to him in dreams; he enriched the shrine with offerings of gold and silver, and ascribed to this invisible patron, the success of his arms, and the pregnancy of Sira, a devout Christian, and the best beloved of his wives.† The beauty of Sira or Schirin,‡ her wit, her musical talents, are still famous in the history, or rather in the romances, of the East: her own name is expressive, in the Persian tongue, of sweetness and grace; and the epithet of *Parviz* alludes to the charms of her royal lover. Yet Sira never shared the passion which she inspired, and the bliss of Chosroes was tortured by a jealous doubt, that while he possessed her person, she had bestowed her affections on a meaner favourite.§

and the walls of the haram.

* Sergius and his companion Bacchus, who are said to have suffered in the persecution of Maximian, obtained divine honour in France, Italy, Constantinople, and the East. Their tomb at Rasaphe was famous for miracles, and that Syrian town acquired the more honourable name of Sergiopolis. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. v, p. 491—496. Butler's Saints, vol. x, p. 155.

† Evagrius (l. 6, c. 21) and Theophylact (l. 5, c. 13, 14) have preserved the original letters of Chosroes, written in Greek, signed with his own hand, and afterwards inscribed on crosses and tables of gold, which were deposited in the church of Sergiopolis. They had been sent to the bishop of Antioch, as primate of Syria.

‡ The Greeks only describe her as a Roman by birth, a Christian by religion; but she is represented as the daughter of the emperor Maurice in the Persian and Turkish romances, which celebrate the love of Khosrou for Schirin, of Schirin for Ferhad, the most beautiful youth of the East. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 789. 997. 998.

§ The whole series of the tyranny of Hormouz, the revolt of Bahram, and the flight and restoration of Chosroes, is related by two contemporary Greeks—more concisely by Evagrius (l. 6, c. 16—19)—and most diffusely by Theophylact Simocatta (l. 3, c. 6—18; l. 4, c. 1—16; l. 5, c. 1—15): succeeding compilers, Zonaras and Cedrenus, can only transcribe and abridge. The Christian Arabs Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 200—208) and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 96—98), appear to have consulted some particular memoirs. The great Persian historians of the fifteenth century, Mirkhond and Khondemir, are only known to me by the imperfect extracts of Shikard (Tarikh, p. 150—155), Texeira, or rather Stevens (Hist. of Persia, p. 182—186), a Turkish MS. translated by the abbé Fourmont (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. vii, p. 325—334) and D'Herbelot (aux mots *Hormouz*, p. 457—459; *Bahram*, p. 174; *Khosrou Parviz*, p. 996). Were I perfectly

While the majesty of the Roman name was revived in the East, the prospect of Europe is less pleasing and less glorious. By the departure of the Lombards, and the ruin of the Gepidæ, the balance of power was destroyed on the Danube; and the Avars spread their permanent dominion from the foot of the Alps to the sea-coast of the Euxine. The reign of Baian is the brightest era of their monarchy; their chagan, who occupied the rustic palace of Attila, appears to have imitated his character and policy;* but as the same scenes were repeated in a smaller circle, a minute representation of the copy would be devoid of the greatness and novelty of the original. The pride of the second Justin, of Tiberius, and Maurice, was humbled by a proud barbarian, more prompt to inflict, than exposed to suffer, the injuries of war; and as often as Asia was threatened by the Persian arms, Europe was oppressed by the dangerous inroads, or costly friendship, of the Avars. When the Roman envoys approached the presence of the chagan, they were commanded to wait at the door of his tent, till, at the end perhaps of ten or twelve days, he condescended to admit them. If the substance or the style of their message was offensive to his ear, he insulted, with real or affected fury, their own dignity, and that of their prince: their baggage was plundered, and their lives were only saved by the promise of a richer present and a more respectful address. But *his* sacred ambassadors enjoyed and abused an unbounded licence in the midst of Constantinople: they urged, with importunate clamours, the increase of tribute, or the restitution of captives and deserters; and the majesty of the empire was almost equally degraded by a base compliance, or by the false and fearful excuses with which they eluded such insolent demands. The chagan had never seen an elephant; and his curiosity was excited by the strange, and

satisfied of their authority, I could wish these Oriental materials had been more copious.

* A general idea of the pride and power of the chagan may be taken from Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 117, &c.) and Theophylact (l. 1, c. 3; l. 7, c. 15), whose eight books are much more honourable to the Avar than to the Roman prince. The predecessors of Baian had tasted the liberality of Rome, and he survived the reign of Maurice. (Buat, Hist. des Peuples Barbares, tom. xi, p. 545.) The chagan who invaded Italy, A.D. 611 (Muratori, Annali, tom. v, p. 305), was then juvenili ætate florentem (Paul Warnefrid, De Gest. Langobard, l. 5, c. 38), the son, perhaps, or the

perhaps fabulous, portrait of that wonderful animal, At his command, one of the largest elephants of the imperial stables was equipped with stately caparisons, and conducted by a numerous train to the royal village in the plains of Hungary. He surveyed the enormous beast with surprise, with disgust, and possibly with terror; and smiled at the vain industry of the Romans, who, in search of such useless rarities, could explore the limits of the land and sea. He wished, at the expense of the emperor, to repose in a golden bed. The wealth of Constantinople, and the skilful diligence of her artists, were instantly devoted to the gratification of his caprice; but when the work was finished, he rejected with scorn a present so unworthy the majesty of a great king.* These were the casual sallies of his pride, but the avarice of the chagan was a more steady and tractable passion; a rich and regular supply of silk apparel, furniture, and plate, introduced the rudiments of art and luxury among the tents of the Scythians; their appetite was stimulated by the pepper and cinnamon of India;† the annual subsidy or tribute was raised from fourscore, to one hundred and twenty, thousand pieces of gold; and after each hostile interruption, the payment of the arrears, with exorbitant interest, was always made the first condition of the new treaty. In the language of a barbarian without guile, the prince of the Avars affected to complain of the insincerity of the Greeks;‡ yet he was not inferior to the most civilized nations in the refinements of dissimulation and perfidy. As the successor of the Lombards, the chagan asserted his claim to the important city of Sirmium, the ancient bulwark of the Illyrian provinces.§ The plains of the lower Hungary were covered with the

grandson of Baian. [*Chagan* is only another form for *khan*, a word more familiar to us.—Ed.] * Theophylact, l. 1, c. 5, 6.

† Even in the field, the chagan delighted in the use of these aromatics. He solicited as a gift, Ἰνδικάς καρυκίας, and received πέπερι καὶ φύλλον Ἰνδῶν, κασίαν τε καὶ τόν λεγόμενον κοστον. Theophylact, l. 7, c. 13. The Europeans of the ruder ages consumed more spices in their meat and drink than is compatible with the delicacy of a modern palate. Vie privée des François, tom. ii, p. 162, 163. ‡ Theophylact, l. 6, c. 6; l. 7, c. 15. The Greek historian confesses the truth and justice of his reproach.

§ Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 126—132. 174, 175), describes the perjury of Baian and the surrender of Sirmium. We have lost his

Avar horse, and a fleet of large boats was built in the Hercynian wood, to descend the Danube, and to transport into the Save the materials of a bridge. But as the strong garrison of Singidunum, which commanded the conflux of the two rivers, might have stopped their passage and baffled his designs, he dispelled their apprehensions by a solemn oath, that his views were not hostile to the empire. He swore by his sword, the symbol of the god of war, that he did not, as the enemy of Rome, construct a bridge upon the Save. "If I violate my oath," pursued the intrepid Baian, "may I myself, and the last of my nation, perish by the sword: may the heavens and fire, the deity of the heavens, fall upon our heads! may the forests and mountains bury us in their ruins! and the Save returning, against the laws of nature, to his source, overwhelm us in his angry waters!" After this barbarous imprecation, he calmly inquired, what oath was most sacred and venerable among the Christians, what guilt of perjury it was most dangerous to incur. The bishop of Singidunum presented the gospel, which the chagan received with devout reverence. "I swear," said he, "by the God who has spoken in this holy book, that I have neither falsehood on my tongue, nor treachery in my heart." As soon as he rose from his knees, he accelerated the labour of the bridge, and dispatched an envoy to proclaim what he no longer wished to conceal. "Inform the emperor," said the perfidious Baian, "that Sirmium is invested on every side. Advise his prudence to withdraw the citizens and their effects, and to resign a city which it is now impossible to relieve or defend." Without the hope of relief, the defence of Sirmium was prolonged above three years; the walls were still untouched; but famine was enclosed within the walls, till a merciful capitulation allowed the escape of the naked and hungry inhabitants. Singidunum, at the distance of fifty miles, experienced a more cruel fate; the buildings were razed, and the vanquished people was condemned to servitude and exile. Yet the ruins of Sirmium are no longer visible; the advantageous situation of Singidunum soon attracted a new colony of Sclavonians, and the conflux of the Save and Danube is still guarded by the fortifications of Belgrade, or the *White City*,

account of the siege, which is commended by Theophylact, l. 1, c. 3. Τὸ δ' ὅπως Μενάνδρῳ τῷ περιφανεῖ σαφῶς διηγόρευται.

so often and so obstinately disputed by the Christian and Turkish arms.* From Belgrade to the walls of Constantinople, a line may be measured of six hundred miles; that line was marked with flames and with blood; the horses of the Avars were alternately bathed in the Euxine and the Adriatic; and the Roman pontiff, alarmed by the approach of a more savage enemy,† was reduced to cherish the Lombards as the protectors of Italy. The despair of a captive, whom his country refused to ransom, disclosed to the Avars the invention and practice of military engines;‡ but in the first attempts, they were rudely framed and awkwardly managed; and the resistance of Diocletianopolis and Beræa, of Philippopolis and Adrianople, soon exhausted the skill and patience of the besiegers. The warfare of Baian was that of a Tartar; yet his mind was susceptible of a humane and generous sentiment: he spared Anchialus, whose salutary waters had restored the health of the best beloved of his wives; and the Romans confessed, that their starving army was fed and dismissed by the liberality of a foe. His empire extended over Hungary, Poland, and Prussia, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Oder;§ and his new subjects were divided and transplanted by the jealous policy of the conqueror.¶ The eastern regions of Germany, which had been left vacant by the emigration of the Vandals, were replenished with Sclavonian colonists; the same tribes are discovered in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic and of the Baltic, and with the name of Baian

* See D'Anville, in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii, p. 412—443. The Sclavonic name of Belgrade is mentioned in the tenth century by Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the Latin appellation of Alba Græca is used by the Franks in the beginning of the ninth (p. 414). † Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 600, No. 1. Paul Warnefrid (l. 4, c. 38) relates their irruption into Friuli, and (c. 39) the captivity of his ancestors about A.D. 632. The Sclavi traversed the Hadriatic, cum multitudine navium, and made a descent in the territory of Sipontum (c. 47).

‡ Even the helepolis, or moveable turret. Theophylact, l. 2, 16. 17.

§ The arms and alliances of the chagan reached to the neighbourhood of a western sea, fifteen months' journey from Constantinople. The emperor Maurice conversed with some itinerant harpers from that remote country, and only seems to have mistaken a trade for a nation. Theophylact, l. 6, c. 2. ¶ This is one of the most probable and luminous conjectures of the learned count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples Barbares, tom. xi, p. 546—568). The Tzechi and Serbi are found together near mount Caucasus, in Illyricum, and on the

himself, the Illyrian cities of Neyss and Lissa are again found in the heart of Silesia. In the disposition both of his troops and provinces, the chagan exposed the vassals, whose lives he disregarded,* to the first assault; and the swords of the enemy were blunted before they encountered the native valour of the Avars.

The Persian alliance restored the troops of the East to the defence of Europe; and Maurice, who had supported ten years the insolence of the chagan, declared his resolution to march in person against the barbarians. In the space of two centuries, none of the successors of Theodosius had appeared in the field, their lives were supinely spent in the palace of Constantinople: and the Greeks could no longer understand that the name of *emperor*, in its primitive sense, denoted the chief of the armies of the republic. The martial ardour of Maurice was opposed by the grave flattery of the senate, the timid superstition of the patriarch, and the tears of the empress Constantina; and they all conjured him to devolve on some meaner general the fatigues and perils of a Scythian campaign. Deaf to their advice and entreaty, the emperor boldly advanced† seven miles from the capital; the sacred ensign of the cross was displayed in the front, and Maurice reviewed, with conscious pride, the arms and numbers of the veterans who had fought and conquered beyond the Tigris. Anchialus saw the last term of his progress by sea and land: he solicited, without success, a miraculous answer to his nocturnal prayers; his mind was confounded by the death of a favourite horse, the encounter of a wild boar, a storm of wind and rain, and the birth of a monstrous child; and he forgot that the best of omens is to unsheath our sword in the defence of our country.‡ Under

Lower Elbe. Even the wildest traditions of the Bohemians, &c. afford some colour to his hypothesis.

* See Fredegarius, in the Historians of France, tom. ii, p. 432. Baian did not conceal his proud insensibility. Ὅτι τοιουτοῦς (not τοσουτοῦς, according to a foolish emendation) ἐπαφήσω τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ ὡς εἰ καὶ συμβαίη γε σφισί θανατῷ ἁλῶναι, ἀλλ' ἐμοί γε μὴ γένεσθαι συναισθησιν.

† See the march and return of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. 5, c. 16; l. 6, c. 1—3. If he were a writer of taste or genius, we might suspect him of an elegant irony, but Theophylact is surely harmless.

‡ Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Iliad, 12. 243. This noble verse, which unites the spirit of a hero with the reason of a sage, may prove that Homer was in every light superior to his age and

the pretence of receiving the ambassadors of Persia, the emperor returned to Constantinople, exchanged the thoughts of war for those of devotion, and disappointed the public hope, by his absence and the choice of his lieutenants. The blind partiality of fraternal love might excuse the promotion of his brother Peter, who fled with equal disgrace from the barbarians, from his own soldiers, and from the inhabitants of a Roman city. That city, if we may credit the resemblance of name and character, was the famous Azimuntium,* which had alone repelled the tempest of Attila. The example of her warlike youth was propagated to succeeding generations; and they obtained, from the first or second Justin, an honourable privilege, that their valour should be always reserved for the defence of their native country. The brother of Maurice attempted to violate this privilege, and to mingle a patriot band with the mercenaries of his camp; they retired to the church, he was not awed by the sanctity of the place; the people rose in their cause, the gates were shut, the ramparts were manned; and the cowardice of Peter was found equal to his arrogance and injustice. The military fame of Commentiolus† is the object of satire or comedy rather than of serious history, since he was even deficient in the vile and vulgar qualification of personal courage. His solemn councils, strange evolutions, and secret orders, always supplied an apology for flight or delay. If he marched against the enemy, the pleasant valleys of mount Hæmus opposed an insuperable barrier; but in his retreat, he explored with fearless curiosity, the most difficult and obsolete paths, which had almost escaped the memory of the oldest native. The only blood which he lost was drawn, in a real or affected malady, by the lancet of a surgeon; and his health, which felt with exquisite sensibility the approach of the barbarians, was uniformly restored by the repose and safety of the winter season. A prince who could promote and support this unworthy favourite, must derive no glory from the accidental

country.

* Theophylact, l. 7, c. 3. On the evidence of this fact, which had not occurred to my memory, the candid reader will correct and excuse a note in the third volume of this History, p. 566, which hastens the decay of Asimus, or Azimuntium; another century of patriotism and valour is cheaply purchased by such a confession.

† See the shameful conduct of Commentiolus, in Theophylact, l. 2, c. 10—15; l. 7, c. 13, 14; l. 8, c. 2 4.

merit of his colleague Priscus.* In five successive battles, which seem to have been conducted with skill and resolution, seventeen thousand two hundred barbarians were made prisoners; near sixty thousand, with four sons of the chagan, were slain: the Roman general surprised a peaceful district of Gepidæ, who slept under the protection of the Avars; and his last trophies were erected on the banks of the Danube and the Teyss. Since the death of Trajan, the arms of the empire had not penetrated so deeply into the old Dacia: yet the success of Priscus was transient and barren; and he was soon recalled, by the apprehension that Baian, with dauntless spirit and recruited forces, was preparing to avenge his defeat under the walls of Constantinople.†

The theory of war was not more familiar to the camps of Cæsar and Trajan, than to those of Justinian and Maurice.‡ The iron of Tuscany or Pontus still received the keenest temper from the skill of the Byzantine workmen. The magazines were plentifully stored with every species of offensive and defensive arms. In the construction and use of ships, engines, and fortifications, the barbarians admired the superior ingenuity of a people whom they so often vanquished in the field. The science of tactics, the order, evolutions, and stratagems of antiquity, was transcribed and studied in the books of the Greeks and Romans. But the solitude or degeneracy of the provinces could no longer supply a race of men to handle those weapons, to guard those walls, to navigate those ships, and to reduce the theory of war into bold and successful practice. The genius of Belisarius and Narses had been formed without a master, and expired without a disciple. Neither honour, nor patriotism, nor generous superstition, could animate the

* See the exploits of Priscus, l. 8, c. 2, 3.

† The general detail of the war against the Avars may be traced in the first, second, sixth, seventh, and eighth books of the History of the Emperor Maurice, by Theophylact Simocatta. As he wrote in the reign of Heraclius, he had no temptation to flatter: but his want of judgment renders him diffuse in trifles, and concise in the most interesting facts.

‡ Maurice himself composed twelve books on the military art, which are still extant, and have been published (Upsal, 1664) by John Scheffer, at the end of the Tactics of Arrian (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græca, l. 4, c. 8, tom. iii, p. 278), who promises to speak more fully of his work in its proper place.

lifeless bodies of slaves and strangers, who had succeeded to the honours of the legions: it was in the camp alone that the emperor should have exercised a despotic command; it was only in the camps that his authority was disobeyed and insulted: he appeased and inflamed with gold the licentiousness of the troops; but their vices were inherent, their victories were accidental, and their costly maintenance exhausted the substance of a State which they were unable to defend. After a long and pernicious indulgence, the cure of this inveterate evil was undertaken by Maurice; but the rash attempt, which drew destruction on his own head, tended only to aggravate the disease. A reformer should be exempt from the suspicion of interest, and he must possess the confidence and esteem of those whom he proposes to reclaim. The troops of Maurice might listen to the voice of a victorious leader; they disdained the admonitions of statesmen and sophists; and when they received an edict which deducted from their pay the price of their arms and clothing, they execrated the avarice of a prince insensible of the dangers and fatigues from which he had escaped. The camps both of Asia and Europe were agitated with frequent and furious seditions;* the enraged soldiers of Edessa pursued, with reproaches, with threats, with wounds, their trembling generals; they overturned the statues of the emperor, cast stones against the miraculous image of Christ, and either rejected the yoke of all civil and military laws, or instituted a dangerous model of voluntary subordination. The monarch, always distant, and often deceived, was incapable of yielding or persisting according to the exigence of the moment. But the fear of a general revolt induced him too readily to accept any act of valour, or any expression of loyalty, as an atonement for the popular offence; the new reform was abolished as hastily as it had been announced, and the troops, instead of punishment and restraint, were agreeably surprised by a gracious proclamation of immunities and rewards. But the soldiers accepted without gratitude the tardy and reluctant gifts of the emperor; their insolence was elated by the discovery of his weakness and their own strength; and their mutual hatred was inflamed beyond the desire of forgiveness or the

* See the mutinies under the reign of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. 3, c. 1—4; l. 6, c. 7, 8. 10; l. 7, c. 1; l. 8, c. 6, &c.

hope of reconciliation. The historians of the times adopt the vulgar suspicion, that Maurice conspired to destroy the troops whom he had laboured to reform; the misconduct and favour of Commentiolus are imputed to this malevolent design; and every age must condemn the inhumanity or avarice * of a prince, who, by the trifling ransom of six thousand pieces of gold, might have prevented the massacre of twelve thousand prisoners in the hands of the chagan. In the just fervour of indignation, an order was signified to the army of the Danube, that they should spare the magazines of the province, and establish their winter-quarters in the hostile country of the Avars. The measure of their grievances was full: they pronounced Maurice unworthy to reign, expelled or slaughtered his faithful adherents, and, under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, returned by hasty marches to the neighbourhood of Constantinople. After a long series of legal succession, the military disorders of the third century were again revived; yet such was the novelty of the enterprise, that the insurgents were awed by their own rashness. They hesitated to invest their favourite with the vacant purple; and while they rejected all treaty with Maurice himself, they held a friendly correspondence with his son Theodosius, and with Germanus, the father-in-law of the royal youth.† So obscure had been the former condition of Phocas, that the emperor was ignorant of the name and character of his rival: but as soon as he learned, that the centurion, though bold in sedition, was timid in the face of danger, "Alas!" (cried the desponding prince) if he is a coward, he will surely be a murderer."

Yet if Constantinople had been firm and faithful, the murderer might have spent his fury against the walls; and the rebel army would have been gradually consumed or reconciled by the prudence of the emperor. In the games

* Theophylact and Theophanes seem ignorant of the conspiracy and avarice of Maurice. These charges, so unfavourable to the memory of that emperor, are first mentioned by the author of the Paschal Chronicle (p. 379, 380); from whence Zonaras (tom. ii, l. 14, p. 77, 78), has transcribed them. Cedrenus (p. 399) has followed another computation of the ransom.

† [This Germanus must have been the son of Mathasuenta, great-grandson of Theodoric, and great-nephew of Justinian, mentioned about fifty years before (ch. 43, vol. iv, p. 520) as the "royal infant—the last offspring of the line of Amali."—ED.]

of the circus, which he repeated with unusual pomp, Maurice disguised, with smiles of confidence, the anxiety of his heart, condescended to solicit the applause of the *factions*, and flattered their pride by accepting from their respective tribunes a list of nine hundred *blues* and fifteen hundred *greens*, whom he affected to esteem as the solid pillars of his throne. Their treacherous or languid support betrayed his weakness and hastened his fall; the green faction were the secret accomplices of the rebels, and the blues recommended lenity and moderation in a contest with their Roman brethren. The rigid and parsimonious virtues of Maurice had long since alienated the hearts of his subjects: as he walked barefoot in a religious procession, he was rudely assaulted with stones, and his guards were compelled to present their iron maces in the defence of his person. A fanatic monk ran through the streets with a drawn sword, denouncing against him the wrath and the sentence of God; and a vile plebeian, who represented his countenance and apparel, was seated on an ass, and pursued by the imprecations of the multitude.* The emperor suspected the popularity of Germanus with the soldiers and citizens; he feared, he threatened, but he delayed to strike; the patrician fled to the sanctuary of the church; the people rose in his defence, the walls were deserted by the guards, and the lawless city was abandoned to the flames and rapine of a nocturnal tumult. In a small bark, the unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, escaped to the Asiatic shore; but the violence of the wind compelled him to land at the church of St. Autonomus,† near Chalcedon, from whence he dispatched Theodosius, his eldest son, to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. For himself

* In their clamours against Maurice, the people of Constantinople branded him with the name of Marcionite or Marcionist: a heresy (says Theophylact, l. 8, c. 9), *μετὰ τινος μωρᾶς εὐλαβείας, εὐήθης τε καὶ καταγέλαστος*. Did they only cast out a vague reproach, or had the emperor really listened to some obscure teacher of those ancient Gnostics?

† The church of St. Autonomus (whom I have not the honour to know) was one hundred and fifty stadia from Constantinople. (Theophylact, l. 8, c. 9.) The port of Eutropius, where Maurice and his children were murdered, is described by Gyllius (De Bosphoro Thracio, l. 3, c. 11) as one of the two harbours of Chalcedon. [Autonomus was a bishop in the time of Diocletian. He sought refuge from persecution in Bithynia; but suffered martyrdom

he refused to fly; his body was tortured with sciatic pains,* his mind was enfeebled by superstition; he patiently awaited the event of the revolution, and addressed a fervent and public prayer to the Almighty, that the punishment of his sins might be inflicted in this world rather than in a future life. After the abdication of Maurice, the two factions disputed the choice of an emperor; but the favourite of the blues was rejected by the jealousy of their antagonists, and Germanus himself was hurried along by the crowds, who rushed to the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city, to adore the majesty of Phocas the centurion. A modest wish of resigning the purple to the rank and merit of Germanus was opposed by *his* resolution, more obstinate and equally sincere; the senate and clergy obeyed his summons; and as soon as the patriarch was assured of his orthodox belief, he consecrated the successful usurper in the church of St. John the Baptist. On the third day, amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people, Phocas made his public entry in a chariot drawn by four white horses; the revolt of the troops was rewarded by a lavish donative, and the new sovereign, after visiting the palace, beheld from his throne the games of the hippodrome. In a dispute of precedency between the two factions, his partial judgment inclined in favour of the greens. "Remember that Maurice is still alive," resounded from the opposite side; and the indiscreet clamour of the blues admonished and stimulated the cruelty of the tyrant. The ministers of death were dispatched to Chalcedon: they dragged the emperor from his sanctuary; and the five sons of Maurice were successively murdered before the eyes of their agonizing parent. At each stroke, which he felt in his heart, he found strength to rehearse a pious ejaculation,—"Thou art just, O Lord! and thy judgments are righteous." And such, in the last moments, was his rigid attachment to truth and justice, that he revealed to the soldiers the pious falsehood of a nurse who presented her own child in the place of a royal infant.†

in 290.—ED.]

* The inhabitants of Constantinople were generally subject to the *νόσοι ἀρθρήτιδες*; and Theophylact insinuates (l. 8, c. 9), that if it were consistent with the rules of history, he could assign the medical cause. Yet such a digression would not have been more impertinent than his inquiry (l. 7, c. 16, 17) into the annual inundations of the Nile, and all the opinions of the Greek philosophers on that subject.

† From this generous

The tragic scene was finally closed by the execution of the emperor himself, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the sixty-third of his age. The bodies of the father and his five sons were cast into the sea, their heads were exposed at Constantinople to the insults or pity of the multitude; and it was not till some signs of putrefaction had appeared, that Phocas connived at the private burial of these venerable remains. In that grave the faults and errors of Maurice were kindly interred. His fate alone was remembered; and at the end of twenty years, in the recital of the history of Theophylact, the mournful tale was interrupted by the tears of the audience.*

Such tears must have flowed in secret, and such compassion would have been criminal, under the reign of Phocas, who was peaceably acknowledged in the provinces of the East and West. The images of the emperor and his wife, Leontia, were exposed in the Lateran to the veneration of the clergy and senate of Rome, and afterwards deposited in the palace of the Cæsars, between those of Constantine and Theodosius. As a subject and a Christian, it was the duty of Gregory to acquiesce in the established government; but the joyful applause with which he salutes the fortune of the assassin, has sullied with indelible disgrace the character of the saint. The successor of the apostles might have inculcated with decent firmness the guilt of blood, and the necessity of repentance; he is content to celebrate the deliverance of the people and the fall of the oppressor; to rejoice that the piety and benignity of Phocas have been raised by Providence to the imperial throne; to pray that his hands may be strengthened against all his enemies; and to express a wish, perhaps a prophecy, that, after a long and triumphant reign, he may be transferred from a temporal to an everlasting kingdom.† I have already traced the steps

attempt, Corneille has deduced the intricate web of his tragedy of Heraclius, which requires more than one representation to be clearly understood (Corneille de Voltaire, tom. v, p. 300); and which, after an interval of some years, is said to have puzzled the author himself. (Anecdotes Dramatiques, tom. i, p. 422.)

* The revolt of Phocas and death of Maurice are told by Theophylact Simocatta (l. 8, c. 7—12), the Paschal Chronicle (p. 379, 380), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 238—244), Zonaras (tom. ii, l. 14, p. 77—80), and Cedrenus (p. 399—404).

† Gregor. l. 11, epist. 38, indict. 6. Benignitatem vestræ pietatis ad imperiale fastigium pervenisse gaudemus. Lætentur cœli et exultet terra, et de vestris benignis actibus

of a revolution so pleasing, in Gregory's opinion, both to heaven and earth; and Phocas does not appear less hateful in the exercise than in the acquisition of power. The pencil of an impartial historian has delineated the portrait of a monster;* his dimunitive and deformed person, the closeness of his shaggy eye-brows, his red hair, his beardless chin, and his cheek disfigured and discoloured by a formidable scar. Ignorant of letters, of laws, and even of arms, he indulged in the supreme rank a more ample privilege of lust and drunkenness; and his brutal pleasures were either injurious to his subjects or disgraceful to himself. Without assuming the office of a prince, he renounced the profession of a soldier; and the reign of Phocas afflicted Europe with ignominious peace, and Asia with desolating war. His savage temper was inflamed by passion, hardened by fear, exasperated by resistance or reproach. The flight of Theodosius to the Persian court had been intercepted by a rapid pursuit, or a deceitful message: he was beheaded at Nice, and the last hours of the young prince were soothed by the comforts of religion and the consciousness of innocence. Yet his phantom disturbed the repose of the usurper: a whisper was circulated through the East, that the son of Maurice was still alive: the people expected their avenger, and the widow and daughters of the late emperor would have adopted as their son and brother the vilest of mankind. In the massacre of the imperial family,† the mercy, or rather the discretion, of Phocas, had spared these unhappy females, and they were decently confined to a private house. But the spirit of the empress Constantina, still mindful of her father, her husband, and her sons, aspired to freedom and revenge. At the dead of night, she escaped to the

universæ reipublicæ populus nunc usque vehementer afflictus hilarescat, &c. This base flattery, the topic of Protestant invective, is justly censured by the philosopher Bayle. (Dictionnaire Critique, Gregoire I, note H., tom. ii, p. 597, 598.) Cardinal Baronius justifies the pope at the expense of the fallen emperor.

* The images of Phocas were destroyed; but even the malice of his enemies would suffer one copy of such a portrait or caricature (Cedrenus, p. 404) to escape the flames.

† The family of Maurice is represented by Ducange (Familiæ Byzantinæ, p. 106—108): his eldest son Theodosius had been crowned emperor when he was no more than four years and a half old, and he is always joined with his father in the salutations of Gregory. With the Christian daughters, Anastasia and Theocteste, I am surprised to find the Pagan name of

sanctuary of St. Sophia; but her tears, and the gold of her associate Germanus, were insufficient to provoke an insurrection. Her life was forfeited to revenge, and even to justice: but the patriarch obtained and pledged an oath for her safety; a monastery was allotted for her prison, and the widow of Maurice accepted and abused the lenity of his assassin. The discovery or the suspicion of a second conspiracy, dissolved the engagements and rekindled the fury of Phocas. A matron who commanded the respect and pity of mankind, the daughter, wife, and mother of emperors, was tortured like the vilest malefactor, to force a confession of her designs and associates; and the empress Constantina, with her three innocent daughters, was beheaded at Chalcedon, on the same ground which had been stained with the blood of her husband and five sons. After such an example, it would be superfluous to enumerate the names and sufferings of meaner victims. Their condemnation was seldom preceded by the forms of trial, and their punishment was imbittered by the refinements of cruelty: their eyes were pierced, their tongues were torn from the root, the hands and feet were amputated; some expired under the lash, others in the flames, others again were transfixed with arrows; and a simple speedy death was mercy which they could rarely obtain. The hippodrome, the sacred asylum of the pleasures and the liberty of the Romans, was polluted with heads and limbs and mangled bodies; and the companions of Phocas were the most sensible, that neither his favour, nor their services, could protect them from a tyrant, the worthy rival of the Caligulas and Domitians of the first age of the empire.*

A daughter of Phocas, his only child, was given in marriage to the patrician Crispus,† and the *royal* images of the bride and bridegroom were indiscreetly placed in the

Cleopatra.

* Some of the cruelties of Phocas are marked by Theophylact, l. 8, c. 13—15. George of Pisidia, the poet of Heraclius, styles him (Bell. Avaricum, p. 46, Rome, 1777), *τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ δυσκάθεκτος καὶ βιοφθόρος δράκων*. The latter epithet is just—but the corrupter of life was easily vanquished.

† In the writers, and in the copies of those writers, there is such hesitation between the names of Priscus and Crispus (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 111), that I have been tempted to identify the son-in-law of Phocas with the hero five times victorious over the Avars. [This hero was Priscus, not Crispus. See p. 159, and Clinton, F. R. ii, 159.—Ed.]

circus by the side of the emperor. The father must desire that his posterity should inherit the fruit of his crimes, but the monarch was offended by this premature and popular association: the tribunes of the green faction, who accused the officious error of their sculptors, were condemned to instant death: their lives were granted to the prayers of the people; but Crispus might reasonably doubt whether a jealous usurper could forget and pardon his involuntary competition. The green faction was alienated by the ingratitude of Phocas and the loss of their privileges; every province of the empire was ripe for rebellion; and Heraclius, exarch of Africa, persisted above two years in refusing all tribute and obedience to the centurion who disgraced the throne of Constantinople. By the secret emissaries of Crispus and the senate, the independent exarch was solicited to save and to govern his country: but his ambition was chilled by age, and he resigned the dangerous enterprise to his son Heraclius, and to Nicetas, the son of Gregory, his friend and lieutenant. The powers of Africa were armed by the two adventurous youths; they agreed that the one should navigate the fleet from Carthage to Constantinople, that the other should lead an army through Egypt and Asia, and that the imperial purple should be the reward of diligence and success. A faint rumour of their undertaking was conveyed to the ears of Phocas, and the wife and mother of the younger Heraclius were secured as the hostages of his faith: but the treacherous art of Crispus extenuated the distant peril, the means of defence were neglected or delayed, and the tyrant supinely slept till the African navy cast anchor in the Hellespont. Their standard was joined at Abydos by the fugitives and exiles who thirsted for revenge; the ships of Heraclius, whose lofty masts were adorned with the holy symbols of religion,* steered their triumphant course through the Propontis; and Phocas beheld from the windows of the palace his approaching and inevitable fate. The green faction was tempted by gifts and promises, to oppose a feeble and fruit-

* According to Theophanes κιβώτια and εἰκόνας θεομήτορος. Cedrenus adds an ἀχειροποιητον εἴκονα τοῦ κυρίου, which Heraclius bore as a banner in the first Persian expedition. See George Piscid. Acroas. I, 140. The manufacture seems to have flourished; but Foggini, the Roman editor (p. 26), is at a loss to determine whether this picture

less resistance to the landing of the Africans; but the people, and even the guards, were determined by the well-timed defection of Crispus; and the tyrant was seized by a private enemy, who boldly invaded the solitude of the palace. Stripped of the diadem and purple, clothed in a vile habit, and loaded with chains, he was transported in a small boat to the imperial galley of Heraclius, who reproached him with the crimes of his abominable reign. "Wilt thou govern better?" were the last words of the despair of Phocas. After suffering each variety of insult and torture, his head was severed from his body, the mangled trunk was cast into the flames, and the same treatment was inflicted on the statues of the vain usurper, and the seditious banner of the green faction. The voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people, invited Heraclius to ascend the throne which he had purified from guilt and ignominy; after some graceful hesitation, he yielded to their entreaties. His coronation was accompanied by that of his wife Eudoxia; and their posterity, till the fourth generation, continued to reign over the empire of the East. The voyage of Heraclius had been easy and prosperous, the tedious march of Nicetas was not accomplished before the decision of the contest: but he submitted without a murmur to the fortune of his friend, and his laudable intentions were rewarded with an equestrian statue and a daughter of the emperor. It was more difficult to trust the fidelity of Crispus, whose recent services were recompensed by the command of the Cappadocian army. His arrogance soon provoked, and seemed to excuse, the ingratitude of his new sovereign. In the presence of the senate, the son-in-law of Phocas was condemned to embrace the monastic life; and the sentence was justified by the weighty observation of Heraclius, that the man who had betrayed his father, could never be faithful to his friend.*

Even after his death, the republic was afflicted by the crimes of Phocas, which armed with a pious cause the most formidable of her enemies. According to the friendly and equal forms of the Byzantine and Persian courts, he announced his exaltation to the throne; and his ambassador

was an original or a copy.

* See the tyranny of Phocas and the elevation of Heraclius, in Chron. Paschal. p. 380—383. Theophanes, p. 242—250. Nicephorus, p. 3—7. Cedrenus, p. 404—

Lilius, who had presented him with the heads of Maurice and his sons, was the best qualified to describe the circumstances of the tragic scene.* However it might be varnished by fiction or sophistry, Chosroes turned with horror from the assassin, imprisoned the pretended envoy, disclaimed the usurper, and declared himself the avenger of his father and benefactor. The sentiments of grief and resentment, which humanity would feel and honour would dictate, promoted, on this occasion, the interest of the Persian king; and his interest was powerfully magnified by the national and religious prejudices of the Magi and satraps. In a strain of artful adulation, which assumed the language of freedom, they presumed to censure the excess of his gratitude and friendship for the Greeks; a nation with whom it was dangerous to conclude either peace or alliance; whose superstition was devoid of truth and justice, and who must be incapable of any virtue, since they could perpetrate the most atrocious of crimes—the impious murder of their sovereign.† For the crime of an ambitious centurion, the nation which he oppressed was chastised with the calamities of war; and the same calamities, at the end of twenty years, were retaliated and redoubled on the heads of the Persians.‡ The general who had restored Chosroes to the throne, still commanded in the East; and the name of Narses was the formidable sound with which the Assyrian mothers were accustomed to terrify their infants. It is not improbable,

407. Zonaras, tom. ii, l. 14, p. 80—82. * Theophylact, l. 8, c. 15. The life of Maurice was composed about the year 628 (l. 8, c. 13), by Theophylact Simocatta, ex-prefect, a native of Egypt. Photius, who gives an ample extract of the work (Cod. 65, p. 81—100), gently reproves the affectation and allegory of the style. His preface is a dialogue between Philosophy and History; they seat themselves under a plane-tree, and the latter touches her lyre.

† Christianis nec pactum esse, nec fidem nec fœdus quod si ulla illis fides fuisset, regem suum non occidissent. Eutych. Annales, tom. ii, p. 211, vers. Pocock. ‡ We must now, for some ages, take our leave of contemporary historians, and descend, if it be a descent, from the affectation of rhetoric to the rude simplicity of chronicles and abridgments. Those of Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 244—279) and Nicephorus (p. 3—16), supply a regular, but imperfect, series of the Persian war; and for any additional facts I quote my special authorities. Theophanes, a courtier who became a monk, was born A.D. 748; Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A.D. 829, was somewhat younger: they both suffered in the cause of images. Hankius de Scriptoribus Byzantinis, p. 200—246.

that a native subject of Persia should encourage his master and his friend to deliver and possess the provinces of Asia. It is still more probable, that Chosroes should animate his troops by the assurance that the sword which they dreaded the most would remain in its scabbard, or be drawn in their favour. The hero could not depend on the faith of a tyrant; and the tyrant was conscious how little he deserved the obedience of a hero. Narses was removed from his military command; he reared an independent standard at Hierapolis in Syria: he was betrayed by fallacious promises, and burnt alive in the market-place of Constantinople. Deprived of the only chief whom they could fear or esteem, the bands which he had led to victory were twice broken by the cavalry, trampled by the elephants, and pierced by the arrows, of the barbarians; and a great number of the captives were beheaded on the field of battle by the sentence of the victor, who might justly condemn these seditious mercenaries as the authors or accomplices of the death of Maurice. Under the reign of Phocas, the fortifications of Merdin, Dara, Amida, and Edessa, were successively besieged, reduced, and destroyed, by the Persian monarch; he passed the Euphrates, occupied the Syrian cities, Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Berœa or Aleppo, and soon encompassed the walls of Antioch with his irresistible arms. The rapid tide of success discloses the decay of the empire, the incapacity of Phocas, and the disaffection of his subjects; and Chosroes provided a decent apology for their submission or revolt, by an impostor who attended his camp as the son of Maurice * and the lawful heir of the monarchy.

The first intelligence from the East which Heraclius received,† was that of the loss of Antioch; but the aged metropolis, so often overturned by earthquakes and pillaged by the enemy, could supply but a small and languid stream

* The Persian historians have been themselves deceived; but Theophanes (p. 244), accuses Chosroes of the fraud and falsehood; and Eutychius believes (Annal. tom. ii, p. 211), that the son of Maurice, who was saved from the assassins, lived and died a monk on mount Sinai.

† Eutychius dates all the losses of the empire under the reign of Phocas; an error which saves the honour of Heraclius, whom he brings not from Carthage, but Salonica, with a fleet laden with vegetables for the relief of Constantinople. (Annal. tom. ii, p. 223, 224.) The other Christians of the East, Barhebræus (apud Asseman, Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii, p. 412, 413), Elmacin (Hist.

of treasure and blood. The Persians were equally successful and more fortunate in the sack of Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia; and as they advanced beyond the ramparts of the frontier, the boundary of ancient war, they found a less obstinate resistance, and a more plentiful harvest. The pleasant vale of Damascus has been adorned in every age with a royal city: her obscure felicity has hitherto escaped the historian of the Roman empire: but Chosroes reposed his troops in the paradise of Damascus before he ascended the hills of Libanus, or invaded the cities of the Phœnician coast. The conquest of Jerusalem,* which had been meditated by Nushirvan, was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson; the ruin of the proudest monument of Christianity was vehemently urged by the intolerant spirit of the Magi; and he could enlist, for this holy warfare, an army of six-and-twenty thousand Jews, whose furious bigotry might compensate, in some degree, for the want of valour and discipline. After the reduction of Galilee, and the region beyond the Jordan, whose resistance appears to have delayed the fate of the capital, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault. The sepulchre of Christ, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine, were consumed, or at least damaged, by the flames; the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zachariah, and the *true cross*, were transported into Persia; and the massacre of ninety thousand Christians is imputed to the Jews and Arabs who swelled the disorder of the Persian march. The fugitives of Palestine were entertained at Alexandria by the charity of John the archbishop, who is distinguished among a crowd of saints by the epithet of *alms-giver*;† and the revenues of the church, with a treasure of three hundred thousand pounds, were restored to the true proprietors, the poor of every country and every

Saracen. p. 13—16), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 98, 99) are more sincere and accurate. The years of the Persian war are disposed in the chronology of Pagi.

* On the conquest of Jerusalem, an event so interesting to the church, see the Annals of Eutychius (tom. ii, p. 212—223), and the lamentations of the monk Antiochus (apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 614, No. 16—26), whose one hundred and twenty-nine homilies are still extant, if what no one reads may be said to be extant.

† The life of this worthy saint is composed by Leontius, a contemporary bishop; and I find in Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 610, No. 10, &c.) and Fleury (tom. viii, p. 235—242), sufficient extracts of this edifying work.

denomination. But Egypt itself, the only province which had been exempt, since the time of Diocletian, from foreign and domestic war, was again subdued by the successors of Cyrus. Pelusium, the key of that impervious country, was surprised by the cavalry of the Persians: they passed, with impunity, the innumerable channels of the Delta, and explored the long valley of the Nile, from the pyramids of Memphis to the confines of Æthiopia. Alexandria might have been relieved by a naval force, but the archbishop and the prefect embarked for Cyprus; and Chosroes entered the second city of the empire, which still preserved a wealthy remnant of industry and commerce. His western trophy was erected, not on the walls of Carthage,* but in the neighbourhood of Tripoli; the Greek colonies of Cyrene were finally extirpated; and the conqueror, treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Lybian desert. In the same campaign, another army advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosphorus; Chalcedon surrendered after a long siege, and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople. The sea-coast of Pontus, the city of Ancyra, and the isle of Rhodes, are enumerated among the last conquests of the great king; and if Chosroes had possessed any maritime power, his boundless ambition would have spread slavery and desolation over the provinces of Europe.

From the long-disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nushirvan was suddenly extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy. But the provinces, which had been fashioned by the habits of six hundred years to the virtues and vices of the Roman government, supported with reluctance the yoke of the barbarians. The idea of a republic was kept alive by the institutions, or at least by the writings, of the Greeks and Romans, and the subjects of Heraclius had been educated to pronounce the words of liberty and law. But it has always been the pride

* The error of Baronius, and many others who have carried the arms of Chosroes to Carthage instead of Chalcedon, is founded on the near resemblance of the Greek words Καλχήδονα and Καρχήδονα, in the text of Theophanes, &c. which have been sometimes confounded by transcribers and sometimes by critics. [Theophanes (p. 252*b* and *c*.) has Χαλκηδόνα, which is altered by Cedrenus (p. 408 *c*) into Καρκηδόνα. The material difference between the initials of the two names was

and policy of Oriental princes, to display the titles and attributes of their omnipotence; to upbraid a nation of slaves with their true name and abject condition, and to enforce, by cruel and insolent threats, the rigour of their absolute commands. The Christians of the East were scandalized by the worship of fire, and the impious doctrine of the two principles; the Magi were not less intolerant than the bishops, and the martyrdom of some native Persians, who had deserted the religion of Zoroaster,* was conceived to be the prelude of a fierce and general persecution. By the oppressive laws of Justinian, the adversaries of the church were made the enemies of the State; the alliance of the Jews, Nestorians, and Jacobites, had contributed to the success of Chosroes, and his partial favour to the sectaries provoked the hatred and fears of the Catholic clergy. Conscious of their fear and hatred, the Persian conqueror governed his new subjects with an iron sceptre; and as if he suspected the stability of his dominion, he exhausted their wealth by exorbitant tributes and licentious rapine, despoiled or demolished the temples of the East, and transported to his hereditary realms the gold, the silver, the precious marbles, the arts, and the artists of the Asiatic cities. In the obscure picture of the calamities of the empire,† it is not easy to discern the figure of Chosroes himself, to separate his actions from those of his lieutenants, or to ascertain his personal merit in the general blaze of glory and magnificence. He enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of victory, and frequently retired from the hardships of war to the luxury of the palace. But in the space of twenty-four years, he was deterred by superstition or resentment from approaching the gates of Ctesiphon: and his favourite residence of Artemita, or Dastagerd, was situate beyond the Tigris, about sixty miles to the north of the capital.‡ The adjacent pastures were covered with flocks

overlooked by Gibbon, and has hitherto been unnoticed by all his editors.—ED.]

* The genuine acts of St. Anastasius are published in those of the seventh general council, from whence Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 614. 626, 627) and Butler (Lives of the Saints, vol. i, p. 242—248), have taken their accounts. The holy martyr deserted from the Persian to the Roman army, became a monk at Jerusalem, and insulted the worship of the Magi, which was then established at Cæsarea in Palestine.

† Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 99. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen, p. 14.

‡ D'Anville, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxii,

and herds: the paradise or park was replenished with pheasants, peacocks, ostriches, roebucks, and wild boars, and the noble game of lions and tigers was sometimes turned loose for the bolder pleasures of the chase. Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the great king: his tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels and eight thousand of a smaller size;* and the royal stables were filled with six thousand mules and horses, among whom the names of Shebdiz and Barid are renowned for their speed or beauty. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace-gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves; and in the number of three thousand virgins, the fairest of Asia, some happy concubine might console her master for the age or indifference of Sira. The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics, were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber *Badaverd* denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls, the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble, and plated wood, that supported the roof; and a thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac.† While the Persian monarch contemplated the wonders of his art

p. 568—571. [We are told by Cellarius, that Artemita was greatly admired of old—"a multis scriptoribus laudata" (2. 661). Yet those who so wrote of it were very imperfectly acquainted with its situation. Nor can Dastagerd be pointed out with any certainty. Gibbon's description of this palace is applied by Sir R. K. Porter (2. 186) to the ruins which he inspected at Tackt-i-Bostan, the throne of the garden, on the eastern side of Kermanshah. He afterwards visited other ruins of the same kind at Kisra Shirene (p. 212), which he considered to be the remains of the once splendid Dastagerd. Yet no traces of this name, or of Artemita, exist on either of these spots. The same traveller (p. 591) passed a village named Dastagird, on the banks of Lake Ouroomia, between the Araxes and the Tigris. He did not approach it, but describes the surrounding scenery as beautiful.—ED.]

* The difference between the two races consists in one or two humps; the dromedary has only one; the size of the proper camel is larger; the country he comes from, Turkestan or Bactriana; the dromedary is confined to Arabia and Africa. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xi, p. 211, &c. Aristot. Hist. Animal. tom. i, l. 2, c. 1; tom. ii, p. 185.

† Theophanes, Chronograph. p. 268. D'Herbelot,

and power, he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apostle of God. He rejected the invitation, and tore the epistle. "It is thus," (exclaimed the Arabian prophet) "that God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplications of Chosroes."* Placed on the verge of the two great empires of the East, Mahomet observed with secret joy the progress of their mutual destruction; and in the midst of the Persian triumphs, he ventured to foretell, that before many years should elapse, victory would again return to the banners of the Romans.†

At the time when this prediction is said to have been delivered, no prophecy could be more distant from its accomplishment, since the first twelve years of Heraclius announced the approaching dissolution of the empire. If the motives of Chosroes had been pure and honourable, he must have ended the quarrel with the death of Phocas, and he would have embraced, as his best ally, the fortunate African who had so generously avenged the injuries of his benefactor Maurice. The prosecution of the war revealed the true character of the barbarian; and the suppliant embassies of Heraclius to beseech his clemency, that he would spare the innocent, accept a tribute, and give peace to the world, were rejected with contemptuous silence or insolent menace. Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Asia, were subdued by the Persian arms, while Europe, from the confines of Istria to the long wall of Thrace, was oppressed

Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 997. The Greeks describe the decay, the Persians the splendour, of Dastagerd; but the former speak from the modest witness of the eye, the latter from the vague report of the ear.

* The historians of Mahomet, Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. p. 92, 93), and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii, p. 247), date this embassy in the seventh year of the Hegira, which commences A.D. 628, May 11. Their chronology is erroneous, since Chosroes died in the month of February of the same year. (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii, p. 779.) The count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomed, p. 327, 328) places this embassy about A.D. 615, soon after the conquest of Palestine. Yet Mahomet would scarcely have ventured so soon on so bold a step. [July 16, A.D. 622, is now generally admitted to be the commencement of the Hegira. According to Ockley (p. 50, edit. Bohn), Mahomet, after this letter to Chosroes, sent one of the same purport to Heraclius. But their dates cannot be precisely determined.—ED.]

† See the thirtieth chapter of the Koran, entitled the Greeks. Our honest and learned translator, Sale (p. 330, 331), fairly states this conjecture, guess, wager, of Mahomet; but Boulainvilliers (p. 329—344), with wicked intentions, labours to establish this evident prophecy of a

by the Avars, unsatiated with the blood and rapine of the Italian war. They had coolly massacred their male captives in the sacred field of Pannonia; the women and children were reduced to servitude, and the noblest virgins were abandoned to the promiscuous lust of the barbarians. The amorous matron who opened the gates of Friuli passed a short night in the arms of her royal lover; the next evening Romilda was condemned to the embraces of twelve Avars, and the third day the Lombard princess was impaled in the sight of the camp, while the chagan observed with a cruel smile, that such a husband was the fit recompense of her lewdness and perfidy.* By these implacable enemies, Heraclius, on either side, was insulted and besieged: and the Roman empire was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and some maritime cities, from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Asiatic coast. After the loss of Egypt, the capital was afflicted by famine and perstilence; and the emperor, incapable of resistance and hopeless of relief, had resolved to transfer his person and government to the more secure residence of Carthage. His ships were already laden with the treasures of the palace; but his flight was arrested by the patriarch, who armed the powers of religion in the defence of his country, led Heraclius to the altar of St. Sophia, and extorted a solemn oath, that he would live and die with the people whom God had intrusted to his care. The chagan was encamped in the plains of Thrace; but he dissembled his perfidious designs, and solicited an interview with the emperor near the town of Heraclea. Their reconciliation was celebrated with equestrian games; the senate and people in their gayest apparel resorted to the festival of peace; and the Avars beheld, with envy and desire, the spectacle of Roman luxury. On a sudden the hippodrome was encompassed by the Scythian cavalry, who had pressed their secret and nocturnal march: the tremendous sound of the chagan's whip gave the signal of the assault; and Heraclius, wrapping his diadem round his arm, was saved, with extreme hazard, by the fleetness of his horse. So rapid was the pursuit, that the Avars almost entered the golden gate of Constantinople with the flying

future event, which must, in his opinion, embarrass the Christian polemics.

* Paul Warnefrid, de Gestis Langobardorum, l. 4, c. 38. 42. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v, p. 305, &c.

crowds;* but the plunder of the suburbs rewarded their treason, and they transported beyond the Danube two hundred and seventy thousand captives. On the shore of Chalcedon, the emperor held a safer conference with a more honourable foe, who, before Heraclius descended from his galley, saluted with reverence and pity the majesty of the purple. The friendly offer of Sain, the Persian general, to conduct an embassy to the presence of the great king, was accepted with the warmest gratitude, and the prayer for pardon and peace was humbly presented by the prætorian prefect, the prefect of the city, and one of the first ecclesiastics of the patriarchal church.† But the lieutenant of Chosroes had fatally mistaken the intentions of his master. "It was not an embassy (said the tyrant of Asia), it was the person of Heraclius, bound in chains, that he should have brought to the foot of my throne. I will never give peace to the emperor of Rome till he has abjured his crucified God, and embraced the worship of the sun." Sain was flayed alive, according to the inhuman practice of his country; and the separate and rigorous confinement of the ambassadors violated the law of nations, and the faith of an express stipulation. Yet the experience of six years at length persuaded the Persian monarch to renounce the conquest of Constantinople, and to specify the annual tribute or ransom of the Roman empire: a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins. Heraclius subscribed these ignominious terms; but the time and space which he obtained to collect such treasures from the poverty of the East, was industriously employed in the preparations of a bold and desperate attack.

Of the characters conspicuous in history, that of Heraclius is one of the most extraordinary and inconsistent. In the first and the last years of a long reign, the emperor appears to be the slave of sloth, of pleasure, or of superstition, the careless and impotent spectator of the public calamities.

* The Paschal Chronicle, which sometimes introduces fragments of history into a barren list of names and dates, gives the best account of the treason of the Avars, p. 389, 390. The number of captives is added by Nicephorus. † Some original pieces, such as the speech or letter of the Roman ambassadors (p. 386—388), likewise constitute the merit of the Paschal Chronicle, which was composed, perhaps at Alexandria, under the reign of Heraclius.

But the languid mists of the morning and evening are separated by the brightness of the meridian sun: the Arcadius of the palace arose the Cæsar of the camp; and the honour of Rome and Heraclius was gloriously retrieved by the exploits and trophies of six adventurous campaigns. It was the duty of the Byzantine historians to have revealed the causes of his slumber and vigilance. At this distance we can only conjecture, that he was endowed with more personal courage than political resolution; that he was detained by the charms, and perhaps the arts, of his niece Martina, with whom, after the death of Eudocia, he contracted an incestuous marriage;* and that he yielded to the base advice of the counsellors, who urged as a fundamental law, that the life of the emperor should never be exposed in the field.† Perhaps he was awakened by the last insolent demand of the Persian conqueror; but at the moment when Heraclius assumed the spirit of a hero, the only hopes of the Romans were drawn from the vicissitudes of fortune which might threaten the proud prosperity of Chosroes, and must be favourable to those who had attained the lowest period of depression.‡ To provide for the expenses of war was the first care of the emperor; and for the purpose of collecting the tribute, he was allowed to solicit the benevolence of the Eastern provinces. But the revenue no longer flowed in the usual channels; the credit of an arbitrary prince is annihilated by his power; and the courage of Heraclius was first displayed in daring to borrow the consecrated wealth of churches, under the solemn vow

* Nicephorus (p. 10, 11), who brands this marriage with the names of *ἄθεσμον* and *ἀθέμιτον*, is happy to observe, that of two sons, its incestuous fruit, the elder was marked by Providence with a stiff neck, the younger with the loss of hearing. † George of Pisidia (Acroas. 1. 112—125, p. 5), who states the opinions, acquits the pusillanimous counsellors of any sinister views. Would he have excused the proud and contemptuous admonition of Crispus? *Ἐπιθωπτάζων οὐκ ἔξον βασιλεῖ ἔφασκε καταλιμπάνειν βασίλεια, καὶ τοῖς πόρρω ἐπιχωριάζειν δυνάμεσιν.*

‡ *Εἰ τὰς ἐπ' ἄκρον ἠρμένας εὐεξίας*
Ἐσφαλμένας λέγουσιν οὐκ ἀπεικότως,
Κείσθω ὃ λοιπὸν ἐν κακοῖς τὰ Πέρσιδος,
Ἀντιστρόφως δὲ, &c.
George Pisid. Acroas. 1. 51, &c. p. 4.

The Orientals are not less fond of remarking this strange vicissitude; and I remember some story of Khosrou Parviz, not very unlike the

of restoring, with usury, whatever he had been compelled to employ in the service of religion and of the empire. The clergy themselves appear to have sympathized with the public distress, and the discreet patriarch of Alexandria, without admitting the precedent of sacrilege, assisted his sovereign by the miraculous or seasonable revelation of a secret treasure.* Of the soldiers who had conspired with Phocas, only two were found to have survived the stroke of time and of the barbarians;† the loss, even of these seditious veterans, was imperfectly supplied by the new levies of Heraclius, and the gold of the sanctuary united, in the same camp, the names, and arms, and languages, of the East and West. He would have been content with the neutrality of the Avars; and his friendly entreaty that the chagan would act, not as the enemy, but as the guardian, of the empire, was accompanied with a more persuasive donative of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. Two days after the festival of Easter, the emperor, exchanging his purple for the simple garb of a penitent and warrior,‡ gave the signal of his departure. To the faith of the people Heraclius recommended his children; the civil and military powers were vested in the most deserving hands, and the discretion of the patriarch and senate was authorized to save or surrender the city, if they should be oppressed in his absence by the superior forces of the enemy.

The neighbouring heights of Chalcedon were covered with tents and arms: but if the new levies of Heraclius had been rashly led to the attack, the victory of the Persians in the sight of Constantinople might have been the last day of the Roman empire. As imprudent would it have been to advance into the provinces of Asia, leaving their in-

ring of Polycrates of Samos.

* Baronius gravely relates this discovery, or rather transmutation, of barrels, not of honey, but of gold (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 620, No. 3, &c.). Yet the loan was arbitrary, since it was collected by soldiers, who were ordered to leave the patriarch of Alexandria no more than one hundred pounds of gold. Nicephorus (p. 11), two hundred years afterwards, speaks with ill-humour of this contribution, which the church of Constantinople might still feel.

† Theophylact Simocatta, l. 8, c. 12. This circumstance need not excite our surprise. The muster-roll of a regiment, even in time of peace, is renewed in less than twenty or twenty-five years.

‡ He changed his *purple*, for *black*, buskins, and dyed them red in the blood of the Persians (Georg. Pisid. Acroas. 3. 118. 121, 122. See the Notes of Foggini, p. 35).

numerable cavalry to intercept his convoys, and continually to hang on the lassitude and disorder of his rear. But the Greeks were still masters of the sea; a fleet of galleys, transports, and store-ships, was assembled in the harbour; the barbarians consented to embark; a steady wind carried them through the Hellespont; the western and southern coast of Asia Minor lay on their left hand; the spirit of their chief was first displayed in a storm; and even the eunuchs of his train were excited to suffer and to work by the example of their master. He landed his troops on the confines of Syria and Cilicia, in the gulf of Scanderoon, where the coast suddenly turns to the south;* and his discernment was expressed in the choice of this important post.† From all sides, the scattered garrisons of the maritime cities and the mountains might repair with speed and safety to his imperial standard. The natural fortifications of Cilicia protected, and even concealed, the camp of Heraclius, which was pitched near Issus, on the same ground where Alexander had vanquished the host of Darius. The angle which the emperor occupied, was deeply indented into a vast semicircle of the Asiatic, Armenian, and Syrian provinces; and to whatsoever point of the circumference he should direct his attack, it was easy for him to dissemble his own motions, and to prevent those of the enemy. In the camp of Issus, the Roman general reformed the sloth and disorder of the veterans, and educated the new recruits in the knowledge and practice of military virtue. Unfolding

* George of Pisidia (Acroas. 2, 10, p. 8) has fixed this important point of the Syrian and Cilician gates. They are elegantly described by Xenophon, who marched through them a thousand years before. A narrow pass of three stadia between steep high rocks (*πέτραι ἠλίβατοι*) and the Mediterranean was closed at each end by strong gates, impregnable to the land (*παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίᾳ*), accessible by sea. (Anabasis, l. 1, p. 35, 36, with Hutchinson's Geographical Dissertation, p. 6.) The gates were thirty-five parasangs, or leagues from Tarsus (Anabasis, l. 1, p. 33, 34), and eight or ten from Antioch. (Compare Itinerar. Wesseling. p. 580—581; Schultens, Index Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin. p. 9; Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par M. Otter, tom. i, p. 78, 79.)

† Heraclius might write to a friend in the modest words of Cicero—"Castra habuimus ea ipsa quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander, imperator haud paulo melior quam aut tu aut ego." Ad Atticum, 5, 20. Issus, a rich and flourishing city in the time of Xenophon, was ruined by the prosperity of Alexandria or Scanderoon on the other side of the bay.

the miraculous image of Christ, he urged them to *revenge* the holy altars which had been profaned by the worshippers of fire; addressing them by the endearing appellations of sons and brethren, he deplored the public and private wrongs of the republic. The subjects of a monarch were persuaded that they fought in the cause of freedom; and a similar enthusiasm was communicated to the foreign mercenaries, who must have viewed with equal indifference the interest of Rome and of Persia. Heraclius himself, with the skill and patience of a centurion, inculcated the lessons of the school of tactics, and the soldiers were assiduously trained in the use of their weapons, and the exercises and evolutions of the field. The cavalry and infantry, in light or heavy armour, were divided into two parties; the trumpets were fixed in the centre, and their signals directed the march, the charge, the retreat, or pursuit; the direct or oblique order, the deep or extended phalanx; to represent in fictitious combat the operations of genuine war. Whatever hardship the emperor imposed on the troops, he inflicted with equal severity on himself; their labour, their diet, their sleep, were measured by the inflexible rules of discipline; and, without despising the enemy, they were taught to repose an implicit confidence in their own valour and the wisdom of their leader. Cilicia was soon encompassed with the Persian arms; but their cavalry hesitated to enter the defiles of mount Taurus, till they were circumvented by the evolutions of Heraclius, who insensibly gained their rear, whilst he appeared to present his front in order of battle. By a false motion, which seemed to threaten Armenia, he drew them, against their wishes, to a general action. They were tempted by the artful disorder of his camp; but when they advanced to combat, the ground, the sun, and the expectation of both armies, were unpropitious to the barbarians; the Romans successfully repeated their tactics in a field of battle,* and the event of the day declared to the world, that the Persians were not invincible, and that a hero was invested with the purple. Strong in victory and fame, Heraclius boldly ascended the heights of mount Taurus,

* Foggini (Annotat. p. 31) suspects that the Persians were deceived by the φάλαγξ πεπληγμένη of Ælian (Tactic. c. 48), an intricate spiral motion of the army. He observes (p. 28), that the military descriptions of George of Pisidia are transcribed in the Tactics of the

directed his march through the plains of Cappadocia, and established his troops for the winter season in safe and plentiful quarters on the banks of the river Halys.* His soul was superior to the vanity of entertaining Constantinople with an imperfect triumph: but the presence of the emperor was indispensably required to sooth the restless and rapacious spirit of the Avars.

Since the days of Scipio and Hannibal, no bolder enterprise has been attempted than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of the empire.† He permitted the Persians to oppress for awhile the provinces, and to insult with impunity the capital of the East; while the Roman emperor explored his perilous way through the Black sea,‡ and the mountains of Armenia, penetrated into the heart of Persia,§ and recalled the armies of the great king to the defence of their bleeding country. With a select band of five thousand soldiers, Heraclius sailed from Constantinople to Trebizond; assembled his forces which had wintered in the Pontic regions; and from the mouth of the Phasis to the Caspian sea, encouraged his subjects and allies to march with the successor of Constantine under the faithful and victorious banner of the cross. When the legions of Lucullus and Pompey first passed the Euphrates,

emperor Leo.

* George of Pisidia, an eye-witness (Acroas. 2, 122, &c.), described in three *acroaseis* or cantos, the first expedition of Heraclius. The poem has been lately (1777) published at Rome; but such vague and declamatory praise is far from corresponding with the sanguine hopes of Pagi, D'Anville, &c.

† Theophanes (p. 256) carries Heraclius swiftly (κατὰ ταχὸς) into Armenia. Nicephorus (p. 11), though he confounds the two expeditions, defines the province of Lazica. Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 231) has given the five thousand men, with the more probable station of Trebizond.

‡ From Constantinople to Trebizond, with a fair wind, four or five days; from thence to Erzerom, five; to Erivan, twelve; to Tauris, ten; in all, thirty-two. Such is the Itinerary of Tavernier (Voyages, tom. i, p. 12—56), who was perfectly conversant with the roads of Asia. Tournefort, who travelled with a pasha, spent ten or twelve days between Trebizond and Erzerom; (Voyage du Levant, tom. iii, lettre 18), and Chardin (Voyages, tom. i, p. 249—254) gives the more correct distance of fifty-three parasangs, each of five thousand paces (what paces?), between Erivan and Tauris.

§ The expedition of Heraclius into Persia is finely illustrated by M. D'Anville. (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii, p. 559—573.) He discovers the situation of Gandzaca, Thebarma, Dastagerd, &c., with admirable skill and learning; but the obscure campaign of 624 he passes over in silence.

they blushed at their easy victory over the natives of Armenia. But the long experience of war had hardened the minds and bodies of that effeminate people; their zeal and bravery were approved in the service of a declining empire; they abhorred and feared the usurpation of the house of Sassan, and the memory of persecution envenomed their pious hatred of the enemies of Christ. The limits of Armenia, as it had been ceded to the emperor Maurice, extended as far the Araxes; the river submitted to the indignity of a bridge;* and Heraclius, in the footsteps of Mark Antony, advanced towards the city of Tauris or Gandzaca,† the ancient and modern capital of one of the provinces of Media. At the head of forty thousand men, Chosroes himself had returned from some distant expedition to oppose the progress of the Roman arms; but he retreated on the approach of Heraclius, declining the generous alternative of peace or battle. Instead of half a million of inhabitants, which have been ascribed to Tauris under the reign of the Sophys, the city contained no more than three thousand houses: but the value of the royal treasures was enhanced by a tradition, that they were the spoils of Crœsus, which had been transported by Cyrus from the citadel of Sardes. The rapid conquests of Heraclius were suspended only by the winter-season; a motive of prudence or superstition‡ determined his retreat into the province of Albania, along the shores of the Caspian; and his tents were most probably pitched in the plains of Mogan,§ the favourite

* Et pontem indignatus Araxes.—Virgil, Æneid 8, 728.

The river Araxes is noisy, rapid, vehement, and, with the melting of the snows, irresistible; the strongest and most massy bridges are swept away by the current; and its *indignation* is attested by the ruins of many arches near the old town of Zulfa. (Voyages de Chardin. tom. i. p. 252.) [The Araxes, after rains and during the spring, is still "an impassable torrent." Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 15.—Ed.]

† Chardin, tom. i, p. 255—259. With the Orientals (D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 834), he ascribes the foundation of Tauris, or Tebris, to Zobeide, the wife of the famous khalif Haroun Alrashid; but it appears to have been more ancient; and the names of Gandzaca. Gazaca, Gaza, are expressive of the royal treasure. The number of five hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants is reduced by Chardin from one million one hundred thousand, the popular estimate.

‡ He opened the gospel, and applied or interpreted the first casual passage to the name and situation of Albania. (Theophanes, p. 258.)

§ The heath of Mogan, between the Cyrus and the Araxes, is sixty parasangs in length and twenty in breadth (Olearius, p. 1023, 1024),

encampment of Oriental princes. In the course of this successful inroad, he signalized the zeal and revenge of a Christian emperor: at his command, the soldiers extinguished the fire, and destroyed the temples of the Magi; the statues of Chosroes, who aspired to divine honours, were abandoned to the flames; and the ruin of Thebarma or Ormia,* which had given birth to Zoroaster himself, made some atonement for the injuries of the holy sepulchre. A purer spirit of religion was shewn in the relief and deliverance of fifty thousand captives. Heraclius was rewarded by their tears and grateful acclamations; but this wise measure, which spread the fame of his benevolence, diffused the murmurs of the Persians against the pride and obstinacy of their own sovereign.

Amidst the glories of the succeeding campaign, Heraclius is almost lost to our eyes, and to those of the Byzantine historians.† From the spacious and fruitful plains of Albania, the emperor appears to follow the chain of Hyrcanian mountains, to descend into the province of Media or Irak, and to carry his victorious arms as far as the royal cities of Casbin and Ispahan, which had never been approached by a Roman conqueror. Alarmed by the danger of his kingdom, the powers of Chosroes were already recalled from the Nile and the Bosphorus, and three formidable armies surrounded, in

abounding in waters and fruitful pastures. (Hist. de Nadir Shah, translated by Mr. Jones from a Persian MS. Part ii, p. 2, 3.) See the encampments of Timur (Hist. par Sherefeddin Ali, l. 5, c. 37. l. 6, c. 13), and the coronation of Nadir Shah. (Hist. Persanne, p. 3—13, and the English Life by Mr. Jones, p. 64, 65.)

* Thebarma and Ormia, near the lake Spauta, are proved to be the same city by D'Anville. (Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxviii, p. 564, 565.) It is honoured as the birth-place of Zoroaster according to the Persians (Schultens, Index Geograph. p. 48), and their tradition is fortified by M. Perron d'Anquetil (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xxxi, p. 375), with some texts from his or their Zendavesta. [This is now the city of Ouroomia, and gives its name to the lake. (Porter's Travels, ii, 591.) Near it is the village of Dastagerd, mentioned in a former note (p. 174), perhaps too remote from the seat of government to have been the celebrated palace of Chosroes; yet it was on the line of military operations taken by Heraclius.—Ed.]

† I cannot find, and (what is much more) M. D'Anville does not attempt to seek, the Salban, Tarentum, territory of the Huns, &c. mentioned by Theophanes (p. 260—262). Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 231, 232), an insufficient author, names Asphahan; and Casbin is most probably the city of Sapor. Ispahan is twenty-four days'

a distant and hostile land, the camp of the emperor. The Colchian allies prepared to desert his standard; and the fears of the bravest veterans were expressed, rather than concealed, by their desponding silence. "Be not terrified (said the intrepid Heraclius) by the multitude of your foes. With the aid of Heaven, one Roman may triumph over a thousand barbarians. But if we devote our lives for the salvation of our brethren, we shall obtain the crown of martyrdom, and our immortal reward will be liberally paid by God and posterity." These magnanimous sentiments were supported by the vigour of his actions. He repelled the threefold attack of the Persians, improved the divisions of their chiefs, and by a well-concerted train of marches, retreats, and successful actions, finally chased them from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Assyria. In the severity of the winter season, Sarbaraza deemed himself secure in the walls of Salban; he was surprised by the activity of Heraclius who divided his troops and performed a laborious march in the silence of the night. The flat roofs of the houses were defended with useless valour against the darts and torches of the Romans: the satraps and nobles of Persia, with their wives and children, and the flower of their martial youth, were either slain or made prisoners. The general escaped by a precipitate flight, but his golden armour was the prize of the conqueror; and the soldiers of Heraclius enjoyed the wealth and repose which they had so nobly deserved. On the return of spring, the emperor traversed in seven days the mountains of Curdistan, and passed without resistance the rapid stream of the Tigris. Oppressed by the weight of their spoils and captives, the Roman army halted under the walls of Amida; and Heraclius informed the senate of Constantinople of his safety and success, which they had already felt by the retreat of the besiegers. The bridges of the Euphrates were destroyed by the Persians; but as soon as the emperor had discovered a ford, they hastily retired to defend the banks of the Sarus,* in Cilicia. That river, an impetuous torrent, was about three hundred

journey from Tauris, and Casbin half-way between them. (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i, p. 63—82.)

* At ten parasangs from Tarsus, the army of the younger Cyrus passed the Sarus, three plethra in breadth: the Pyramus, a stadium in breadth, ran five parasangs farther to the east. (Xenophon, Anabas. l. 1, p. 33, 34.)

feet broad; the bridge was fortified with strong turrets, and the banks were lined with barbarian archers. After a bloody conflict which continued till the evening, the Romans prevailed in the assault, and a Persian of gigantic size was slain and thrown into the Sarus by the hand of the emperor himself. The enemies were dispersed and dismayed; Heraclius pursued his march to Sebaste in Cappadocia; and at the expiration of three years, the same coast of the Euxine applauded his return from a long and victorious expedition.*

Instead of skirmishing on the frontier, the two monarchs who disputed the empire of the east, aimed their desperate strokes at the heart of their rival. The military force of Persia was wasted by the marches and combats of twenty years, and many of the veterans, who had survived the perils of the sword and the climate, were still detained in the fortresses of Egypt and Syria. But the revenge and ambition of Chosroes exhausted his kingdom; and the new levies of subjects, strangers, and slaves, were divided into three formidable bodies.† The first army of fifty thousand men, illustrious by the ornament and title of the *golden spears*, was destined to march against Heraclius; the second was stationed to prevent his junction with the troops of his brother Theodorus; and the third was commanded to besiege Constantinople, and to second the operations of the chagan, with whom the Persian king had ratified a treaty of alliance and partition. Sarbar, the general of the third army, penetrated through the provinces of Asia to the well known camp of Chalcedon, and amused himself with the destruction of the sacred and profane buildings of the Asiatic suburbs, while he impatiently waited the arrival of his Scythian friends on the opposite side of the Bosphorus. On the 29th of June, thirty thousand barbarians, the vanguard of the Avars, forced the long wall, and drove into the capital a promiscuous crowd of peasants, citizens, and soldiers. Fourscore thousand‡ of his native subjects, and of the

* George of Pisidia (Bell. Abaricum, 246—265, p. 49) celebrates with truth the persevering courage of the three campaigns (*τριῖς περιοδόμους*) against the Persians.

† Petavius (Annotationes ad Nicephorum, p. 62—64) discriminates the names and actions of five Persian generals who were successively sent against Heraclius.

‡ This number of eight myriads is specified by George of Pisidia.

vassal tribes of Gepidæ, Russians, Bulgarians, and Sclavonians, advanced under the standard of the chagan; a month was spent in marches and negotiations, but the whole city was invested on the 31st of July, from the suburbs of Pera and Galata to the Blachernæ and seven towers; and the inhabitants descried with terror the flaming signals of the European and Asiatic shores. In the meanwhile the magistrates of Constantinople repeatedly strove to purchase the retreat of the chagan; but their deputies were rejected and insulted; and he suffered the patricians to stand before his throne, while the Persian envoys, in silk robes, were seated by his side.—"You see," said the haughty barbarian, "the proofs of my perfect union with the great king; and his lieutenant is ready to send into my camp a select band of three thousand warriors. Presume no longer to tempt your master with a partial and inadequate ransom: your wealth and your city are the only presents worthy of my acceptance. For yourselves, I shall permit you to depart, each with an under-garment and a shirt; and, at my entreaty, my friend Sarbar will not refuse a passage through his lines. Your absent prince, even now a captive or fugitive, has left Constantinople to its fate; nor can you escape the arms of the Avars and Persians, unless you could soar into the air like birds, unless like fishes you could dive into the waves."* During ten successive days, the capital was assaulted by the Avars, who had made some progress in the science of attack; they advanced to sap or batter the wall, under the cover of the impenetrable tortoise; their engines discharged a perpetual volley of stones and darts; and twelve lofty towers of wood exalted the combatants to the height of the neighbouring ramparts. But the senate and people were animated by the spirit of Heraclius, who had detached to their relief a body of twelve thousand cuirassiers; the powers of fire and me-

(Bell. Abar. 219.) The poet (50—88) clearly indicates that the old chagan lived till the reign of Heraclius, and that his son and successor was born of a foreign mother. Yet Foggini (Annotat. p. 57) has given another interpretation to this passage.

* A bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows, had been the present of the Scythian king to Darius. (Herodot. l. 4, c. 131, 132.) Substituez une lettre à ces signes (says Rousseau, with much good taste) plus elle sera menaçante moins elle effrayera: ce ne sera qu'une fanfarronade dont Darius n'eut fait que rire. (Emile, tom. iii, p. 146.) Yet I much

chanics were used with superior art and success in the defence of Constantinople; and the galleys, with two and three ranks of oars, commanded the Bosphorus, and rendered the Persians the idle spectators of the defeat of their allies. The Avars were repulsed; a fleet of Sclavonian canoes was destroyed in the harbour; the vassals of the chagan threatened to desert, his provisions were exhausted, and after burning his engines, he gave the signal of a slow and formidable retreat. The devotion of the Romans ascribed this signal deliverance to the Virgin Mary; but the mother of Christ would surely have condemned their inhuman murder of the Persian envoys, who were entitled to the rights of humanity, if they were not protected by the laws of nations.*

After the division of his army, Heraclius prudently retired to the banks of the Phasis, from whence he maintained a defensive war against the fifty thousand gold spears of Persia. His anxiety was relieved by the deliverance of Constantinople; his hopes were confirmed by a victory of his brother Theodorus; and to the hostile league of Chosroes with the Avars, the Roman emperor opposed the useful and honourable alliance of the Turks. At his liberal invitation, the horde of Chozars † transported their tents from the plains of the Volga to the mountains of Georgia; Heraclius received them in the neighbourhood of Teflis, and the khan with his nobles dismounted from their horses, if we may credit the Greeks, and fell prostrate on the ground, to adore the purple of the Cæsar. Such voluntary homage and important aid were entitled to the warmest acknowledgments; and the emperor, taking off his own diadem, placed it on the head of the Turkish prince, whom he saluted with a tender embrace and the appellation of son. After a

question whether the senate and people of Constantinople laughed at this message of the chagan.

* The Paschal Chronicle (p. 392—397) gives a minute and authentic narrative of the siege and deliverance of Constantinople. Theophanes (p. 264) adds some circumstances; and a faint light may be obtained from the smoke of George of Pisidia, who has composed a poem (de Bello Abarico, p. 45—54) to commemorate this auspicious event.

† The power of the Chozars prevailed in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. They were known to the Greeks, the Arabs, and, under the name of Kosa, to the Chinese themselves. De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, part 2, p. 507—509.

sumptuous banquet he presented Ziebel with the plate and ornaments, the gold, the gems, and the silk, which had been used at the imperial table, and, with his own hand, distributed rich jewels and earrings to his new allies. In a secret interview he produced the portrait of his daughter Eudocia,* condescended to flatter the barbarian with the promise of a fair and *august* bride, obtained an immediate succour of forty thousand horse, and negotiated a strong diversion of the Turkish arms on the side of the Oxus.† The Persians, in their turn, retreated with precipitation; in the camp of Edessa, Heraclius reviewed an army of seventy thousand Romans and strangers; and some months were successfully employed in the recovery of the cities of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, whose fortifications had been imperfectly restored. Sarbar still maintained the important station of Chalcedon; but the jealousy of Chosroes, or the artifice of Heraclius, soon alienated the mind of that powerful satrap from the service of his king and country. A messenger was intercepted with a real or fictitious mandate to the cadarigan, or second in command, directing him to send, without delay, to the throne, the head of a guilty or unfortunate general. The dispatches were transmitted to Sarbar himself; and as soon as he read the sentence of his own death, he dexterously inserted the names of four hundred officers, assembled a military council, and asked the *cadarigan*, whether he was prepared to execute the commands of their tyrant? The Persians unanimously declared, that Chosroes had forfeited the sceptre; a separate treaty was concluded with the government of Constantinople; and if some considerations of honour or policy restrained Sarbar from joining the standard of Heraclius, the emperor was assured that he might prosecute, without interruption, his designs of victory and peace.

* Epiphania, or Eudocia, the only daughter of Heraclius and his first wife Eudocia, was born at Constantinople on the 7th of July, A.D. 611; baptized the 15th of August, and crowned (in the oratory of St. Stephen in the palace) the 4th of October in the same year. At this time she was about fifteen. Eudocia was afterwards sent to her Turkish husband, but the news of his death stopped her journey and prevented the consummation. (Ducange, Familiæ Byzantin. p. 118.)

† Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 13—16) gives some curious and probable facts: but his numbers are rather too high—three hundred thousand Romans assembled at Edessa—five hundred thousand Per-

Deprived of his firmest support, and doubtful of the fidelity of his subjects, the greatness of Chosroes was still conspicuous in its ruins. The number of five hundred thousand may be interpreted as an Oriental metaphor, to describe the men and arms, the horses and elephants, that covered Media and Assyria against the invasion of Heraclius. Yet the Romans boldly advanced from the Araxes to the Tigris, and the timid prudence of Rhazates was content to follow them by forced marches through a desolate country, till he received a peremptory mandate to risk the fate of Persia in a decisive battle. Eastward of the Tigris, at the end of the bridge of Mosul, the great Nineveh had formerly been erected:* the city, and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared:† the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operations of the two armies. But these operations are neglected by the Byzantine historians, and, like the authors of epic poetry and romance, they ascribe the victory, not to the military conduct, but to the personal valour, of their favourite hero. On this memorable day, Heraclius, on his horse Phallus, surpassed the bravest of his warriors: his lip was pierced with a spear, the steed was wounded in the thigh, but he carried his master safe and victorious through the triple phalanx of the barbarians. In the heat of the action, three valiant chiefs were successively slain by the sword and lance of the emperor; among these

sians killed at Nineveh. The abatement of a cipher is scarcely enough to restore his sanity. * Ctesias (apud Diodor. Sicul. tom. i, l. 2, p. 115, edit. Wesseling) assigns four hundred and eighty stadia (perhaps only thirty-two miles) for the circumference of Nineveh. Jonas talks of three days' journey; the one hundred and twenty thousand persons described by the prophet as incapable of discerning their right hand from their left, may afford about seven hundred thousand persons of all ages for the inhabitants of that ancient capital (Goguet, Origines des Loix, &c. tom. iii, part 1, p. 92, 93) which ceased to exist six hundred years before Christ. The western suburb still subsisted, and is mentioned under the name of Mosul, in the first age of the Arabian caliphs. † Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, &c. tom. ii, p. 286) passed over Nineveh without perceiving it. He mistook for a ridge of hills the old rampart of brick or earth. It is said to have been one hundred feet high, flanked with fifteen hundred towers, each of the height of two hundred feet. [Some of those mounds have now been explored by Mr. Layard, who has familiarized Nineveh and its remains to English readers. The arts and manners of Assyria may now be studied in the various monuments taken from the repose of ages and deposited in the British Museum.—ED.]

was Rhazates himself; he fell like a soldier, but the sight of his head scattered grief and despair through the fainting ranks of the Persians. His armour of pure and massy gold, the shield of one hundred and twenty plates, the sword and belt, the saddle and cuirass, adorned the triumph of Heraclius; and if he had not been faithful to Christ and his mother, the champion of Rome might have offered the fourth *opime* spoils to the Jupiter of the Capitol.* In the battle of Nineveh, which was fiercely fought from day-break to the eleventh hour, twenty-eight standards, besides those which might be broken or torn, were taken from the Persians; the greatest part of their army was cut in pieces, and the victors, concealing their own loss, passed the night on the field. They acknowledged, that on this occasion it was less difficult to kill than to discomfit the soldiers of Chosroes; amidst the bodies of their friends, no more than two bow-shot from the enemy, the remnant of the Persian cavalry stood firm till the seventh hour of the night; about the eighth hour they retired to their unrifled camp, collected their baggage, and dispersed on all sides, from the want of orders rather than of resolution. The diligence of Heraclius was not less admirable in the use of victory; by a march of forty-eight miles in four-and-twenty hours, his vanguard occupied the bridges of the great and the lesser Zab; and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. By a just gradation of magnificent scenes, they penetrated to the royal seat of Dastagerd, and though much of the treasure had been removed, and much had been expended, the remaining wealth appears to have exceeded their hopes, and even to have satiated their avarice. Whatever could not be easily transported, they consumed with fire, that Chosroes might feel the anguish of those wounds which he had so often inflicted on the provinces of the empire: and justice might allow the excuse, if the desolation had been confined to the works of regal luxury, if national hatred, military licence, and religious zeal, had not

* Rex regia arma fero (says Romulus, in the first consecration) . . . bina postea (continues Livy, 1, 10) inter tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia, adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris. If Varro (apud Pomp. Festum, p. 306, edit. Dacier) could justify his liberality in granting the opime spoils even to a common soldier who had slain the king or general of the enemy, the honour would have been much more cheap and common.

wasted with equal rage the habitations and the temples of the guiltless subject. The recovery of three hundred Roman standards, and the deliverance of the numerous captives of Edessa and Alexandria, reflect a purer glory on the arms of Heraclius. From the palace of Dastagerd, he pursued his march within a few miles of Modain or Ctesiphon, till he was stopped on the banks of the Arba, by the difficulty of the passage, the rigour of the season, and perhaps the fame of an impregnable capital. The return of the emperor is marked by the modern name of the city of Sherhzour; he fortunately passed Mount Zara before the snow, which fell incessantly thirty-four days; and the citizens of Gandzaca, or Tauris, were compelled to entertain his soldiers and their horses with an hospitable reception.*

When the ambition of Chosroes was reduced to the defence of his hereditary kingdom, the love of glory, or even the sense of shame, should have urged him to meet his rival in the field. In the battle of Nineveh, his courage might have taught the Persians to vanquish, or he might have fallen with honour by the lance of a Roman emperor. The successor of Cyrus chose rather, at a secure distance, to expect the event, to assemble the relics of the defeat, and to retire by measured steps before the march of Heraclius, till he beheld with a sigh the once-loved mansions of Dastagerd. Both his friends and enemies were persuaded that it was the intention of Chosroes to bury himself under the ruins of the city and palace: and as both might have been equally adverse to his flight, the monarch of Asia, with Sira, and three concubines, escaped through a hole in the wall nine days before the arrival of the Romans. The slow and stately procession in which he showed himself to the prostrate crowd, was changed to a rapid and secret journey; and the first evening he lodged in the cottage of a peasant, whose humble door would scarcely give admittance to the great king.† His superstition was subdued

* In describing this last expedition of Heraclius, the facts, the places, and the dates, of Theophanes (p. 265—271), are so accurate and authentic that he must have followed the original letters of the emperor, of which the Paschal Chronicle has preserved (p. 398—402) a very curious specimen.

† The words of Theophanes are remarkable: *εἰσῆλθε Χοσρόης εἰς οἰκον γεώργου μηδαμινοῦ μεῖναι, οὐ χωρηθεὶς ἐν τῇ τούτου θύρα, ἣν ἰδὼν ἔσχατον Ἡράκλειος*

by fear: on the third day, he entered with joy the fortifications of Ctesiphon; yet he still doubted of his safety till he had opposed the river Tigris to the pursuit of the Romans. The discovery of his flight agitated with terror and tumult the palace, the city, and the camp, of Dastagerd: the satraps hesitated whether they had most to fear from their sovereign or the enemy; and the females of the haram were astonished and pleased by the sight of mankind, till the jealous husband of three thousand wives again confined them to a more distant castle. At his command the army of Dastagerd retreated to a new camp: the front was covered by the Arba, and a line of two hundred elephants; the troops of the more distant provinces successively arrived, and the vilest domestics of the king and satraps were enrolled for the last defence of the throne. It was still in the power of Chosroes to obtain a reasonable peace; and he was repeatedly pressed by the messengers of Heraclius to spare the blood of his subjects, and to relieve a humane conqueror from the painful duty of carrying fire and sword through the fairest countries of Asia. But the pride of the Persian had not yet sunk to the level of his fortune; he derived a momentary confidence from the retreat of the emperor; he wept with impotent rage over the ruins of his Assyrian palaces, and disregarded too long the rising murmurs of the nation, who complained that their lives and fortunes were sacrificed to the obstinacy of an old man. That unhappy old man was himself tortured with the sharpest pains both of mind and body; and, in the consciousness of his approaching end, he resolved to fix the tiara on the head of Merdaza, the most favoured of his sons. But the will of Chosroes was no longer revered, and Siroes, who gloried in the rank and merit of his mother Sira, had conspired with the malcontents to assert and anticipate the rights of primogeniture.* Twenty-two satraps, they styled themselves patriots, were tempted by the wealth and honours of a new reign; to the soldiers, the heir of Chosroes promised an increase of pay; to the Christians, the free exercise of their religion; to the cap-

θαύμασεν (p. 269). Young princes who discover a propensity to war should repeatedly transcribe and translate such salutary texts.

* The authentic narrative of the fall of Chosroes is contained in the letter of Heraclius (Chron. Paschal. p. 398), and the history of

tives, liberty and rewards; and to the nation, instant peace and the reduction of taxes. It was determined by the conspirators that Siroes, with the ensigns of royalty, should appear in the camp; and if the enterprise should fail, his escape was contrived to the imperial court. But the new monarch was saluted with unanimous acclamations; the flight of Chosroes (yet where could he have fled?) was rudely arrested, eighteen sons were massacred before his face, and he was thrown into a dungeon, where he expired on the fifth day. The Greeks and modern Persians minutely describe how Chosroes was insulted, and famished, and tortured, by the command of an inhuman son, who so far surpassed the example of his father: but at the time of his death, what tongue would relate the story of the parricide? what eye could penetrate into the *tower of darkness?* According to the faith and mercy of his Christian enemies, he sank without hope into a still deeper abyss;* and it will not be denied that tyrants of every age and sect are the best entitled to such infernal abodes. The glory of the house of Sassan ended with the life of Chosroes; his unnatural son enjoyed only eight months the fruit of his crimes, and in the space of four years the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed with the sword or dagger the fragments of an exhausted monarchy. Every province, and each city of Persia, was the scene of independence, of discord, and of blood; and the state of anarchy prevailed about eight years longer, till the factions were

Theophanes (p. 271). * On the first rumour of the death of Chosroes, an Heracliad in two cantos was instantly published at Constantinople by George of Pisidia (p. 97—105). A priest and a poet might very properly exult in the damnation of the public enemy (*ἐμπεσὼν τῷ ταρτάρῳ*, v. 56); but such mean revenge is unworthy of a king and a conqueror; and I am sorry to find so much black superstition (*θεομάχος Χοσρόης ἔπεσεν καὶ ἐπτωματίσθη εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀκατάσβεστον*, &c.) in the letter of Heraclius; he almost applauds the parricide of Siroes as an act of piety and justice. [The close of this unfortunate monarch's career is differently related in Persia. There the story is, that Siroes, enamoured of his step-mother Shirene, caused his father to be put to death in the palace of Dastagerd, and then wooed the widow for his bride. Before she would consent, she stipulated for permission to view the dead body of her husband. This being granted, at the sight she stabbed herself and died by his side. (Porter's Travels, ii, 212.) —ED.]

silenced and united under the common yoke of the Arabian caliphs.*

As soon as the mountains became passable, the emperor received the welcome news of the success of the conspiracy, the death of Chosroes, and the elevation of his eldest son to the throne of Persia. The authors of the revolution, eager to display their merits in the court or camp of Tauris, preceded the ambassadors of Siroes, who delivered the letters of their master to his *brother* the emperor of the Romans.† In the language of the usurpers of every age, he imputes his own crimes to the Deity, and, without degrading his equal majesty, he offers to reconcile the long discord of the two nations, by a treaty of peace and alliance more durable than brass or iron. The conditions of the treaty were easily defined and faithfully executed. In the recovery of the standards and prisoners which had fallen into the hands of the Persians, the emperor imitated the example of Augustus: their care of the national dignity was celebrated by the poets of the times, but the decay of genius may be measured by the distance between Horace and George of Pisidia; the subjects and brethren of Heraclius were redeemed from persecution, slavery, and exile; but instead of the Roman eagles, the true wood of the holy cross was restored to the importunate demands of the successor of Constantine. The victor was not ambitious of enlarging the weakness of the empire; the son of Chosroes abandoned without regret the conquests of his father; the Persians who evacuated the cities of Syria and Egypt were honourably conducted to the frontier, and a war which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchies, produced no change in their external and relative situation. The return of Heraclius from Tauris to Constantinople was a perpetual

* The best Oriental accounts of this last period of the Sassanian kings are found in Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 251—256), who dissembles the parricide of Siroes; D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale p. 789), and Assemannus (Biblioth. Oriental. tom. iii, p. 415——420). [Gibbon's term of eight years applies to the defeat of the Persians at Jaloulah, and Yezdegerd's retirement to Ferganah in 637. (Ockley, p. 215, edit. Bohn.) The final extinction of the Sassanides did not take place till 651.—Ed.]

† The letter of Siroes in the Paschal Chronicle (p. 402), unfortunately ends before he proceeds to business. The treaty appears in its execution in the histories of Theophanes and Nicephorus.

triumph; and after the exploits of six glorious campaigns, he peaceably enjoyed the sabbath of his toils. After a long impatience, the senate, the clergy, and the people, went forth to meet their hero, with tears and acclamations, with olive-branches and innumerable lamps; he entered the capital in a chariot drawn by four elephants; and as soon as the emperor could disengage himself from the tumult of public joy, he tasted more genuine satisfaction in the embraces of his mother and his son.*

The succeeding year was illustrated by a triumph of a very different kind, the restitution of the true cross to the holy sepulchre. Heraclius performed in person the pilgrimage of Jerusalem, the identity of the relic was verified by the discreet patriarch,† and this august ceremony has been commemorated by the annual festival of the exaltation of the cross. Before the emperor presumed to tread the consecrated ground, he was instructed to strip himself of the diadem and purple, the pomp and vanity of the world: but in the judgment of his clergy, the persecution of the Jews was more easily reconciled with the precepts of the gospel. He again ascended his throne to receive the congratulations of the ambassadors of France and India: and the fame of Moses, Alexander, and Hercules,‡ was eclipsed, in the popular estimation, by the superior merit and glory of the great Heraclius. Yet the deliverer of the East was indigent and feeble. Of the Persian spoils, the most valuable portion had been expended in the war, distributed to the soldiers, or buried, by an unlucky tempest, in the waves of the Euxine. The conscience of the emperor was oppressed by

* The burden of Corneille's song—

"Montrez Heraclius au peuple qui l'attend,"

is much better suited to the present occasion. See his triumph in Theophanes (p. 272, 273), and Nicephorus (p. 15, 16). The life of the mother and tenderness of the son are attested by George of Pisidia (Bell. Abar. 255, &c. p. 49). The metaphor of the sabbath is used, somewhat profanely, by these Byzantine Christians.

† See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 628, No. 1—4), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 240—248), Nicephorus (Brev. p. 15). The seals of the case had never been broken; and this preservation of the cross is ascribed (under God) to the devotion of queen Sira.

‡ George of Pisidia, Acroas. 3, de Expedit. contra Persas, 415, &c. and Heracleid. Acroas. 1, 65—138. I neglect the meaner parallels of Daniel, Timotheus, &c. Chosroes and the chagan were of course compared to Belshazzar, Pharaoh, the old serpent, &c.

the obligation of restoring the wealth of the clergy, which he had borrowed for their own defence: a perpetual fund was required to satisfy these inexorable creditors; the provinces, already wasted by the arms and avarice of the Persians, were compelled to a second payment of the same taxes; and the arrears of a simple citizen, the treasurer of Damascus, were commuted to a fine of one hundred thousand pieces of gold. The loss of two hundred thousand soldiers* who had fallen by the sword, was of less fatal importance than the decay of arts, agriculture, and population, in this long and destructive war: and although a victorious army had been formed under the standard of Heraclius, the unnatural effort appears to have exhausted rather than exercised their strength. While the emperor triumphed at Constantinople or Jerusalem, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens, and they cut in pieces some troops who advanced to its relief: an ordinary and trifling occurrence, had it not been the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the apostles of Mahomet; their fanatic valour had emerged from the desert; and in the last eight years of his reign, Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians.

CHAPTER XLVII.—THEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION. — THE HUMAN AND DIVINE NATURE OF CHRIST. —ENMITY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.—ST. CYRIL AND NESTORIUS.—THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.—HERESY OF EUTYCHES.—FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.—CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL DISCORD.—INTOLERANCE OF JUSTINIAN.—THE THREE CHAPTERS.—THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY. —STATE OF THE ORIENTAL SECTS.—I. THE NESTORIANS.—II. THE JACOBITES. — III. THE MARONITES. — IV. THE ARMENIANS.—V. THE COPTS AND ABYSSINIANS.

After the extinction of Paganism, the Christians in peace and piety might have enjoyed their solitary triumph; but the principle of discord was alive in their bosom, and they

* Suidas (in Excerpt. Hist. Byzant. p. 46) gives this number; but either the Persian must be read for the Isaurian war, or this passage does not belong to the emperor Heraclius.

were more solicitous to explore the nature, than to practise the laws, of their founder. I have already observed, that the disputes of the *Trinity* were succeeded by those of the *Incarnation;* alike scandalous to the church, alike pernicious to the State, still more minute in their origin, still more durable in their effects. It is my design to comprise, in the present chapter, a religious war of two hundred and fifty years, to represent the ecclesiastical and political schism of the oriental sects, and to introduce their clamorous or sanguinary contests, by a modest inquiry into the doctrines of the primitive church.*

* By what means shall I authenticate this previous inquiry, which I have studied to circumscribe and compress? If I persist in supporting each fact or reflection by its proper and special evidence, every line would require a string of testimonies, and every note would swell to a critical dissertation. But the numberless passages of antiquity, which I have seen with my own eyes, are compiled, digested, and illustrated, by Petavius and Le Clerc, by Beausobre and Mosheim. I shall be content to fortify my narrative by the names and characters of these respectable guides; and, in the contemplation of a minute or remote object, I am not ashamed to borrow the aid of the strongest glasses.—1. The Dogmata Theologica of Petavius, is a work of incredible labour and compass; the volumes which relate solely to the Incarnation (two folios, fifth and sixth, of eight hundred and thirty-seven pages) are divided into sixteen books—the first of history, the remainder of controversy and doctrine. The Jesuit's learning is copious and correct; his Latinity is pure, his method clear, his argument profound and well connected: but he is the slave of the fathers, the scourge of heretics, and the enemy of truth and candour, as often as they are inimical to the Catholic cause. 2. The Arminian Le Clerc, who has composed, in a quarto volume (Amsterdam, 1716,) the ecclesiastical history of the two first centuries, was free both in his temper and situation; his sense is clear, but his thoughts are narrow; he reduces the reason or folly of ages to the standard of his private judgment, and his impartiality is sometimes quickened, and sometimes tainted, by his opposition to the fathers. See the heretics (Cerinthians, 80. Ebionites, 103. Carpocratians, 120. Valentinians, 121. Basilidians, 123. Marcionites, 141, &c.,) under their proper dates. 3. The Histoire Critique du Manichéisme (Amsterdam, 1734, 1739, in two vols. in quarto, with a posthumous dissertation sur les Nazarènes, Lausanne, 1745,) of M. de Beausobre, is a treasure of ancient philosophy and theology. The learned historian spins with incomparable art the systematic thread of opinion, and transforms himself by turns into the person of a saint, a sage, or a heretic. Yet his refinement is sometimes excessive; he betrays an amiable partiality in favour of the weaker side, and while he guards against calumny, he does not allow sufficient scope for superstition and fanaticism. A copious table of contents will direct the reader to any point that he wishes to examine.

I. A laudable regard for the honour of the first proselytes, has countenanced the belief, the hope, the wish, that the Ebionites, or at least the Nazarenes, were distinguished only by their obstinate perseverance in the practice of the Mosaic rites. Their churches have disappeared, their books are obliterated: their obscure freedom might allow a latitude of faith, and the softness of their infant creed would be variously moulded by the zeal or prudence of three hundred years. Yet the most charitable criticism must refuse these sectaries any knowledge of the pure and proper divinity of Christ. Educated in the school of Jewish prophecy and prejudice, they had never been taught to elevate their hopes above a human and temporal Messiah.* If they had courage to hail their king when he appeared in a plebeian garb, their grosser apprehensions were incapable of discerning their God, who had studiously disguised his celestial character under the name and person of a mortal.† The familiar companions of Jesus of Nazareth conversed with their friend and countryman, who, in all the actions of rational and animal life, appeared of the same species with themselves. His progress from infancy to youth and manhood was marked by a regular increase in stature and wisdom; and, after a painful agony of mind and body, he expired on the cross. He lived and died for the service of mankind; but the life and death of Socrates had likewise been devoted to the cause of religion and justice; and although the Stoic or the hero may disdain the humble virtues of Jesus, the tears which he shed over his friend and country may be esteemed the purest

4. Less profound than Petavius, less independent than Le Clerc, less ingenious than Beausobre, the historian Mosheim is full, rational, correct, and moderate. In his learned work, De Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum (Helmstadt, 1753, in quarto,) see the Nazarenes and Ebionites, p. 172—179. 328—332; the Gnostics in general, p. 179, &c.; Cerinthus, p. 196—202; Basilides, p. 352—361; Carpocrates, p. 363—367; Valentinus, p. 371—389; Marcion, p. 404—410; the Manichæans, p. 829—837, &c.

* Καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι, says the Jewish Tryphon (Justin. Dialog. p. 207,) in the name of his countrymen; and the modern Jews, the few who divert their thoughts from money to religion, still hold the same language, and allege the literal sense of the prophets.

† Chrysostom (Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. v, c. 9, p. 183,) and Athanasius (Petav. Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v, l. 1, c. 2, p. 3,) are obliged to confess that the divinity of Christ is rarely mentioned by himself or his apostles.

evidence of his humanity. The miracles of the gospel could not astonish a people who held, with intrepid faith, the more splendid prodigies of the Mosaic law. The prophets of ancient days had cured diseases, raised the dead, divided the sea, stopped the sun, and ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot. And the metaphorical style of the Hebrews might ascribe to a saint and martyr, the adoptive title of *Son of God*.

Yet in the insufficient creed of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, a distinction is faintly noticed between the heretics, who confounded the generation of Christ in the common order of nature, and the less guilty schismatics, who revered the virginity of his mother, and excluded the aid of an earthly father. The incredulity of the former was countenanced by the visible circumstances of his birth, the legal marriage of his reputed parents, Joseph and Mary, and his lineal claim to the kingdom of David and the inheritance of Judah. But the secret and authentic history has been recorded in several copies of the Gospel according to St. Matthew,* which these sectaries long preserved in the original Hebrew,† as the sole evidence of their faith. The natural suspicions of the husband, conscious of his own chastity, were dispelled by the assurance (in a dream) that his wife was pregnant of the Holy Ghost: and as this distant and domestic prodigy could not fall under the personal observation of the historian, he must have listened to the

* The two first chapters of St. Matthew did not exist in the Ebionite copies (Epiphan. Hæres. 30, 13); and the miraculous conception is one of the last articles which Dr. Priestley has curtailed from his scanty creed.

† It is probable enough that the first of the gospels, for the use of the Jewish converts, was composed in the Hebrew or Syriac idiom; the fact is attested by a chain of fathers—Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Jerome, &c. It is devoutly believed by the Catholics, and admitted by Casaubon, Grotius, and Isaac Vossius, among the Protestant critics. But this Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew is most unaccountably lost; and we may accuse the diligence or fidelity of the primitive churches, who have preferred the unauthorized version of some nameless Greek. Erasmus and his followers, who respect our Greek text as the original gospel, deprive themselves of the evidence which declares it to be the work of an apostle. See Simon, Hist. Critique, &c., tom. iii, c. 5—9, p. 47—101, and the Prolegomena of Mill and Wetstein to the New Testament. [The German editor here says that Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was more probably a translation than an original, which is contrary both to internal evidence and to positive testimony. See ch. 15, vol. ii, p. 69.—ED.]

same voice which dictated to Isaiah the future conception of a virgin. The son of a virgin, generated by the ineffable operation of the Holy Spirit, was a creature without example or resemblance, superior in every attribute of mind and body to the children of Adam. Since the introduction of the Greek or Chaldean philosophy,* the Jews† were persuaded of the pre-existence, transmigration, and immortality of souls; and Providence was justified by a supposition, that they were confined in their earthly prisons to expiate the stains which they had contracted in a former state.‡ But the degrees of purity and corruption are almost immeasurable. It might be fairly presumed, that the most sublime and virtuous of human spirits was infused into the offspring of Mary and the Holy Ghost;§ that his abasement was the result of his voluntary choice; and that the object of his mission was to purify, not his own, but the sins of the world. On his return to his native skies, he received the immense reward of his obedience; the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah, which had been darkly foretold by the prophets,

* The metaphysics of the soul are disengaged by Cicero (Tusculan. l. 1,) and Maximus of Tyre (Dissertat. 16,) from the intricacies of dialogue, which sometimes amuse, and often perplex, the readers of the Phædrus, the Phædon, and the Laws of Plato.

† The disciples of Jesus were persuaded that a man might have sinned before he was born (John ix. 2), and the Pharisees held the transmigration of virtuous souls (Joseph. de Bell. Judaico, l. 2, c. 7), and a modern rabbi is modestly assured that Hermes, Pythagoras, Plato, &c., derived their metaphysics from his illustrious countrymen.

‡ Four different opinions have been entertained concerning the origin of human souls.—1. That they are eternal and divine.—2. That they were created in a separate state of existence, before their union with the body.—3. That they have been propagated from the original stock of Adam, who contained in himself the mental as well as the corporeal seed of his posterity.—4. That each soul is occasionally created and embodied in the moment of conception. The last of these sentiments appears to have prevailed among the moderns; and our spiritual history is grown less sublime, without becoming more intelligible. [Previous existence, of which we are entirely unconscious, is tantamount to non-existence, and the belief in it has never gained ground, though sanctioned by great names. The growth of the intellectual principle through the successive stages of spirit, mind, and soul, is taught us by the combined lessons of nature, experience, and religion.—ED.]

§ Ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ψυχή, ἡ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἦ—was one of the fifteen heresies imputed to Origen, and denied by his apologist (Photius, Bibliothec. Cod. 117, p. 296). Some of the rabbis attribute one and the same soul to the persons of Adam, David, and the Messiah.

under the carnal images of peace, of conquest, and of dominion. Omnipotence could enlarge the human faculties of Christ to the extent of his celestial office. In the language of antiquity, the title of God has not been severely confined to the first parent; and his incomparable minister, his only-begotten Son, might claim, without presumption, the religious, though secondary, worship of a subject world.

II. The seeds of the faith, which had slowly arisen in the rocky and ungrateful soil of Judea, were transplanted, in full maturity, to the happier climes of the Gentiles; and the strangers of Rome or Asia, who never beheld the manhood, were the more readily disposed to embrace the divinity, of Christ. The Polytheist and the philosopher, the Greek and the barbarian, were alike accustomed to conceive a long succession, an infinite chain of angels, or demons, or deities, or æons, or emanations, issuing from the throne of light. Nor could it seem strange or incredible, that the first of these æons, the *Logos*, or Word of God, of the same substance with the Father, should descend upon earth to deliver the human race from vice and error, and to conduct them in the paths of life and immortality. But the prevailing doctrine of the eternity and inherent pravity of matter infected the primitive churches of the east. Many among the Gentile proselytes refused to believe that a celestial spirit, an undivided portion of the first essence, had been personally united with a mass of impure and contaminated flesh: and, in their zeal for the divinity, they piously abjured the humanity, of Christ. While his blood was still recent on mount Calvary,* the *Docetes*, a numerous and learned sect of Asiatics, invented the *phantastic* system, which was afterwards propagated by the Marcionites, the Manichæans, and the various names of the Gnostic heresy.† They denied the truth

* Apostolis adhuc in seculo superstitibus, apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente, PHANTASMA domini corpus asserebatur. Hieronym. advers. Lucifer. c. 8. The epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, and even the Gospel according to St. John, are levelled against the growing error of the Docetes, who had obtained too much credit in the world (I John iv. 1—5).

† About the year 200 of the Christian era, Irenæus and Hippolytus refuted the thirty-two sects, *τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνωσέως*, which had multiplied to fourscore in the time of Epiphanius (Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 120—122). The five books of Irenæus exist only in barbarous Latin; but the original might perhaps be found in some monastery of Greece. [It is very doubtful whether there ever was a Greek original of them. The opinion of Erasmus, that they were written in Latin, although generally dissented from, is

and authenticity of the gospels, as far as they relate the conception of Mary, the birth of Christ, and the thirty years that preceded the exercise of his ministry. He first appeared on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood; but it was a form only, and not a substance; a human figure created by the hand of Omnipotence, to imitate the faculties and actions of a man, and to impose a perpetual illusion on the senses of his friends and enemies. Articulate sounds vibrated on the ears of the disciples; but the image, which was impressed on their optic nerve, eluded the more stubborn evidence of the touch; and they enjoyed the spiritual, not the corporeal, presence of the Son of God. The rage of the Jews was idly wasted against an impassive phantom; and the mystic scenes of the passion and death, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, were represented on the theatre of Jerusalem for the benefit of mankind. If it were urged, that such ideal mimicry, such incessant deception, was unworthy of the God of truth, the Docetes agreed with too many of their orthodox brethren in the justification of pious falsehood. In the system of the Gnostics, the Jehovah of Israel, the creator of this lower world, was a rebellious, or at least an ignorant, spirit. The Son of God descended upon earth to abolish his temple and his law; and, for the accomplishment of this salutary end, he dexterously transferred to his own person the hope and prediction of a temporal Messiah.

One of the most subtle disputants of the Manichæan school has pressed the danger and indecency of supposing that the God of the Christians, in the state of a human

highly probable. They were designed by Irenæus to check the progress of Gnosticism in the Western provinces, where it had been introduced by Valentine, when he visited Rome, and against whom all the arguments are particularly directed. If Irenæus had addressed the Christians around him in Greek, not one in a thousand would have understood him, nor could his work have made the impression which it is said to have produced in his diocese. Its "barbarous Latin" is what might have been expected from a Greek, who had learned it at Lyons; and his apology, in his preface, for the inaccuracies of a style, formed amid so rude a population, would never have been applied by him to a composition in his mother-tongue, which he had acquired in all its purity by a careful Ionian education. Fragments of letters in Greek, to some of his friends, prove nothing; and the passages in the books Adv. Hær. which are used by Eusebius and others, were, no doubt, translated by them.—ED.]

fœtus, emerged at the end of nine months from a female womb. The pious horror of his antagonists provoked them to disclaim all sensual circumstances of conception and delivery; to maintain that the divinity passed through Mary like a sunbeam through a plate of glass, and to assert, that the seal of her virginity remained unbroken even at the moment when she became the mother of Christ. But the rashness of these concessions has encouraged a milder sentiment, of those of the Docetes, who taught, not that Christ was a phantom, but that he was clothed with an impassible and incorruptible body. Such, indeed, in the more orthodox system, he has acquired since his resurrection, and such he must have always possessed, if it were capable of pervading, without resistance or injury, the density of intermediate matter. Devoid of its most essential properties, it might be exempt from the attributes and infirmities of the flesh. A fœtus, that could increase from an invisible point to its full maturity; a child, that could attain the stature of perfect manhood, without deriving any nourishment from the ordinary sources, might continue to exist without repairing a daily waste by a daily supply of external matter. Jesus might share the repasts of his disciples without being subject to the calls of thirst or hunger; and his virgin purity was never sullied by the involuntary stains of sensual concupiscence. Of a body thus singularly constituted, a question would arise, by what means, and of what materials, it was originally framed; and our sounder theology is startled by an answer which was not peculiar to the Gnostics, that both the form and the substance proceeded from the divine essence. The idea of pure and absolute spirit is a refinement of modern philosophy; the incorporeal essence, ascribed by the ancients to human souls, celestial beings, and even the Deity himself, does not exclude the notion of extended space; and their imagination was satisfied with a subtle nature of air, or fire, or ether, incomparably more perfect than the grossness of the material world. If we define the place, we must describe the figure, of the Deity. Our experience, perhaps our vanity, represents the powers of reason and virtue under a human form. The Anthropomorphites who swarmed among the monks of Egypt, and the Catholics of Africa, could produce the express declaration of Scripture, that man was made after the image of his

Creator.* The venerable Serapion, one of the saints of the Nitrian desert, relinquished, with many a tear, his darling prejudice, and bewailed, like an infant, his unlucky conversion, which had stolen away his God, and left his mind without any visible object of faith or devotion.†

III. Such were the fleeting shadows of the Docetes. A more substantial, though less simple, hypothesis, was contrived by Cerinthus of Asia,‡ who dared to oppose the last of the apostles. Placed on the confines of the Jewish and Gentile world, he laboured to reconcile the Gnostic with the Ebionite, by confessing in the same Messiah the supernatural union of a man and a God: and this mystic doctrine was adopted with many fanciful improvements by Carpocrates, Basilides, and Valentine,§ the heretics of the Egyptian school. In their eyes, JESUS of Nazareth was a mere

* The pilgrim Cassian, who visited Egypt in the beginning of the fifth century, observes and laments the reign of anthropomorphism among the monks, who were not conscious that they embraced the system of Epicurus. (Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, l. 18—34.) Ab universo propemodum genere monachorum, qui per totam provinciam Egyptum morabantur, pro simplicitatis errore susceptum est, ut e contrario memoratum pontificem (*Theophilus*) velut hæresi gravissimâ depravatum, pars maxima seniorum ab universo fraternitatis corpore decerneret detestandum. (Cassian, Collation. 10. 2.) As long as St. Augustin remained a Manichæan, he was scandalized by the anthropomorphism of the vulgar Catholics.

† Ita est in oratione senex mente confusus, eo quod illam *ἀνθρωπόμορφον* imaginem Deitatis, quam proponere sibi in oratione consueveret aboleri de suo corde sentiret, ut in amarissimos fletus, crebrosque singultus repente prorumpens, in terram prostratus, cum ejulatu validissimo proclamaret:—"Heu me miserum! tulerunt a me Deum meum, et quem nunc teneam non habeo, vel quem adorem, aut interpellem jam nescio." Cassian, Collat. 10. 2.

‡ St. John and Cerinthus (A.D. 80, Cleric. Hist. Eccles. p. 493,) accidentally met in the public bath of Ephesus; but the apostle fled from the heretic, lest the building should tumble on their heads. This foolish story, reprobated by Dr. Middleton (Miscellaneous Works, vol. ii,) is related however by Irenæus (3. 3,) on the evidence of Polycarp, and was probably suited to the time and residence of Cerinthus. The obsolete, yet probably the true, reading of I John iv. 3.—ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν—alludes to the double nature of that primitive heretic.

§ The Valentinians embraced a complex, and almost incoherent, system.—1. Both Christ and Jesus were æons, though of different degrees; the one acting as the rational soul, the other as the divine spirit, of the Saviour. 2. At the time of the passion, they both retired, and left only a sensitive soul and a human body. 3. Even that body was ethereal and perhaps apparent.—Such are the laborious conclusions

mortal, the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary; but he was the best and wisest of the human race, selected as the worthy instrument to restore upon earth the worship of the true and supreme Deity. When he was baptized in the Jordan, the CHRIST, the first of the æons, the Son of God himself, descended on Jesus in the form of a dove, to inhabit his mind, and direct his actions, during the allotted period of his ministry. When the Messiah was delivered into the hands of the Jews, the Christ, an immortal and impassible being, forsook his earthly tabernacle, flew back to the *pleroma* or world of spirits, and left the solitary Jesus to suffer, to complain, and to expire. But the justice and generosity of such a desertion are strongly questionable; and the fate of an innocent martyr, at first impelled, and at length abandoned, by his divine companion, might provoke the pity and indignation of the profane. Their murmurs were variously silenced by the sectaries who espoused and modified the double system of Cerinthus. It was alleged, that when Jesus was nailed to the cross, he was endowed with a miraculous apathy of mind and body, which rendered him insensible of his apparent sufferings. It was affirmed, that these momentary, though real, pangs would be abundantly repaid by the temporal reign of a thousand years, reserved for the Messiah in his kingdom of the New Jerusalem. It was insinuated, that if he suffered, he deserved to suffer; that human nature is never absolutely perfect; and that the cross and passion might serve to expiate the venial transgressions of the son of Joseph, before his mysterious union with the Son of God.*

IV. All those who believe the immateriality of the soul, a specious and noble tenet, must confess, from their present experience, the incomprehensible union of mind and matter. A similar union is not inconsistent with a much higher, or even with the highest, degree of mental faculties; and the incarnation of an æon or archangel, the most per-

of Mosheim. But I much doubt whether the Latin translator understood Irenæus, and whether Irenæus and the Valentinians understood themselves. * The heretics abused the passionate exclamation of "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!" Rousseau, who has drawn an eloquent, but indecent, parallel between Christ and Socrates, forgets that not a word of impatience or despair escaped from the mouth of the dying philosopher. In the Messiah, such sentiments could be only apparent; and such ill-sounding words are properly explained as the application of a psalm and prophecy.

fect of created spirits, does not involve any positive contradiction or absurdity. In the age of religious freedom, which was determined by the council of Nice, the dignity of Christ was measured by private judgment, according to the indefinite rule of Scripture, or reason, or tradition. But when his pure and proper divinity had been established on the ruins of Arianism, the faith of the Catholics trembled on the edge of a precipice, where it was impossible to recede, dangerous to stand, dreadful to fall; and the manifold inconveniences of their creed were aggravated by the sublime character of their theology. They hesitated to pronounce, *that* God himself, the second person of an equal and consubstantial trinity, was manifested in the flesh;* *that* a being who pervades the universe, had been confined in the womb of Mary; *that* his eternal duration had been marked by the days, and months, and years, of human existence; *that* the Almighty had been scourged and crucified; *that* his impassible essence had felt pain and anguish; *that* his omniscience was not exempt from ignorance, and *that* the source of life and immortality expired on mount Calvary. These alarming consequences were affirmed with unblushing simplicity by Apollinaris,† bishop of Laodicea, and one of the luminaries of the church. The son of a learned grammarian, he was skilled in all the sciences of Greece; eloquence, erudition,

* This strong expression might be justified by the language of St. Paul (I Tim. iii. 16), but we are deceived by our modern Bibles. The word ὅ (which) was altered to θεος (God) at Constantinople in the beginning of the sixth century: the true reading, which is visible in the Latin and Syriac versions, still exists in the reasoning of the Greek, as well as of the Latin fathers; and this fraud, with that of the three witnesses of St. John, is admirably detected by Sir Isaac Newton. (See his two letters translated by M. de Missy, in the Journal Britannique, tom. xv, p. 148—190. 351—390.) I have weighed the arguments, and may yield to the authority, of the first of philosophers, who was deeply skilled in critical and theological studies.

† For Apollinaris and his sect, see Socrates, l. 2, c, 46; l. 3, c. 16. Sozomen, l. 5, c. 18; l. 6, c. 25—27. Theodoret, l. 5. 3. 10, 11. Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. vii, p. 602—638. Note, p. 789—794, in quarto, Venise, 1732. The contemporary saints always mention the bishop of Laodicea as a friend and brother. The style of the more recent historians is harsh and hostile; yet Philostorgius compares him (l. 8, c. 11—15,) to Basil and Gregory. [Neander (Hist. of Chris. 4. p. 98—106) has given an elaborate summary of the opinions of Apollinaris, usefully tracing the first form of those abstruse speculations which were perverted to such evil ends.—ED.]

and philosophy, conspicuous in the volumes of Apollinaris, were humbly devoted to the service of religion. The worthy friend of Athanasius, the worthy antagonist of Julian, he bravely wrestled with the Arians and Polytheists, and, though he affected the rigour of geometrical demonstration, his commentaries revealed the literal and allegorical sense of the Scriptures. A mystery, which had long floated in the looseness of popular belief, was defined by his perverse diligence in a technical form; and he first proclaimed the memorable words,—*One incarnate nature of Christ*, which are still re-echoed with hostile clamours in the churches of Asia, Egypt, and Æthiopia. He taught that the Godhead was united or mingled with the body of a man; and that the *Logos*, the eternal Wisdom, supplied in the flesh the place and office of a human soul. Yet as the profound doctor had been terrified at his own rashness, Apollinaris was heard to mutter some faint accents of excuse and explanation. He acquiesced in the old distinction of the Greek philosophers, between the rational and sensitive soul of man; that he might reserve the *Logos* for intellectual functions, and employ the subordinate human principle in the meaner actions of animal life. With the moderate Docetes, he revered Mary as the spiritual, rather than as the carnal, mother of Christ, whose body either came from heaven, impassible and incorruptible, or was absorbed, and as it were transformed, into the essence of the Deity. The system of Apollinaris was strenuously encountered by the Asiatics and Syrian divines, whose schools are honoured by the names of Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom, and tainted by those of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius. But the person of the aged bishop of Laodicea, his character, and dignity, remained inviolate; and his rivals, since we may not suspect them of the weakness of toleration, were astonished, perhaps, by the novelty of the argument, and diffident of the final sentence of the Catholic church. Her judgment at length inclined in their favour; the heresy of Apollinaris was condemned, and the separate congregations of his disciples were proscribed by the imperial laws. But his principles were secretly entertained in the monasteries of Egypt, and his enemies felt the hatred of Theophilus and Cyril, the successive patriarchs of Alexandria.

V. The grovelling Ebionite, and the phantastic Docetes,

were rejected and forgotten; the recent zeal against the errors of Apollinaris reduced the Catholics to a seeming agreement with the double nature of Cerinthus. But, instead of a temporary and occasional alliance, *they* established, and *we* still embrace, the substantial, indissoluble, and everlasting union of a perfect God with a perfect man, of the second person of the trinity with a reasonable soul and human flesh. In the beginning of the fifth century, the *unity* of the *two natures* was the prevailing doctrine of the church. On all sides, it was confessed that the mode of their co-existence could neither be represented by our ideas, nor expressed by our language. Yet a secret and incurable discord was cherished between those who were most apprehensive of confounding, and those who were most fearful of separating, the divinity and the humanity of Christ. Impelled by religious frenzy, they fled with adverse haste from the error which they mutually deemed most destructive of truth and salvation. On either hand they were anxious to guard, they were jealous to defend, the union and the distinction of the two natures, and to invent such forms of speech, such symbols of doctrine, as were least susceptible of doubt or ambiguity. The poverty of ideas and language tempted them to ransack art and nature for every possible comparison, and each comparison misled their fancy in the explanation of an incomparable mystery. In the polemic microscope, an atom is enlarged to a monster, and each party was skilful to exaggerate the absurd or impious conclusions that might be extorted from the principles of their adversaries. To escape from each other, they wandered through many a dark and devious thicket, till they were astonished by the horrid phantoms of Cerinthus and Apollinaris, who guarded the opposite issues of the theological labyrinth. As soon as they beheld the twilight of sense and heresy, they started, measured back their steps, and were again involved in the gloom of impenetrable orthodoxy. To purge themselves from the guilt or reproach of damnable error, they disavowed their consequences, explained their principles, excused their indiscretions, and unanimously pronounced the sounds of concord and faith. Yet a latent and almost invisible spark still lurked among the embers of controversy; by the breath of prejudice and passion it was quickly kindled to a

mighty flame, and the verbal disputes* of the Oriental sects have shaken the pillars of the church and state.

The name of CYRIL of Alexandria is famous in controversial story, and the title of saint is a mark that his opinions and his party have finally prevailed. In the house of his uncle, the archbishop Theophilus, he imbibed the orthodox lessons of zeal and dominion, and five years of his youth were profitably spent in the adjacent monasteries of Nitria. Under the tuition of the abbot Serapion, he applied himself to ecclesiastical studies, with such indefatigable ardour, that in the course of *one* sleepless night, he has perused the four gospels, the Catholic Epistles, and the Epistle to the Romans. Origen he detested; but the writings of Clemens and Dionysius, of Athanasius and Basil, were continually in his hands: by the theory and practice of dispute, his faith was confirmed, and his wit was sharpened: he extended round his cell the cobwebs of scholastic theology, and meditated the works of allegory and metaphysics, whose remains, in seven verbose folios, now peaceably slumber by the side of their rivals.† Cyril prayed and fasted in the desert, but his thoughts (it is the reproach of a friend ‡) were still fixed on the world; and the call of Theophilus, who summoned him to the tumult of cities and synods, was too readily obeyed by the aspiring hermit. With the approbation of his uncle, he assumed the office, and acquired the fame, of a popular preacher.

* I appeal to the confession of two Oriental prelates, Gregory Abulpharagius the Jacobite primate of the East, and Elias the Nestorian metropolitan of Damascus, (see Asseman. Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. ii, p. 291; tom. iii, p. 514, &c.,) that the Melchites, Jacobites, Nestorians, &c., agree in the doctrine, and differ only in the expression. Our most learned and rational divines—Basnage, Le Clerc, Beausobre, La Croze, Mosheim, Jablonski—are inclined to favour this charitable judgment; but the zeal of Petavius is loud and angry, and the moderation of Dupin is conveyed in a whisper.

† La Croze (Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, tom. i, p. 24,) avows his contempt for the genius and writings of Cyril. De tous les ouvrages des anciens, il y en a peu qu'on lise avec moins d'utilité; and Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. iv, p. 42—52,) in words of respect, teaches us to despise them.

‡ Of Isidore of Pelusium (l. 1, epist. 25, p. 8). As the letter is not of the most creditable sort, Tillemont, less sincere than the Bollandists, affects a doubt whether this Cyril is the nephew of Theophilus. (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 268.)

[The character and proceedings of Cyril have been already considered

His comely person adorned the pulpit, the harmony of his voice resounded in the cathedral, his friends were stationed to lead or second the applause of the congregation,* and the hasty notes of the scribes preserved his discourses, which, in their effect, though not in their composition, might be compared with those of the Athenian orators. The death of Theophilus expanded and realized the hopes of his nephew. The clergy of Alexandria was divided; the soldiers and their general supported the claims of the archdeacon; but a resistless multitude, with voices and with hands, asserted the cause of their favourite; and, after a period of thirty-nine years, Cyril was seated on the throne of Athanasius.†

The prize was not unworthy of his ambition. At a distance from the court, and at the head of an immense capital, the patriarch, as he was now styled, of Alexandria, had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate. The public and private charities of the city were managed by his discretion; his voice inflamed or appeased the passions of the multitude; his commands were blindly obeyed by his numerous fanatic *parabolani*,‡ familiarized in their daily office with scenes of death; and the prefects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the temporal power of these Christian pontiffs. Ardent in the prosecution of heresy, Cyril auspiciously opened his reign by oppressing the Novatians, the most innocent and harmless of the sectaries. The interdiction of their religious worship appeared in his eyes a just and meritorious act; and he con-

(ch. 32, vol. iii, p. 514.)—Ed.]

* A grammarian is named by Socrates, (l. 7. 13) διάπυρος ἐὲ ἀκροατὴς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυρίλλου καθεστὼς, καὶ περὶ τὸ κρότους ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ ἐγείρειν ἦν σπουδαιότερος.

† See the youth and promotion of Cyril, in Socrates, (l. 7, c. 7,) and Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 106—108.) The Abbé Renaudot drew his materials from the Arabic history of Severus, bishop of Hermopolis Magna, or Ashmunein, in the tenth century, who can never be trusted, unless our assent is extorted by the internal evidence of facts.

‡ The *parabolani* of Alexandria were a charitable corporation, instituted during the plague of Gallienus, to visit the sick and to bury the dead. They gradually enlarged, abused, and sold, the privileges of their order. Their outrageous conduct under the reign of Cyril provoked the emperor to deprive the patriarch of their nomination, and to restrain their number to five or six hundred. But these restraints were transient and ineffectual. See the Theodosian Code, l. 16, tit. 2, and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 276—278.

fiscated their holy vessels, without apprehending the guilt of sacrilege. The toleration, and even the privileges, of the Jews, who had multiplied to the number of forty thousand, were secured by the laws of the Cæsars and Ptolemies, and a long prescription of seven hundred years since the foundation of Alexandria. Without any legal sentence, without any royal mandate, the patriarch, at the dawn of day, led a seditious multitude to the attack of the synagogues. Unarmed and unprepared, the Jews were incapable of resistance; their houses of prayer were levelled with the ground, and the episcopal warrior, after rewarding his troops with the plunder of their goods, expelled from the city the remnant of the unbelieving nation. Perhaps he might plead the insolence of their prosperity, and their deadly hatred of the Christians, whose blood they had recently shed in a malicious or accidental tumult. Such crimes would have deserved the animadversion of the magistrate; but in this promiscuous outrage the innocent were confounded with the guilty, and Alexandria was impoverished by the loss of a wealthy and industrious colony. The zeal of Cyril exposed him to the penalties of the Julian law; but in a feeble government, and a superstitious age, he was secure of impunity, and even of praise. Orestes complained; but his just complaints were too quickly forgotten by the ministers of Theodosius, and too deeply remembered by a priest who affected to pardon, and continued to hate, the prefect of Egypt. As he passed through the streets, his chariot was assaulted by a band of five hundred of the Nitrian monks; his guards fled from the wild beasts of the desert; his protestations, that he was a Christian and a Catholic, were answered by a volley of stones, and the face of Orestes was covered with blood. The loyal citizens of Alexandria hastened to his rescue; he instantly satisfied his justice and revenge against the monk by whose hand he had been wounded, and Ammonius expired under the rod of the lictor. At the command of Cyril, his body was raised from the ground, and transported in solemn procession to the cathedral; the name of Ammonius was changed to that of Thaumasius, the *wonderful;* his tomb was decorated with the trophies of martyrdom, and the patriarch ascended the pulpit, to celebrate the magnanimity of an assassin and a rebel. Such honours might incite the faithful to combat and die under the banners of

the saint; and he soon prompted, or accepted, the sacrifice of a virgin, who professed the religion of the Greeks, and cultivated the friendship of Orestes. Hypatia, the daughter of Theon the mathematician,* was initiated in her father's studies: her learned comments have elucidated the geometry of Apollonius and Diophantus, and she publicly taught, both at Athens and Alexandria, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. In the bloom of beauty, and in the maturity of wisdom, the modest maid refused her lovers and instructed her disciples; the persons most illustrious for their rank or merit were impatient to visit the female philosopher; and Cyril beheld with a jealous eye, the gorgeous train of horses and slaves who crowded the door of her academy. A rumour was spread among the Christians, that the daughter of Theon was the only obstacle to the reconciliation of the prefect and the archbishop; and that obstacle was speedily removed. On a fatal day, in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church, and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter the reader, and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics: her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster-shells,† and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames. The just progress of inquiry and punishment was stopped by seasonable gifts; but the murder of Hypatia has imprinted an indelible stain on the character and religion of Cyril of Alexandria.‡

* For Theon, and his daughter Hypatia, see Fabricius, Bibliothec. tom. viii, p. 210, 211. Her article in the Lexicon of Suidas is curious and original. Hesychius (Meursii Opera, tom. vii, p. 295, 296,) observes, that she was persecuted *διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν σοφίαν*; and an epigram in the Greek Anthology (l. 1, c. 76, p. 159, edit. Brodæi) celebrates her knowledge and eloquence. She is honourably mentioned (Epist. 10. 15, 16. 33—80. 124. 135. 153,) by her friend and disciple the philosophic bishop Synesius. [Suidas says that Hypatia was married to the philosopher Isidorus. Clinton, F. R. i. 589.—Ed.]

† *Ὀστράκοις ἀνείλον, καὶ μεληδὸν διασπάσαντες*, &c. Oyster-shells were plentifully strewed on the sea-beach before the Cæsareum. I may therefore prefer the literal sense, without rejecting the metaphorical version of tegulæ, tiles, which is used by M. de Valois. I am ignorant, and the assassins were probably regardless, whether their victim was yet alive.

‡ These exploits of St. Cyril are recorded by Socrates (l. 7, c. 13—15,) and the most reluctant bigotry is compelled to copy an historian who coolly styles the murderers of Hypatia *ἄνδρες τὸ φρόνημα ἐνθερμοι*. At the mention of that injured name, I am pleased to observe a blush even on the cheek of Baronius (A.D. 415, No. 48).

Superstition, perhaps, would more gently expiate the blood of a virgin, than the banishment of a saint; and Cyril had accompanied his uncle to the iniquitous synod of the Oak. When the memory of Chrysostom was restored and consecrated, the nephew of Theophilus, at the head of a dying faction, still maintained the justice of his sentence; nor was it till after a tedious delay, and an obstinate resistance, that he yielded to the consent of the Catholic world.* His enmity to the Byzantine pontiffs† was a sense of interest, not a sally of passion: he envied their fortunate station in the sunshine of the imperial court; and he dreaded their upstart ambition, which oppressed the metropolitans of Europe and Asia, invaded the provinces of Antioch and Alexandria, and measured their diocese by the limits of the empire. The long moderation of Atticus, the mild usurper of the throne of Chrysostom, suspended the animosities of the Eastern patriarchs; but Cyril was at length awakened by the exaltation of a rival more worthy of his esteem and hatred. After the short and troubled reign of Sisinnius bishop of Constantinople, the factions of the clergy and people were appeased by the choice of the emperor, who, on this occasion, consulted the voice of fame, and invited the merit of a stranger. Nestorius,‡ a native of Germanicia, and a monk of Antioch, was recommended by the austerity of his life, and the eloquence of his sermons; but the first homily which he preached before the devout Theodosius, betrayed the acrimony and impatience of his zeal. "Give me, O Cæsar!" he exclaimed, "give me the earth purged of heretics, and I will give you in exchange the kingdom of heaven. Exterminate with me, the heretics; and with you, I will exterminate the Persians." On the fifth day, as it

* He was deaf to the entreaties of Atticus of Constantinople, and of Isidore of Pelusium, and yielded only (if we may believe Nicephorus, l. 14, c. 18,) to the personal intercession of the Virgin. Yet in his last years he still muttered, that John Chrysostom had been justly condemned. (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 278—282. Baronius, Annal. Ecclés. A.D. 412, No. 46—64.) [For the synod of the Oak and the fate of Chrysostom, see ch. 32, vol. iii, p. 505.—ED.]

† See their characters in the History of Socrates (l. 7, c. 25—28), their power and pretensions in the huge compilation of Thomassin. (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i, p. 80—91.)

‡ His elevation and conduct are described by Socrates (l. 7, c. 29—31); and Marcellinus seems to have applied the eloquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parum, of Sallust.

the treaty had been already signed, the patriarch of Constantinople discovered, surprised, and attacked a secret conventicle of the Arians: they preferred death to submission; the flames, that were kindled by their despair, soon spread to the neighbouring houses, and the triumph of Nestorius was clouded by the name of *incendiary*. On either side of the Hellespont, his episcopal vigour imposed a rigid formulary of faith and discipline; a chronological error concerning the festival of Easter was punished as an offence against the church and state. Lydia and Caria, Sardes, and Miletus, were purified with the blood of the obstinate Quartodecimans; and the edict of the emperor, or rather of the patriarch, enumerates three-and-twenty degrees and denominations in the guilt and punishment of heresy.* But the sword of persecution, which Nestorius so furiously wielded, was soon turned against his own breast. Religion was the pretence; but, in the judgment of a contemporary saint, ambition was the genuine motive of episcopal warfare.†

In the Syrian school, Nestorius had been taught to abhor the confusion of the two natures, and nicely to discriminate the humanity of his *master* Christ from the divinity of the *Lord* Jesus.‡ The Blessed Virgin he revered as the mother

* Cod. Theodos. l. 16, tit. 5, leg. 65, with the illustrations of Baronius (A.D. 428, No. 25, &c.), Godefroy (ad locum), and Pagi (Critica. tom. ii, p. 208).

† Isidore of Pelusium (l. 4, epist. 57). His words are strong and scandalous—*τί θαυμάζεις, εἰ καὶ νῦν περὶ πράγμα θεῖον καὶ λόγου κρεῖττον διαφωνεῖν προσποιοῦνται ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἐκβακχευόμενοι.* Isidore is a saint, but he never became a bishop; and I half suspect, that the pride of Diogenes trampled on the pride of Plato. [Isidore was an abbot. He wisely kept aloof from the turmoil around him, but from his retreat he observed it calmly and stated his sentiments frankly to all parties. These were always expressed in the private communications of letters, of which he is said to have written ten thousand; twelve hundred have been preserved. In one of these (l. 2, ep. 127), he even imputed to Cyril the sale of bishoprics. Had he aspired to episcopal power, and spoken in synods and councils as he wrote in his correspondence, he would have been the object of furious persecution. By his fearless censures, he incurred the hostility of Eusebius, bishop of Pelusium, and the presbyter Zosimus, from whom he had much to endure (l. 2, ep. 22); and some wanted to render him odious as a follower of Origen. But never having been a public accuser or dangerous competitor, he escaped the "anger of celestial minds."—ED.]

‡ La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom i, p. 44—53. Thesaurus Epistolicus La Crozianus, tom. iii, p. 276—280) has detected the use

of Christ, but his ears were offended with the rash and recent title of mother of God,* which had been insensibly adopted since the origin of the Arian controversy. From the pulpit of Constantinople, a friend of the patriarch, and afterwards the patriarch himself, repeatedly preached against the use or the abuse, of a word† unknown to the apostles, unauthorised by the church, and which could only tend to alarm the timorous, to mislead the simple, to amuse the profane, and to justify, by a seeming resemblance, the old genealogy of Olympus.‡ In his calmer moments Nestorius confessed, that it might be tolerated or excused by the union of the two natures, and the communication of their *idioms*:§ but he was exasperated, by contradiction, to disclaim the worship of a new-born, an infant Deity, to draw his inadequate similes from the conjugal or civil partnerships of life, and to describe the manhood of Christ as the robe, the instrument, the tabernacle of his Godhead. At these blasphemous sounds, the pillars of the sanctuary were shaken. The unsuccessful competitors of Nestorius indulged their

of ὁ δεσπότης, and ὁ κυρίος Ἰησους, which, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, discriminates the school of Diodorus of Tarsus and his Nestorian disciples.

* Θεοτόκος—*Deipara:* as in zoology we familiarly speak of oviparous and viviparous animals. It is not easy to fix the invention of this word, which La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i, p. 16) ascribes to Eusebius of Cæsarea and the Arians. The orthodox testimonies are produced by Cyril and Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v, l. 5, c. 15, p. 254, &c.), but the veracity of the saint is questionable, and the epithet of θεοτόκος so easily slides from the margin to the text of a Catholic MS.

† Basnage in his Histoire de l'Eglise, a work of controversy (tom. i, p. 505), justifies the mother, by the blood, of God (Acts, xx, 28, with Mill's various readings). But the Greek MSS. are far from unanimous; and the primitive style of the blood of Christ is preserved in the Syriac version, even in those copies which were used by the Christians of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar. (La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, tom. i, p. 347.) The jealousy of the Nestorians and Monophysites has guarded the purity of their text.

‡ The Pagans of Egypt already laughed at the new Cybele of the Christians (Isidor. l. 1, epist. 54): a letter was forged in the name of Hypatia, to ridicule the theology of her assassin. (Synodicon, c. 216, in tom. iv, Concil. p. 484.) In the article of NESTORIUS, Bayle has scattered some loose philosophy on the worship of the Virgin Mary.

§ The ἀντίδοσις of the Greeks, a mutual loan or transfer of the idioms or properties of each nature to the other—of infinity to man, passibility to God, &c. Twelve rules on this nicest of subjects compose the Theological Grammar of Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. tom. v,

pious or personal resentment, the Byzantine clergy was secretly displeased with the intrusion of a stranger: whatever is superstitious or absurd, might claim the protection of the monks; and the people was interested in the glory of their virgin patroness.* The sermons of the archbishop, and the service of the altar, were disturbed by seditious clamour; his authority and doctrine were renounced by separate congregations; every wind scattered round the empire the leaves of controversy; and the voice of the combatants on a sonorous theatre re-echoed in the cells of Palestine and Egypt. It was the duty of Cyril to enlighten the zeal and ignorance of his innumerable monks; in the school of Alexandria, he had imbibed and professed the incarnation of one nature: and the successor of Athanasius consulted his pride and ambition, when he rose in arms against another Arius, more formidable and more guilty, on the second throne of the hierarchy. After a short correspondence, in which the rival prelates disguised their hatred in the hollow language of respect and charity, the patriarch of Alexandria denounced to the prince and people, to the East and to the West, the damnable errors of the Byzantine pontiff. From the East, more especially from Antioch, he obtained the ambiguous counsels of toleration and silence, which were addressed to both parties while they favoured the cause of Nestorius. But the Vatican received with open arms the messengers of Egypt. The vanity of Celestine was flattered by the appeal; and the partial version of a monk decided the faith of the pope, who, with his Latin clergy, was ignorant of the language, the arts, and the theology of the Greeks. At the head of an Italian synod, Celestine weighed the merits of the cause, approved the creed of Cyril, condemned the sentiments and person of Nestorius, degraded the heretic from his episcopal dignity, allowed a respite of ten days for recantation and penance, and delegated to his enemy the execution of this rash and illegal sentence. But the patriarch of Alexandria, whilst he darted the thunders of a god, exposed the errors and passions of a mortal; and his twelve† anathemas still torture

l. 4, c. 14, 15, p. 209, &c).

* See Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. 1, p. 30, &c.

† Concil. tom. iii, p. 943. They have never been *directly* approved by the church. (Tillemont, Mém. Eccléa. tom. xiv, p. 368—372.) I almost pity the agony of rage and sophistry

the orthodox slaves, who adore the memory of a saint, without forfeiting their allegiance to the synod of Chalcedon. These bold assertions are indelibly tinged with the colours of the Apollinarian heresy; but the serious, and perhaps the sincere, professions of Nestorius have satisfied the wiser and less partial theologians of the present times.*

Yet neither the emperor nor the primate of the East were disposed to obey the mandate of an Italian priest; and a synod of the Catholic, or rather of the Greek, church was unanimously demanded, as the sole remedy that could appease or decide this ecclesiastical quarrel.† Ephesus, on all sides accessible by sea and land, was chosen for the place, the festival of Pentecost for the day, of the meeting; a writ of summons was dispatched to each metropolitan, and a guard was stationed to protect and confine the fathers till they should settle the mysteries of Heaven, and the faith of the earth. Nestorius appeared, not as a criminal, but as a judge; he depended on the weight rather than the number of his prelates, and his sturdy slaves from the baths of Zeuxippus were armed for every service of injury or defence. But his adversary Cyril was more powerful in the weapons both of the flesh and of the spirit. Disobedient to the letter, or at least to the meaning, of the royal summons, he was attended by fifty Egyptian bishops, who expected from their patriarch's nod the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He had contracted an intimate alliance with Memnon, bishop of Ephesus. The despotic primate of Asia disposed of the ready succours of thirty or forty

with which Petavius seems to be agitated in the sixth book of his Dogmata Theologica. * Such as the rational Basnage (ad tom. i, Variar. Lection. Canisii in Præfat. c. 2, p. 11—23) and La Croze, the universal scholar (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i, p. 16—20. De l'Ethiopie, p. 26, 27. Thesaur. Epist. p. 176, &c. 283. 285). His free sentence is confirmed by that of his friends Jablonski (Thesaur. Epist. tom. i, p. 193—201) and Mosheim (idem, p. 304. Nestorium crimine caruisse est et mea sententia), and three more respectable judges will not easily be found. Asseman, a learned and modest slave, can *hardly* discern (Bibliothec. Orient. tom. iv, p. 190—224) the guilt and error of the Nestorians. † The origin and progress of the Nestorian controversy till the synod of Ephesus, may be found in Socrates (l. 7, c. 32), Evagrius (l. 1, c. 1, 2), Liberatus (Brev. c. 1—4), the original Acts (Concil. tom. iii, p. 551—991, edit. Venise, 1728), the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, and the faithful collections of Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 283—377).

episcopal votes: a crowd of peasants, the slaves of the church, was poured into the city, to support with blows and clamours a metaphysical argument; and the people zealously asserted the honour of the Virgin, whose body reposed within the walls of Ephesus.* The fleet, which had transported Cyril from Alexandria, was laden with the riches of Egypt: and he disembarked a numerous body of mariners, slaves, and fanatics, enlisted with blind obedience under the banner of St. Mark and the mother of God. The fathers, and even the guards, of the council were awed by this martial array; the adversaries of Cyril and Mary were insulted in the streets, or threatened in their houses; his eloquence and liberality made a daily increase in the number of his adherents; and the Egyptian soon computed that he might command the attendance and the voices of two hundred bishops.† But the author of the twelve anathemas foresaw and dreaded the opposition of John of Antioch, who with a small, though respectable, train of metropolitans and divines, was advancing by slow journeys from the distant capital of the East. Impatient of a delay, which he stigmatized as voluntary and culpable,‡

* The Christians of the four first centuries were ignorant of the death and burial of Mary. The tradition of Ephesus is affirmed by the synod (ἔνθα ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης, καὶ ἡ θεοτόκος παρθένος ἡ ἁγία Μαρία. Concil. tom. iii, p. 1102), yet it has been superseded by the claim of Jerusalem; and her *empty* sepulchre, as it was shown to the pilgrims, produced the fable of her resurrection and assumption, in which the Greek and Latin churches have piously acquiesced. See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 48, No. 6, &c.) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. i, p. 467—477).

† The Acts of Chalcedon (Concil. tom. iv, p. 1405. 1408) exhibit a lively picture of the blind, obstinate servitude of the bishops of Egypt to their patriarch.

‡ Civil or ecclesiastical business detained the bishops at Antioch till the eighteenth of May. Ephesus was at the distance of thirty days' journey; and ten days more may be fairly allowed for accidents and repose. The march of Xenophon over the same ground enumerates above two hundred and sixty parasangs or leagues; and this measure might be illustrated from ancient and modern itineraries, if I knew how to compare the speed of an army, a synod, and a caravan. John of Antioch is reluctantly acquitted by Tillemont himself. (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 386—389). [The boldness with which Cyril carried his measures at the council of Ephesus, is well exhibited by Neander (Hist. of Chris. 4. 151—169). His "arbitrary and illegal conduct had created an impression very unfavourable to him in the imperial court at Constantinople." This caused his summons to be

Cyril announced the opening of the synod sixteen days after the festival of Pentecost. Nestorius, who depended on the near approach of his eastern friends, persisted, like his predecessor Chrysostom, to disclaim the jurisdiction, and to disobey the summons, of his enemies: they hastened his trial, and his accuser presided in the seat of judgment. Sixty-eight bishops, twenty-two of metropolitan rank, defended his cause by a modest and temperate protest; they were excluded from the counsels of their brethren. Candidian, in the emperor's name, requested a delay of four days; the profane magistrate was driven with outrage and insult from the assembly of the saints. The whole of this momentous transaction was crowded into the compass of a summer's day; the bishops delivered their separate opinions; but the uniformity of style reveals the influence or the hand of a master, who has been accused of corrupting the public evidence of their acts and subscriptions.* Without a dissenting voice, they recognized in the epistles of Cyril the Nicene creed and the doctrine of the fathers; but the partial extracts from the letters and homilies of Nestorius were interrupted by curses and anathemas; and the heretic was degraded from his episcopal and ecclesiastical dignity. The sentence, maliciously inscribed to the new Judas, was affixed and proclaimed in the streets of Ephesus: the weary prelates, as they issued from the church of the mother of God, were saluted as her champions; and her victory was celebrated by the illuminations, the songs, and the tumult of the night.

On the fifth day, the triumph was clouded by the arrival and indignation of the eastern bishops. In a chamber of the inn, before he had wiped the dust from his shoes, John of Antioch gave audience to Candidian the imperial

accompanied by the special letter to which Gibbon has alluded, and which Neander says "was drawn up with more good sense than could have been expected from Theodosius, and we can scarcely be mistaken in supposing that it was dictated by a wiser head." Yet Cyril disregarded the emperor's censures and commands, and, with daring defiance, made his own will paramount.—ED.]

* Μεμφόμενον μὴ κατὰ τὸ δέον τὰ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συντεθῆναι ὑπομνήματα, πανουργίᾳ δὲ καὶ τινι ἀθέσμῳ καινοτομίᾳ Κυρίλλου τεχνάζοντος. Evagrius, l. 1, c. 7. The same imputation was urged by count Irenæus (tom. iii, p. 1249), and the orthodox critics do not find it an easy task to defend the purity of the Greek or Latin copies of the

minister; who related his ineffectual efforts to prevent or annul the hasty violence of the Egyptian. With equal haste and violence, the Oriental synod of fifty bishops degraded Cyril and Memnon from their episcopal honours, condemned, in the twelve anathemas, the purest venom of the Apollinarian heresy, and described the Alexandrian primate as a monster, born and educated for the destruction of the church.* *His* throne was distant and inaccessible; but they instantly resolved to bestow on the flock of Ephesus the blessing of a faithful shepherd. By the vigilance of Memnon, the churches were shut against them, and a strong garrison was thrown into the cathedral. The troops, under the command of Candidian, advanced to the assault; the out-guards were routed and put to the sword, but the place was impregnable: the besiegers retired; their retreat was pursued by a vigorous sally; they lost their horses, and many of the soldiers were dangerously wounded with clubs and stones. Ephesus, the city of the Virgin, was defiled with rage and clamour, with sedition and blood; the rival synods darted anathemas and excommunications from their spiritual engines; and the court of Theodosius was perplexed by the adverse and contradictory narratives of the Syrian and Egyptian factions. During a busy period of three months, the emperor tried every method, except the most effectual means of indifference and contempt, to reconcile this theological quarrel. He attempted to remove or intimidate the leaders by a common sentence of acquittal or condemnation; he invested his representatives at Ephesus with ample power and military force; he summoned from either party eight chosen deputies to a free and candid conference in the neighbourhood of the capital, far from the contagion of popular frenzy. But the Orientals refused to yield, and the Catholics, proud of their numbers and of their Latin allies, rejected all terms of union or toleration. The patience of the meek Theodosius was provoked, and he dissolved in anger this episcopal tumult, which, at the distance of thirteen centuries, assumes

* Ὁ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τεχθεὶς καὶ τραφείς. After the coalition of John and Cyril, these invectives were mutually forgotten. The style of declamation must never be confounded with the genuine sense which respectable enemies entertain of each other's merit. (Concil. tom. iii, p. 1244.)

Acts.

the venerable aspect of the third œcumenical council.* "God is my witness," said the pious prince, "that I am not the author of this confusion. His providence will discern and punish the guilty. Return to your provinces, and may your private virtues repair the mischief and scandal of your meeting." They returned to their provinces; but the same passions which had distracted the synod of Ephesus were diffused over the Eastern world. After three obstinate and equal campaigns, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria condescended to explain and embrace: but their seeming reunion must be imputed rather to prudence than to reason, to the mutual lassitude, rather than to the Christian charity, of the patriarchs.

The Byzantine pontiff had instilled into the royal ear a baleful prejudice against the character and conduct of his Egyptian rival. An epistle of menace and invective,† which accompanied the summons, accused him as a busy, insolent, and envious priest, who perplexed the simplicity of the faith, violated the peace of the church and state, and, by his artful and separate addresses to the wife and sister of Theodosius, presumed to suppose, or to scatter, the seeds of discord in the imperial family. At the stern command of his sovereign, Cyril had repaired to Ephesus, where he was resisted, threatened, and confined, by the magistrates in the interest of Nestorius and the Orientals; who assembled the troops of Lydia and Ionia to suppress the fanatic and disorderly train of the patriarch. Without expecting the royal licence, he escaped from his guards, precipitately embarked, deserted the imperfect synod, and retired to his episcopal fortress of safety and independence.

* See the Acts of the Synod of Ephesus, in the original Greek, and a Latin version almost contemporary (Concil. tom. iii, p. 991—1339, with the Synodicon adversus Tragœdiam Irenæi, tom. iv, p. 235—497), the Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates (l. 7, c. 34), and Evagrius (l. 1, c. 3—5), and the Breviary of Liberatus (in Concil. tom. vi, p. 419—459, c. 5, 6), and the Mémoires Ecclés. of Tillemont (tom. xiv, p. 377—487).

† Ταραχὴν (says the emperor in pointed language) τό γε ἐπὶ σαυτῷ καὶ χωρισμὸν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμβέβληκας ὡς θρασυτέρας ὁρμῆς πρεπούσης μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκριβείας καὶ ποικιλίας μᾶλλον τούτων ἡμῖν ἀρκούσης ἤπερ ἁπλότητος παντὸς μᾶλλον ἢ ἱέρεως τα τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τά τε τῶν βασιλέων μέλλειν χωριζειν βούλεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἀφορμῆς ἑτέρας εὐδοκιμήσεως. I should be curious to know how much Nestorius paid for these expressions so mortifying to his rival.

But his artful emissaries, both in the court and city, successfully laboured to appease the resentment, and to conciliate the favour, of the emperor. The feeble son of Arcadius was alternately swayed by his wife and sister, by the eunuchs and women of the palace; superstition and avarice were their ruling passions; and the orthodox chiefs were assiduous in their endeavours to alarm the former, and to gratify the latter. Constantinople and the suburbs were sanctified with frequent monasteries, and the holy abbots, Dalmatius and Eutyches,* had devoted their zeal and fidelity to the cause of Cyril, the worship of Mary, and the unity of Christ. From the first moment of their monastic life, they had never mingled with the world, or trod the profane ground of the city. But in this awful moment of the danger of the church, their vow was superseded by a more sublime and indispensable duty. At the head of a long order of monks and hermits, who carried burning tapers in their hands, and chanted litanies to the mother of God, they proceeded from their monasteries to the palace. The people was edified and inflamed by this extraordinary spectacle, and the trembling monarch listened to the prayers and adjurations of the saints, who boldly pronounced that none could hope for salvation, unless they embraced the person and the creed of the orthodox successor of Athanasius. At the same time every avenue of the throne was assaulted with gold. Under the decent names of *eulogies* and *benedictions*, the courtiers of both

* Eutyches, the heresiarch Eutyches, is honourably named by Cyril as a friend, a saint, and the strenuous defender of the faith. His brother, the abbot Dalmatius, is likewise employed to bind the emperor and all his chamberlains terribili conjuratione. Synodicon, c. 203, in Concil. tom. iv, p. 467. [Neander (Hist. of Chris. 4. 164) quoting Harduin, says, that "Dalmatius was a writer in one of the imperial bureaux, and had a wife and children." He was persuaded by a venerated monk, Isacios, to join the fraternity, in which he obtained great influence and became Archimandrite. The emperor sometimes visited him in his cell; but never could prevail upon him to leave his solitude, even to take part in the public penitential processions, when the frequent earthquakes filled Constantinople with alarm. It was usual for new patriarchs to pay their respects to him. But Dalmatius refused to admit Nestorius, of whom he said, "An evil beast has come among us, to injure many by his doctrines." For eight and forty years he had never left his cell, till his hatred of the patriarch and the influence of Cyril moved him to the extraordinary effort here exhibited.—ED.]

sexes were bribed according to the measure of their power and rapaciousness. But their incessant demands despoiled the sanctuaries of Constantinople and Alexandria; and the authority of the patriarch was unable to silence the just murmur of his clergy, that a debt of 60,000*l.* had already been contracted to support the expense of this scandalous corruption.* Pulcheria, who relieved her brother from the weight of an empire, was the firmest pillar of orthodoxy; and so intimate was the alliance between the thunders of the synod and the whispers of the court, that Cyril was assured of success if he could displace one eunuch and substitute another in the favour of Theodosius. Yet the Egyptian could not boast of a glorious or decisive victory. The emperor, with unaccustomed firmness, adhered to his promise of protecting the innocence of the Oriental bishops; and Cyril softened his anathemas, and confessed, with ambiguity and reluctance, a twofold nature of Christ, before he was permitted to satiate his revenge against the unfortunate Nestorius.†

The rash and obstinate Nestorius, before the end of the synod, was oppressed by Cyril, betrayed by the court, and faintly supported by his eastern friends. A sentiment of fear or indignation prompted him, while it was yet time, to affect the glory of a voluntary abdication;‡ his wish, or at

* Clerici qui hic sunt contristantur, quod ecclesia Alexandrina nudata sit hujus causâ turbelæ; et debet præter illa quæ hinc transmissa sint *auri libras mille quingentas.* Et nunc ei scriptum est ut præstet; sed de tuâ ecclesiâ præsta avaritiæ quorum nosti, &c. This curious and original letter, from Cyril's archdeacon to his creature, the new bishop of Constantinople, has been unaccountably preserved in an old Latin version. (Synodicon, c. 203. Concil. tom. iv, p. 465—468.) The mask is almost dropped, and the saints speak the honest language of interest and confederacy. [This letter from Epiphanius to Maximianus was preserved by Theodoret. (Neander. 4. 173.)—ED.]

† The tedious negotiations that succeeded the synod of Ephesus are diffusely related in the original Acts (Concil. tom. iii, p. 1339—1771. ad fin. vol. and the Synodicon, in tom. iv), Socrates (lib. 7, c. 28. 35. 40, 41), Evagrius (l. 1, c. 6—8. 12), Liberatus (c. 7—10), Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 487—676). The most patient reader will thank me for compressing so much nonsense and falsehood in a few lines.

‡ *Αὐτοῦ τε αὖ δεηθέντος, ἐπετράπη κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπαναζεῦσαι μοναστήριον.* Evagrius, l. 1, c. 7. The original letters in the Synodicon (c. 15. 24—26) justify the *appearance* of a voluntary resignation, which is asserted by Ebed-Jesu, a Nestorian writer, apud Asseman.

least his request, was readily granted; he was conducted with honour from Ephesus to his old monastery of Antioch; and after a short pause, his successors, Maximian and Proclus, were acknowledged as the lawful bishops of Constantinople. But in the silence of his cell, the degraded patriarch could no longer resume the innocence and security of a private monk. The past he regretted, he was discontented with the present, and the future he had reason to dread: the Oriental bishops successively disengaged their cause from his unpopular name, and each day decreased the number of the schismatics who revered Nestorius as the confessor of the faith. After a residence at Antioch of four years, the hand of Theodosius subscribed an edict,* which ranked him with Simon the magician, proscribed his opinions and followers, condemned his writings to the flames, and banished his person first to Petra in Arabia, and at length to Oasis, one of the *islands* of the Libyan desert.† Secluded from the church

Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iii, p. 299—302. [Nestorius was deposed by an imperial edict; and at his own humble request, was permitted to return to his monastery at Antioch.—GERMAN ED.] [The circumstantial narrative of Neander (4. 166—170) gives a very different aspect to the fall of Nestorius. Wearied and harassed by the restless hostility of Cyril, he wrote to the imperial chamberlain, Scholasticus, saying, that if "the maintenance of the true faith could be secured, he would gladly return to his cloister and its blessed tranquillity." Obeying his sister Pulcheria and disturbed by the insinuations of Cyril's bribed advocates, the weak Theodosius availed himself of this letter, and through the prætorian prefect informed Nestorius, but without any manifestation of unfriendly feeling, that "the necessary orders had been given for his returning, in the most convenient and desirable manner, to his cloister." In reply to this, the patriarch resigned his office, again commending to the emperor "the care of maintaining pure doctrine." There are no proofs of his having engaged in any intrigues after his retirement; but he had many friends in Constantinople; and after the death of his successor Maximianus the populace clamoured for his restoration. This induced his enemies to obtain an order for his removal to a greater distance, and his subsequent persecutions.—ED.]

* See the imperial letters in the Acts of the synod of Ephesus. (Concil. tom. iii, p. 1730—1735.) The odious name of *Simonians*, which was affixed to the disciples of this τερατώδους διδασκαλίας, was designed ὡς ἂν ὀνείδεσι προβληθέντες αἰώνιον ὑπομένοιεν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ μήτε ζῶντας τιμωρίας, μήτε θανόντας ἀτιμίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχειν. Yet these were Christians! who differed only in names and in shadows.

† The metaphor of islands is applied by the grave civilians (Pandect. l. 48, tit. 22, leg. 7,) to those happy spots which are discriminated by

and from the world, the exile was still pursued by the rage of bigotry and war. A wandering tribe of the Blemmyes or Nubians invaded his solitary prison; in their retreat they dismissed a crowd of useless captives; but no sooner had Nestorius reached the banks of the Nile, than he would gladly have escaped from a Roman and orthodox city to the milder servitude of the savages. His flight was punished as a new crime: the soul of the patriarch inspired the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Egypt; the magistrates, the soldiers, the monks, devoutly tortured the enemy of Christ and St. Cyril; and, as far as the confines of Æthiopia, the heretic was alternately dragged and recalled, till his aged body was broken by the hardships and accidents of these reiterated journeys. Yet his mind was still independent and erect; the president of Thebais was awed by his pastoral letters; he survived the Catholic tyrant of Alexandria, and, after sixteen years' banishment, the synod of Chalcedon would perhaps have restored him to the honours, or at least to the communion, of the church. The death of Nestorius prevented his obedience to their welcome summons;* and

water and verdure from the Libyan sands. Three of these under the common name of Oasis, or Alvahat—1. The temple of Jupiter Ammon. 2. The middle Oasis, three days' journey to the west of Lycopolis. 3. The southern, where Nestorius was banished, in the first climate, and only three days' journey from the confines of Nubia. See a learned note of Michaelis (ad Descript. Ægypt. Abulfedæ, p. 21—34). [The most sensible meaning, assigned to the word *Oasis*, derives it from *Ouah*, the plural of *Wah*, Arab. for a dwelling; so that it denotes an inhabited spot in the desert. Herodotus mentions but one, which he calls an "island of the blest." The three named by Gibbon, were known in the time of Strabo. Many more have since been discovered, which Browne, Burckhardt, Belzoni and other travellers have described. There is no satisfactory evidence that they were ever used as penal solitudes, prior to the building of Constantinople. The first on record who sent refractory opponents there is Constantius, and the emperor Julian is said to have imitated him. From that time, deportation to them was a punishment held to be second only to that of death. Justinian relaxed its severity into a "relegatio ad tempus." The Notitia Imperii proves that Roman garrisons were kept there. —ED.]

* The invitation of Nestorius to the synod of Chalcedon, is related by Zacharias, bishop of Melitene (Evagrius, l. 2, c. 2. Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii, p. 55) and the famous Xenaias or Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii, p. 40, &c.); denied by Evagrius and Asseman, and stoutly maintained by La Croze. (Thesaur. Epistol. tom. iii, p. 181. &c.) The fact is not improbable; yet it was the interest of the Monophysites to spread the

nis disease might afford some colour to the scandalous report, that his tongue, the organ of blasphemy, had been eaten by the worms. He was buried in a city of Upper Egypt, known by the names of Chemmis, or Panopolis, or Akmim;* but the immortal malice of the Jacobites has persevered for ages to cast stones against his sepulchre, and to propagate the foolish tradition, that it was never watered by the rain of heaven, which equally descends on the righteous and the ungodly.† Humanity may drop a tear on the fate of Nestorius; yet justice must observe, that he suffered the persecution which he had approved and inflicted.‡

The death of the Alexandrian primate, after a reign of thirty-two years, abandoned the Catholics to the intemperance of zeal, and the abuse of victory.§ The *Monophysite*

invidious report; and Eutychius (tom. ii, p. 12,) affirms that Nestorius died after an exile of seven years, and consequently ten years before the synod of Chalcedon. * Consult D'Anville (Mémoire sur l'Egypte, p. 191), Pocock (Description of the East, vol. i, p. 76), Abulfeda (Descript. Egypt. p. 14), and his commentator Michaelis (Not. p. 78—83), and the Nubian Geographer (p. 42), who mentions, in the twelfth century, the ruins and the sugar-canes of Akmim. [The ancient accounts of this place have been supposed to refer to two different towns. (Cellarius, 2. 823.) Chemmis was its original designation. New settlers under the Ptolemies, finding their Pan, or some deity like him, worshipped there, gave the place its Greek name. Diodorus Siculus (1. 18) says that both have the same meaning, and Dr Lepsius says that Chem was the Pan of the Egyptians, but doubts whether the place had its original name from this. (Letters from Egypt, p. 115, edit. Bohn.) Most writers mention it only as Panopolis, and the district around it was denominated Nomos Panopolitos. Strabo says, that, in his time, it was inhabited chiefly by linen-weavers and lapidaries. Akmim, or, according to Lepsius, Echmim, is the Arabian form given to its old name.—Ed.]

† Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 12) and Gregory Bar-Hebræus, or Abulpharagius (Asseman. tom. ii, p. 316) represent the credulity of the tenth and thirteenth centuries. ‡ We are obliged to Evagrius (l. 1, c. 7,) for some extracts from the letters of Nestorius; but the lively picture of his sufferings is treated with insult by the hard and stupid fanatic. [In this sentiment Neander concurs. "The heart of Evagrius," he says (4. 182) "was so steeled by the power of dogmatic fanaticism, that he had no sense to perceive the composure and dignity of Nestorius; and could see nothing but pride and obstinacy, in the expressions of a noble spirit, unbowed to servility by all its misfortunes."—Ed.] § Dixi Cyrillum dum viveret, auctoritate sua effecisse, ne Eutychianismus et Monophysitarum error in nervum erumperet: idque verum puto . . . aliquo . . . honesto modo παλινωδίαν cecinerat. The learned but cautious Jablonski did not

doctrine (one incarnate nature) was rigorously preached in the churches of Egypt and the monasteries of the East; the primitive creed of Apollinaris was protected by the sanctity of Cyril; and the name of Eutyches, his venerable friend, has been applied to the sect most adverse to the Syrian heresy of Nestorius. His rival Eutyches was the abbot, or archimandrite, or superior of three hundred monks; but the opinions of a simple and illiterate recluse might have expired in the cell where he had slept above seventy years, if the resentment or indiscretion of Flavian, the Byzantine pontiff, had not exposed the scandal to the eyes of the Christian world. His domestic synod was instantly convened, their proceedings were sullied with clamour and artifice, and the aged heretic was surprised into a seeming confession, that Christ had not derived his body from the substance of the Virgin Mary. From their partial decree, Eutyches appealed to a general council; and his cause was vigorously asserted by his godson Chrysaphius, the reigning eunuch of the palace, and his accomplice Dioscorus, who had succeeded to the throne, the creed, the talents, and the vices of the nephew of Theophilus. By the special summons of Theodosius, the second synod of Ephesus was judiciously composed of ten metropolitans and ten bishops from each of the six dioceses of the Eastern empire: some exceptions of favour or merit enlarged the number to one hundred and thirty-five; and the Syrian Barsumas, as the chief and representative of the monks, was invited to sit and vote with the successors of the apostles. But the despotism of the Alexandrian patriarch again oppressed the freedom of debate: the same spiritual and carnal weapons were again drawn from the arsenals of Egypt; the Asiatic veterans, a band of archers, served under the orders of Dioscorus; and the more formidable monks, whose minds were inaccessible to reason or mercy, besieged the doors of the cathedral. The general, and, as it should seem, the unconstrained voice of the fathers,

always speak the whole truth. Cum Cyrillo lenius omnino egi, quam si tecum aut cum aliis rei hujus probe gnaris et æquis rerum æstimatoribus sermones privatos conferrem (Thesaur. Epistol. La Crozian, tom. i, p. 197, 198), an excellent key to his dissertations on the Nestorian controversy! [This Cyril appears to have raised the controversy for the express purpose of obtaining the assistance of the court against the bishops who opposed him. In this he at first but too well suc-

accepted the faith and even the anathemas of Cyril; and the heresy of the two natures was formally condemned in the persons and writings of the most learned Orientals. "May those who divide Christ be divided with the sword, may they be hewn in pieces, may they be burnt alive!" were the charitable wishes of a Christian synod.* The innocence and sanctity of Eutyches were acknowledged without hesitation: but the prelates, more especially those of Thrace and Asia, were unwilling to depose their patriarch for the use or even the abuse of his lawful jurisdiction. They embraced the knees of Dioscorus, as he stood with a threatening aspect on the footstool of his throne, and conjured him to forgive the offences, and to respect the dignity, of his brother. "Do you mean to raise a sedition?" exclaimed the relentless tyrant. "Where are the officers?" At these words a furious multitude of monks and soldiers, with staves, and swords, and chains, burst into the church; the trembling bishops hid themselves behind the altar, or under the benches, and as they were not inspired with the zeal of martyrdom, they successively subscribed a blank paper, which was afterwards filled with the condemnation of the Byzantine pontiff. Flavian was instantly delivered to the wild beasts of this spiritual amphitheatre: the monks were stimulated by the voice and example of Barsumas to avenge the injuries of Christ: it is said that the patriarch of Alexandria reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled his brother of Constantinople:† it is certain, that the victim, before he could

ceeded.—GERMAN ED.]

* Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπεν, ἄρον, καῦσον Εὐσέβιον, οὗτος ζῶν καῇ, οὗτος εἰς δύο γένηται, ὡς ἐμέρισε, μερισθῇ . . . εἴ τις λέγει δύο, ἀνάθεμα. At the request of Dioscorus, those who were not able to roar (βοῆσαι), stretched out their hands. At Chalcedon, the Orientals disclaimed these exclamations; but the Egyptians more consistently declared ταῦτα καὶ τότε εἴπομεν καὶ νῦν λέγομεν. (Concil. tom. iv, p. 1012.)

† Ἔλεγε δὲ (Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum) τὸν Φλαβιανόν τε δειλαίως ἀναιρεθῆναι πρὸς Διοσκόρου ὠθούμενόν τε καὶ λακτιζόμενον: and this testimony of Evagrius (l. 2, c. 2,) is amplified by the historian Zonaras, (tom. ii, l. 13, p. 44,) who affirms that Dioscorus kicked like a wild ass. But the language of Liberatus (Brev. c. 12, in Concil. tom. vi, p. 438,) is more cautious; and the Acts of Chalcedon, which lavish the names of homicide, Cain, &c., do not justify so pointed a charge. The monk Barsumas is more particularly accused—ἔσφαξε τὸν μακάριον Φλαυιανόν· αὐτὸς ἔστηκε καὶ ἔλεγε, σφάξον. (Concil. tom. iv, p. 1423.) [Neander relates (4. 220) "the high-handed violence of Dioscorus," at the second council of Ephesus

reach the place of his exile, expired, on the third day, of the wounds and bruises which he had received at Ephesus. This second synod has been justly branded as a gang of robbers and assassins; yet the accusers of Dioscorus would magnify his violence, to alleviate the cowardice and inconstancy of their own behaviour.

The faith of Egypt had prevailed: but the vanquished party was supported by the same pope who encountered without fear the hostile rage of Attila and Genseric. The theology of Leo, his famous *tome* or epistle on the mystery of the incarnation, had been disregarded by the synod of Ephesus; his authority and that of the Latin church, was insulted in his legates, who escaped from slavery and death to relate the melancholy tale of the tyranny of Dioscorus and the martyrdom of Flavian. His provincial synod annulled the irregular proceedings of Ephesus; but as this step was itself irregular, he solicited the convocation of a general council in the free and orthodox provinces of Italy. From his independent throne, the Roman bishop spoke and acted without danger, as the head of the Christians, and his dictates were obsequiously transcribed by Placidia and her son Valentinian; who addressed their Eastern colleague to restore the peace and unity of the church. But the pageant of Oriental royalty was moved with equal dexterity by the hand of the eunuch; and Theodosius could pronounce, without hesitation, that the church was already peaceful and triumphant, and that the recent flame had been extinguished by the just punishment of the Nestorians. Perhaps the Greeks would be still involved in the heresy of the Monophysites, if the emperor's horse had not fortunately stumbled; Theodosius expired; his orthodox sister, Pulcheria, with a nominal husband, succeeded to the throne; Chrysaphius was burnt, Dioscorus was disgraced, the exiles

The deputies, whom Leo the Great had sent there at the invitation of Theodosius, escaped with difficulty, and were obliged to seek a safe passage homeward, through unfrequented by-ways. It was from this Roman pontiff, that the council received its appellation of "The Robber Synod." Barsumas was an abbot in Syria, the head of a faction devoted to Cyril and vehemently opposed to Theodoret (Neander, 4. 199). As a staunch supporter of Dioscorus, he was allowed a seat and vote in this council, to represent the Anti-Nestorian monks of that district. A numerous troop of them were introduced as hearers, but, in fact, to overpower discussion by their outrageous clamours.—ED.]

were recalled, and the *tome* of Leo was subscribed by the Oriental bishops. Yet the pope was disappointed in his favourite project of a Latin council: he disdained to preside in the Greek synod, which was speedily assembled at Nice in Bithynia; his legates required in a peremptory tone the presence of the emperor; and the wary fathers were transported to Chalcedon under the immediate eye of Marcian and the senate of Constantinople. A quarter of a mile from the Thracian Bosphorus, the church of St. Euphemia was built on the summit of a gentle though lofty ascent: the triple structure was celebrated as a prodigy of art, and the boundless prospect of the land and sea might have raised the mind of a sectary to the contemplation of the God of the universe. Six hundred and thirty bishops were ranged in order in the nave of the church; but the patriarchs of the East were preceded by the legates, of whom the third was a simple priest: and the place of honour was reserved for twenty laymen of consular or senatorian rank. The gospel was ostentatiously displayed in the centre, but the rule of faith was defined by the papal and imperial ministers, who moderated the thirteen sessions of the council of Chalcedon.* Their partial interposition silenced the intemperate shouts and execrations, which degraded the episcopal gravity: but, on the formal accusation of the legates, Dioscorus was compelled to descend from his throne to the rank of a criminal, already condemned in the opinion of his judges. The Orientals, less adverse to Nestorius than to Cyril, accepted the Romans as their deliverers: Thrace, and Pontus, and Asia, were exasperated against the murderer of Flavian, and the new patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch secured their places by the sacrifice of their benefactor. The bishops of Palestine, Macedonia, and Greece, were attached to the faith of Cyril; but in the face of the synod,

* The acts of the Council of Chalcedon (Concil. tom. iv, p. 761—2071) comprehend those of Ephesus (p. 890—1189), which again comprise the synod of Constantinople under Flavian (p. 930—1072); and it requires some attention to disengage this double involution. The whole business of Eutyches, Flavian, and Dioscorus, is related by Evagrius (l. 1, c. 9—12; and l. 2, c. 1—4, and Liberatus (Brev. c. 11—14). Once more, and almost for the last time, I appeal to the diligence of Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xv, p. 479—719). The annals of Baronius and Pagi will accompany me much further on my long and laborious journey. [The village of Kadi-Kiuy now marks the site, on

in the heat of the battle, the leaders, with their obsequious train, passed from the right to the left wing, and decided the victory by this seasonable desertion. Of the seventeen suffragans who sailed from Alexandria, four were tempted from their allegiance, and the thirteen, falling prostrate on the ground, implored the mercy of the council, with sighs and tears, and a pathetic declaration, that if they yielded, they should be massacred, on their return to Egypt, by the indignant people. A tardy repentance was allowed to expiate the guilt or error of the accomplices of Dioscorus: but their sins were accumulated on his head; he neither asked nor hoped for pardon, and the moderation of those who pleaded for a general amnesty was drowned in the prevailing cry of victory and revenge. To save the reputation of his late adherents, some *personal* offences were skilfully detected—his rash and illegal excommunication of the pope, and his contumacious refusal (while he was detained a prisoner) to attend the summons of the synod. Witnesses were introduced to prove the special facts of his pride, avarice, and cruelty; and the fathers heard with abhorrence, that the alms of the church were lavished on the female dancers, that his palace, and even his bath, was open to the prostitutes of Alexandria, and that the infamous Pansophia, or Irene, was publicly entertained as the concubine of the patriarch.*

For these scandalous offences Dioscorus was deposed by the synod, and banished by the emperor: but the purity of his faith was declared in the presence, and with the tacit

which once stood the memorable Chalcedon. Porter's Travels, ii. 737. —ED.]

* Μάλιστα ἡ περιβόητος Πανσοφία, ἣ καλουμένη Ὀρεινὴ (perhaps, Εἰρηνή), περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ πολυάνθρωπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων δῆμος ἀφῆκε φωνήν, αὐτῆς τε καὶ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ μεμνημένος. (Concil. tom. iv, p. 1276). A specimen of the wit and malice of the people is preserved in the Greek Anthology (l. 2, c. 5, p. 188, edit. Wechel), although the application was unknown to the editor Brodæus. The nameless epigrammatist raises a tolerable pun, by confounding the episcopal salutation of "Peace be to all!" with the genuine or corrupted name of the bishop's concubine:—

Εἰρήνη πάντεσσιν, ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν ἐπελθών,
Πῶς δύναται πᾶσιν, ἣν μόνος ἔνδον ἔχει;

I am ignorant whether the patriarch, who seems to have been a jealous lover, is the Cimon of a preceding epigram, whose πεὸς ἔστηκος was viewed with envy and wonder by Priapus himself.

approbation, of the fathers. Their prudence supposed, rather than pronounced, the heresy of Eutyches, who was never summoned before their tribunal; and they sat silent and abashed, when a bold Monophysite, casting at their feet a volume of Cyril, challenged them to anathematize in his person the doctrine of the saint. If we fairly peruse the acts of Chalcedon as they are recorded by the orthodox party,* we shall find that a great majority of the bishops embraced the simple unity of Christ; and the ambiguous concession, that he was formed *of or from* two natures, might imply either their previous existence, or their subsequent confusion, or some dangerous interval between the conception of the man and the assumption of the God. The Roman theology, more positive and precise, adopted the term most offensive to the ears of the Egyptians, that Christ existed *in* two natures: and this momentous particle† (which the memory, rather than the understanding, must retain) had almost produced a schism among the Catholic bishops. The *tome* of Leo had been respectfully, perhaps sincerely, subscribed: but they protested, in two successive debates, that it was neither expedient nor lawful to transgress the sacred landmarks which had been fixed at Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, according to the rule of Scripture and tradition. At length they yielded to the importunities of their masters; but their infallible decree, after it had been ratified with deliberate votes and vehement acclamations, was overturned in the next session by the opposition of the legates and their Oriental friends. It was in vain that a multitude of episcopal voices repeated in chorus, "The defi-

* Those who reverence the infallibility of synods, may try to ascertain their sense. The leading bishops were attended by partial or careless scribes, who dispersed their copies round the world. Our Greek MSS. are sullied with the false and proscribed reading of ἐκ τῶν φυσέων (Concil. tom. iii, p. 1460), the authentic translation of Pope Leo I, does not seem to have been executed; and the old Latin versions materially differ from the present Vulgate, which was revised (A.D. 550) by Rusticus, a Roman priest, from the best MSS. of the Ἀκοίμητοι at Constantinople, (Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. 4, p. 151,) a famous monastery of Latins, Greeks, and Syrians. See Concil. tom. iv, p. 1959—2049, and Pagi Critica, tom. ii, p. 326, &c.

† It is darkly represented in the microscope of Petavius (tom. v, l. 3, c. 5); yet the subtle theologian is himself afraid—ne quis fortasse supervacaneam, et nimis anxiam putet hujusmodi vocularum inquisitionem, et ab instituti theologici gravitate alienam. (p. 124).

nition of the fathers is orthodox and immutable! The heretics are now discovered! Anathema to the Nestorians! Let them depart from the synod! Let them repair to Rome!"* The legates threatened, the emperor was absolute, and a committee of eighteen bishops prepared a new decree, which was imposed on the reluctant assembly. In the name of the fourth general council, the Christ in one person, but *in* two natures, was announced to the Catholic world: an invisible line was drawn between the heresy of Apollinaris and the faith of St. Cyril; and the road to paradise, a bridge as sharp as a razor, was suspended over the abyss by the masterhand of the theological artist. During ten centuries of blindness and servitude, Europe received her religious opinions from the oracle of the Vatican; and the same doctrine, already varnished with the rust of antiquity, was admitted without dispute into the creed of the reformers, who disclaimed the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The synod of Chalcedon still triumphs in the Protestant churches; but the ferment of controversy has subsided, and the most pious Christians of the present day are ignorant or careless of their own belief concerning the mystery of the incarnation.

Far different was the temper of the Greeks and Egyptians under the orthodox reigns of Leo and Marcian. Those pious emperors enforced with arms and edicts the symbol of their faith;† and it was declared by the conscience or honour of five hundred bishops, that the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon might be lawfully supported, even with blood. The Catholics observed with satisfaction, that the same synod was odious both to the Nestorians and the Monophysites;‡ but the Nestorians were less angry or less

* Ἐβόησαν, ἢ ὁ ὅρος κρατείτω ἢ ἀπερχόμεθα . . . οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες φανεροὶ γένωνται, οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες Νεστοριανοί εἰσιν, οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέλθωσιν. (Concil. tom. iv, p. 1449.) Evagrius and Liberatus present only the placid face of the synod, and discreetly slide over these embers, suppositos cineri doloso.

† See, in the Appendix to the Acts of Chalcedon, the confirmation of the synod by Marcian (Concil. tom. iv, p. 1781. 1783), his letters to the monks of Alexandria (p. 1791), of Mount Sinai (p. 1793), of Jerusalem and Palestine (p. 1798), his laws against the Eutychians (p. 1809 1811. 1831), the correspondence of Leo with the provincial synods on the revolution of Alexandria (p. 1835. 1930).

‡ Photius (or rather Eulogius of Alexandria) confesses, in a fine

powerful, and the East was distracted by the obstinate and sanguinary zeal of the Monophysites. Jerusalem was occupied by an army of monks; in the name of the one incarnate nature, they pillaged, they burnt, they murdered; the sepulchre of Christ was defiled with blood; and the gates of the city were guarded in tumultuous rebellion against the troops of the emperor. After the disgrace and exile of Dioscorus, the Egyptians still regretted their spiritual father; and detested the usurpation of his successor, who was introduced by the fathers of Chalcedon. The throne of Proterius was supported by a guard of two thousand soldiers; he waged a five years' war against the people of Alexandria; and, on the first intelligence of the death of Marcian, he became the victim of their zeal. On the third day before the festival of Easter, the patriarch was besieged in the cathedral, and murdered in the baptistery. The remains of his mangled corpse were delivered to the flames, and his ashes to the wind; and the deed was inspired by the vision of a pretended angel: an ambitious monk, who, under the name of Timothy the Cat,* succeeded to the place and opinions of Dioscorus. This deadly superstition was inflamed, on either side, by the principle and the practice of retaliation: in the pursuit of a metaphysical quarrel, many thousands† were slain, and the

passage, the specious colour of this double charge against Pope Leo and his synod of Chalcedon. (Bibliot. cod. 225, p. 768.) He waged a double war against the enemies of the church, and wounded either foe with the darts of his adversary—καταλλήλοις βέλεσι τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐπίτρωσκε. Against Nestorius he seemed to introduce the σύγχυσις of the Monophysites: against Eutyches he appeared to countenance the ὑποστασέων διάφορα of the Nestorians. The apologist claims a charitable interpretation for the saints: if the same had been extended to the heretics, the *sound* of the controversy would have been lost in the air.

* Αἴλουρος, from his nocturnal expeditions. In darkness and disguise he crept round the cells of the monastery, and whispered the revelation to his slumbering brethren. (Theodor. Lector. l. 1.) The murder of Proterius was perpetrated in 457. The dignity into which Timotheus Ailurus had *whispered* himself, was taken from him three years afterwards by the emperor Leo, who banished him to Cherson. During the usurpation of Basiliscus in 476, he was reinstated; and being then far advanced in years, was allowed peacefully to hold the patriarchate till his death in 477. (Neander, iv. 233—236. Clinton, F. R. i, 449, ii, 544.)—Ed.]

† Φόνους τε τολμηθῆναι μυρίους, αἱμάτων πλήθει μολυνθῆναι μὴ μόνον τὴν γῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀυτὸν τὸν ἄερα. Such is the hyperbolic

Christians of every degree were deprived of the substantial enjoyments of social life, and of the invisible gifts of baptism and the holy communion. Perhaps an extravagant fable of the times may conceal an allegorical picture of these fanatics, who tortured each other, and themselves. "Under the consulship of Venantius and Celer," says a grave bishop, "the people of Alexandria, and all Egypt, were seized with a strange and diabolical frenzy: great and small, slaves and freedmen, monks and clergy, the natives of the land, who opposed the synod of Chalcedon, lost their speech and reason, barked like dogs, and tore with their own teeth, the flesh from their hands and arms.*"

The disorders of thirty years at length produced the famous HENOTICON† of the emperor Zeno, which in his

language of the Henoticon. [While this competition for the rich prize of the Alexandrian patriarchate exhausted society by perpetuated confusion and carnage, Palestine was equally disturbed. "The fanatical monk Theodosius ruled there supreme in the cloisters, and set all in commotion by his vehement fury against such as would not reject the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. Juvenalis, the patriarch of Jerusalem, was banished, and his place filled by Theodosius, who deposed and appointed bishops at his will. Similar occurrences were witnessed in other cities. The evil could not be checked without forcible measures, and provinces were laid waste by fire and sword." (Neander, iv, 232.)—ED.]

* See the Chronicle of Victor Tununensis, in the Lectiones Antiquæ of Canisius, republished by Basnage, tom. i, p. 326.

† The Henoticon is transcribed by Evagrius (l. 3, c. 13), and translated by Liberatus. (Brev. c. 18.) Pagi (Critica, tom. ii, p. 411) and Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. 1, p. 343) are satisfied that it is free from heresy; but Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v, l. 1, c. 13, p. 40) most unaccountably affirms Chalcedonensem ascivit. An adversary would prove that he had never read the Henoticon. [The principal design of the Henoticon was, to tranquillize Egypt; but it was by no means generally acceptable to the people of that country.—GERMAN ED.] [This "Concordat," as it is designated by Neander (4, 239), embraced wider aims; it proposed "a basis for the peace of the whole church;" and took a middle ground, on which "neither party should stigmatize the other as heretical." But here again the angry spirits involuntarily confessed, that peace and truth were not their objects. "Far from closing the schism, the Henoticon made it wider than it was before. Instead of two parties, there were four—the zealots on either side, and the moderates on both, who accepted the compromise. On the death of Zeno, Anastasius, only desirous of preserving peace, and of silencing the heretic-makers on both sides, would not abandon the treaty of coalition. But his moderation made him an object of suspicion, and was even represented as persecution. Serious disturb-

reign, and in that of Anastasius, was signed by all the bishops of the East, under the penalty of degradation and exile, if they rejected or infringed this salutary and fundamental law. The clergy may smile or groan at the presumption of a layman who defines the articles of faith: yet if he stoops to the humiliating task, his mind is less infected by prejudice or interest, and the authority of the magistrate can only be maintained by the concord of the people. It is in ecclesiastical story, that Zeno appears least contemptible; and I am not able to discern any Manichæan or Eutychian guilt in the generous saying of Anastasius, that it was unworthy of an emperor to persecute the worshippers of Christ and the citizens of Rome. The Henoticon was most pleasing to the Egyptians; yet the smallest blemish has not been descried by the jealous and even jaundiced eyes of our orthodox schoolmen; and it accurately represents the Catholic faith of the incarnation, without adopting or disclaiming the peculiar terms or tenets of the hostile sects. A solemn anathema is pronounced against Nestorius and Eutyches; against all heretics by whom Christ is divided, or confounded, or reduced to a phantom. Without defining the number or the article of the word *nature*, the pure system of St. Cyril, the faith of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, is respectfully confirmed; but, instead of bowing at the name of the fourth council, the subject is dismissed by the censure of all contrary doctrines, *if* any such have been taught either elsewhere or at Chalcedon. Under this ambiguous expression, the friends and the enemies of the last synod might unite in a silent embrace. The most reasonable Christians acquiesced in this mode of toleration; but their reason was feeble and inconstant, and their obedience was despised as timid and servile by the vehement spirit of their brethren. On a subject which engrossed the thoughts and discourses of men, it was difficult to preserve an exact neutrality; a book, a sermon, a prayer, rekindled the flame of controversy; and the bonds of communion were alternately broken and renewed by the private animosity of the bishops. The space between Nestorius and Eutyches was filled by a thousand shades of language and

ances, proceeding from this struggle, broke out during his reign in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Constantinople."—ED.]

opinion; the *acephali** of Egypt, and the Roman pontiffs, of equal valour, though of unequal strength, may be found at the two extremities of the theological scale. The acephali, without a king or a bishop, were separated above three hundred years from the patriarchs of Alexandria, who had accepted the communion of Constantinople, without exacting a formal condemnation of the synod of Chalcedon. For accepting the communion of Alexandria, without a formal approbation of the same synod, the patriarchs of Constantinople were anathematized by the popes. Their inflexible despotism involved the most orthodox of the Greek churches in this spiritual contagion, denied or doubted the validity of their sacraments,† and fomented thirty-five years, the schism of the East and West, till they finally abolished the memory of four Byzantine pontiffs, who had dared to oppose the supremacy of St. Peter.‡ Before that period, the precarious truce of Constantinople and Egypt had been violated by the zeal of the rival prelates. Macedonius, who was suspected of the Nestorian heresy, asserted, in disgrace and exile, the synod of Chalcedon; while the successor of Cyril would have purchased its overthrow with a bribe of two thousand pounds of gold.

‡ See Renaudot. (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 123, 131, 145, 195, 247.) They were reconciled by the care of Mark I (A.D. 799—819); he promoted their chiefs to the bishoprics of Athribis and Talba (perhaps Tava, see D'Anville, p. 82), and supplied the sacraments, which had failed for want of an episcopal ordination. [The *Acephaloi*, or "headless sect," were so denominated, because they had no chief or leader. (Neander, 4, 239.) They were the most zealous of the Monophysite party, and demanded an unqualified renunciation of the Chalcedonian council. There was method in their madness, and system in their extravagance; or, it might be supposed, that they had received their name from wanting the seat of reason.—ED.]

† De his quos baptizavit, quos ordinavit Acacius, majorum traditione confectam et veram, præcipue religiosæ solicitudini congruam præbemus sine difficultate medicinam. (Gelasius, in epist. 1, ad Euphemium, Concil. tom. v, 286.) The offer of a medicine proves the disease, and numbers must have perished before the arrival of the Roman physician. Tillemont himself (Mém. Eccles. tom. xvi, p. 372, 642, &c.) is shocked at the proud uncharitable temper of the popes; they are now glad, says he, to invoke St. Flavian of Antioch, St. Elias of Jerusalem, &c. to whom they refused communion whilst upon earth. But cardinal Baronius is firm and hard as the rock of St. Peter.

‡ Their names were erased from the diptych of the church: ex venerabili diptycho, in quo piæ memoriæ transitum ad cœlum haben-

In the fever of the times, the sense, or rather the sound of a syllable, was sufficient to disturb the peace of an empire. The TRISAGION* (thrice holy), "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts!" is supposed, by the Greeks, to be the identical hymn which the angels and cherubim eternally repeat before the throne of God, and which, about the middle of the fifth century, was miraculously revealed to the church of Constantinople. The devotion of Antioch soon added, "who was crucified for us!" and this grateful address, either to Christ alone, or to the whole Trinity, may be justified by the rules of theology, and has been gradually adopted by the Catholics of the East and West. But it had been imagined by a Monophysite bishop:† the gift of an enemy was at first rejected as a dire and dangerous blasphemy, and the rash innovation had nearly cost the emperor Anastasius his throne and his life.‡ The people of Constantinople was devoid of any rational principles of freedom; but they held, as a lawful cause of rebellion, the colour of a livery in the races, or the colour of a mystery in the schools. The Trisagion, with and without this obnoxious addition, was chanted in the cathedral by two adverse choirs, and when their lungs were exhausted, they had recourse to the more solid arguments of sticks and stones: the aggressors were punished by the emperor, and defended by the patriarch;

tium episcoporum vocabula continentur. (Concil. tom. iv, p. 1846.) This ecclesiastical record was therefore equivalent to the book of life.

* Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v, l. 5, c. 2—4, p. 217—225) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 713, &c. 799) represent the history and doctrine of the Trisagion. In the twelve centuries between Isaiah and St. Proclus's boy, who was taken up into heaven before the bishop and people of Constantinople, the song was considerably improved. The boy heard the angels sing "Holy God! Holy Strong! Holy Immortal!"

† Peter Gnapheus, the *fuller* (a trade which he had exercised in his monastery), patriarch of Antioch. His tedious story is discussed in the Annals of Pagi (A.D. 477—490), and a dissertation of M. de Valois at the end of his Evagrius. [The elevation of Peter "the fuller" is wrongly attributed to Zeno by John Malalas and Nicephorus. He was appointed by the usurper Basiliscus in 476, and displaced on the return of Zeno in 477. After a succession of four patriarchs, he was restored in 485, and died in 488. (Clinton, H. R. ii. 553—555.)—ED.]

‡ The troubles under the reign of Anastasius must be gathered from the chronicles of Victor, Marcellinus, and Theophanes. As the last was not published in the time of Baronius, his critic Pagi is more copious, as well as more correct.

and the crown and mitre were staked on the event of this momentous quarrel. The streets were instantly crowded with innumerable swarms of men, women, and children; the legions of monks, in regular array, marched, and shouted, and fought at their head:—"Christians! this is the day of martyrdom; let us not desert our spiritual father; anathema to the Manichæan tyrant; he is unworthy to reign." Such was the Catholic cry; and the galleys of Anastasius lay upon their oars before the palace, till the patriarch had pardoned his penitent, and hushed the waves of the troubled multitude. The triumph of Macedonius was checked by a speedy exile; but the zeal of his flock was again exasperated by the same question,—"Whether one of the Trinity had been crucified?" On this momentous occasion, the blue and green factions of Constantinople suspended their discord, and the civil and military powers were annihilated in their presence. The keys of the city, and the standards of their guards, were deposited in the Forum of Constantine, the principal station and camp of the faithful. Day and night they were incessantly busied either in singing hymns to the honour of their god, or in pillaging and murdering the servants of their prince. The head of his favourite monk, the friend, as they styled him, of the enemy of the holy Trinity, was borne aloft on a spear; and the firebrands, which had been darted against heretical structures, diffused the undistinguishing flames over the most orthodox buildings. The statues of the emperor were broken, and his person was concealed in a suburb, till, at the end of three days, he dared to implore the mercy of his subjects. Without his diadem, and in the posture of a suppliant, Anastasius appeared on the throne of the circus. The Catholics, before his face, rehearsed their genuine Trisagion; they exulted in the offer which he proclaimed by the voice of a herald, of abdicating the purple; they listened to the admonition, that since *all* could not reign, they should previously agree in the choice of a sovereign; and they accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master without hesitation, condemned to the lions. These furious but transient seditions were encouraged by the success of Vitalian, who, with an army of Huns and Bulgarians, for the most part idolaters, declared himself the champion of the Catholic faith. In this pious rebellion he depopulated Thrace, besieged Constanti-

nople, exterminated sixty-five thousand of his fellow-Christians, till he obtained the recall of the bishops, the satisfaction of the pope, and the establishment of the council of Chalcedon, an orthodox treaty, reluctantly signed by the dying Anastasius, and more faithfully performed by the uncle of Justinian. And such was the event of the *first* of the religious wars, which have been waged in the name, and by the disciples, of the God of Peace.*

Justinian has been already seen in the various lights of a prince, a conqueror, and a lawgiver: the theologian† still remains, and it affords an unfavourable prejudice that his theology should form a very prominent feature of his portrait. The sovereign sympathized with his subjects in

* The general history, from the council of Chalcedon to the death of Anastasius, may be found in the Breviary of Liberatus (c. 14—19), the second and third books of Evagrius, the Abstract of the two books of Theodore the Reader, the Acts of the Synods, and the Epistles of the Popes. (Concil. tom. v.) The series is continued with some disorder in the fifteenth and sixteenth tomes of the Mémoires Ecclésiastiques of Tillemont. And here I must take leave for ever of that incomparable guide—whose bigotry is overbalanced by the merits of erudition, diligence, veracity, and scrupulous minuteness. He was prevented by death from completing, as he designed, the sixth century of the church and empire.

† The strain of the Anecdotes of Procopius (c. 11, 13, 18, 27, 28), with the learned remarks of Alemannus, is confirmed, rather than contradicted, by the Acts of the Councils, the fourth book of Evagrius, and the complaints of the African Facundus in his twelfth book—de tribus capitulis, "cum videri doctus appetit importune spontaneis quæstionibus ecclesiam turbat." See Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 3, c. 35. [Of Justinian Neander says (4, 244), "he meant to be considered a zealous champion of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Intermeddling in theological disputes was with him a favourite passion; and he would very willingly have been lawgiver to the church, in the same sense as he was to the State; but the more he acted, or supposed he acted, by his own impulse, the more he served as the tool of others;" and in conclusion Neander adds (p. 288), "Justinian's long reign was the occasion of the greatest mischiefs in the Greek church." Anthimus, dissatisfied with his obscure bishopric of Trebizond, aspired to that of Constantinople, which he obtained, by ingratiating himself with Theodora. Envious rivals accused him of unsound doctrine, and interested in their cause Agapetus, the head of the Western church, then among them as envoy from Theodoric to the Byzantine court. This pontiff alarmed the conscience of Justinian; Anthimus was deposed; intrigues and troubles followed, which extended from Jerusalem on one side, even to Rome on the other; and the tottering empire was still more weakened by these controversial shocks.—ED.]

their superstitious reverence for living and departed saints; his Code, and more especially his Novels, confirm and enlarge the privileges of the clergy; and in every dispute between a monk and a layman, the partial judge was inclined to pronounce that truth, and innocence, and justice, were always on the side of the church. In his public and private devotions, the emperor was assiduous and exemplary; his prayers, vigils, and fasts, displayed the austere penance of a monk; his fancy was amused by the hope, or belief, of personal inspiration; he had secured the patronage of the Virgin and St. Michael the archangel: and his recovery from a dangerous disease was ascribed to the miraculous succour of the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian. The capital and the provinces of the East were decorated with the monuments of his religion;* and, though the far greater part of these costly structures may be attributed to his taste or ostentation, the zeal of the royal architect was probably quickened by a genuine sense of love and gratitude towards his invisible benefactors. Among the titles of imperial greatness, the name of *Pious* was most pleasing to his ear; to promote the temporal and spiritual interests of the church was the serious business of his life; and the duty of father of his country was often sacrificed to that of defender of the faith. The controversies of the times were congenial to his temper and understanding; and the theological professors must inwardly deride the diligence of a stranger, who cultivated their art and neglected his own. "What can ye fear," said a bold conspirator to his associates, "from your bigoted tyrant? Sleepless and unarmed he sits whole nights in his closet, debating with reverend grey-beards, and turning over the pages of ecclesiastical volumes."† The fruits of these lucubrations were displayed in many a conference, where Justinian might shine as the loudest and most subtle of the disputants; in many a sermon, which, under the name of edicts and epistles, proclaimed to the empire the theology of their master.

* Procop. de Edificiis, l. 1, c. 6, 7, &c. passim.

† Ὃς δὴ κάθηται ἀφύλακτος ἐς ἀεὶ ἔπὶ λέσχης τινὸς ἀωρὶ νυκτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἱερέων ἔσχατον γέρουσιν ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια σπουδὴν ἔχων. (Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 3, c. 32.) In the life of St. Eutychius (apud Aleman. ad Procop. Arcan. c. 18), the same character is given with a design to praise Justinian.

While the barbarians invaded the provinces, while the victorious legions marched under the banners of Belisarius and Narses, the successor of Trajan, unknown to the camp, was content to vanquish at the head of a synod. Had he invited to these synods a disinterested and rational spectator, Justinian might have learned that "religious controversy is the offspring of arrogance and folly; *that* true piety is most laudably expressed by silence and submission; *that* man, ignorant of his own nature, should not presume to scrutinize the nature of his God; and *that* it is sufficient for us to know, that power and benevolence are the perfect attributes of the Deity." *

Toleration was not the virtue of the times, and indulgence to rebels has seldom been the virtue of princes. But when the prince descends to the narrow and peevish character of a disputant, he is easily provoked to supply the defect of argument by the plenitude of power, and to chastise without mercy the perverse blindness of those who wilfully shut their eyes against the light of demonstration. The reign of Justinian was a uniform yet various scene of persecution; and he appears to have surpassed his indolent predecessors, both in the contrivance of his laws and the rigour of their execution. The insufficient term of three months was assigned for the conversion or exile of all heretics;† and if he still connived at their precarious stay, they were deprived, under his iron yoke, not only of the benefits of society, but of the common birth-right of men and Christians. At the end of four hundred years, the Montanists of Phrygia‡ still breathed the wild enthusiasm of perfection and prophecy, which they had imbibed from

* For these wise and moderate sentiments, Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. 1, c. 3) is scourged in the preface of Alemannus, who ranks him among the *political* Christians — sed longe verius hæresium omnium sentinas, prorsusque Atheos — abominable Atheists, who preached the imitation of God's mercy to man. (Ad Hist. Arcan. c. 13.)

† This alternative, a precious circumstance, is preserved by John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 63, edit. Venet. 1733), who deserves more credit as he draws towards his end. After numbering the heretics, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. "ne expectent," says Justinian, "ut digni veniâ judicentur: jubemus, enim ut convicti et aperti hæretici justæ et idoneæ animadversioni subjiciantur." Baronius copies and applauds this edict of the Code (A.D. 527, No. 39, 40).

‡ See the character and principles of the Montanists, in Mosheim, de Rebus Christ. ante Constantinum, p. 410—424.

their male and female apostles, the special organs of the Paraclete. On the approach of the Catholic priests and soldiers, they grasped with alacrity the crown of martyrdom; the conventicle and the congregation perished in the flames; but these primitive fanatics were not extinguished three hundred years after the death of their tyrant. Under the protection of the Gothic confederates, the church of the Arians at Constantinople had braved the severity of the laws; their clergy equalled the wealth and magnificence of the senate; and the gold and silver, which were seized by the rapacious hand of Justinian, might perhaps be claimed as the spoils of the provinces and the trophies of the barbarians. A secret remnant of Pagans, who still lurked in the most refined and the most rustic conditions of mankind, excited the indignation of the Christians, who were perhaps unwilling that any strangers should be the witnesses of their intestine quarrels. A bishop was named as the inquisitor of the faith, and his diligence soon discovered in the court and city, the magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and sophists, who still cherished the superstition of the Greeks. They were sternly informed that they must choose without delay between the displeasure of Jupiter or Justinian, and that their aversion to the gospel could no longer be disguised under the scandalous mask of indifference or impiety. The patrician Photius perhaps alone was resolved to live and to die like his ancestors: he enfranchised himself with the stroke of a dagger, and left his tyrant the poor consolation of exposing with ignominy the lifeless corpse of the fugitive. His weaker brethren submitted to their earthly monarch, underwent the ceremony of baptism, and laboured, by their extraordinary zeal, to erase the suspicion, or to expiate the guilt, of idolatry. The native country of Homer, and the theatre of the Trojan war, still retained the last sparks of his mythology: by the care of the same bishop, seventy thousand Pagans were detected and converted in Asia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria; ninety-six churches were built for the new proselytes; and linen vestments, Bibles, and liturgies, and vases of gold and silver, were supplied by the pious munificence of Justinian.* The Jews, who had been gradually stripped

* Theophan. Chron. p. 153. John, the Monophysite bishop of Asia, is a more authentic witness of this transaction, in which he was

of their immunities, were oppressed by a vexatious law which compelled them to observe the festival of Easter the same day on which it was celebrated by the Christians.* And they might complain with the more reason, since the Catholics themselves did not agree with the astronomical calculations of their sovereign: the people of Constantinople delayed the beginning of their Lent a whole week after it had been ordained by authority; and they had the pleasure of fasting seven days, while meat was exposed for sale by command of the emperor. The Samaritans of Palestine† were a motley race, an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the Pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolaters. The abomination of the cross had already been planted on their holy mount of Garizim,‡ but the persecution of Justinian offered only the alternative of baptism or rebellion. They chose the latter: under the standard of a desperate leader, they rose in arms, and retaliated their wrongs on the lives, the property, and the temples of a defenceless people. The Samaritans were finally subdued by the regular forces of the East; twenty thousand were slain, twenty thousand were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the remains of that unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy. It has been computed that one hundred thousand Roman subjects were extirpated in the Samaritan war,§ which converted

himself employed by the emperor. (Asseman. Bib. Orient. tom. ii, p. 85.)

* Compare Procopius (Hist. Arcan. c. 28, and Aleman's Notes) with Theophanes (Chron. p. 190.) The council of Nice has intrusted the patriarch, or rather the astronomers, of Alexandria, with the annual proclamation of Easter; and we still read, or rather we do not read, many of the Paschal epistles of St. Cyril Since the reign of Monophysitism in Egypt, the Catholics were perplexed by such a foolish prejudice as that which so long opposed, among the Protestants, the reception of the Gregorian style.

† For the religion and history of the Samaritans, consult Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, a learned and impartial work.

‡ Sichem, Neapolis, Naplous, the ancient and modern seat of the Samaritans, is situate in a valley between the barren *Ebal*, the mountain of cursing, to the north, and the fruitful *Garizim*, or mountain of blessing, to the south, ten or eleven hours' travel from Jerusalem. See Maundrell, Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 59—63.

§ Procop. Anecdot. c. 11; Theophan. Chron. p. 152; John Malalas Chron. tom. ii, p. 62. I remember an observation, half philosphical, half superstitious, that the province which had been ruined by the bigotry of Justinian, was the same through which the Mahometans

the once fruitful province into a desolate and smoking wilderness. But in the creed of Justinian, the guilt of murder could not be applied to the slaughter of unbelievers; and he piously laboured to establish with fire and sword the unity of the Christian faith. *

With these sentiments, it was incumbent on him, at least, to be always in the right. In the first years of his administration, he signalized his zeal as the disciple and patron of orthodoxy: the reconciliation of the Greeks and Latins established the *tome* of St. Leo as the creed of the emperor and the empire; the Nestorians and Eutychians were exposed, on either side, to the double edge of persecution; and the four synods of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and *Chalcedon*, were ratified by the code of a Catholic lawgiver.† But while Justinian strove to maintain the uniformity of faith and worship, his wife Theodora, whose vices were not incompatible with devotion, had listened to the Monophysite teachers; and the open or clandestine enemies of the church revived and multiplied at the smile of their gracious patroness. The capital, the palace, the nuptial bed, were torn by spiritual discord: yet so doubtful was the sincerity of the royal consorts, that their seeming disagreement was imputed by many to a secret and mischievous confederacy against the religion and happiness of their people.‡ The famous dispute of the THREE CHAPTERS,§ which has filled more

penetrated into the empire.

* The expression of Procopius is remarkable: *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐδόκει φόνος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, ἤν γε μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης οἱ τελευτῶντες τύχοιεν ὄντες.* Anecdot. c. 13.

† See the Chronicle of Victor, p. 328, and the original evidence of the laws of Justinian. During the first years of his reign, Baronius himself is in extreme good humour with the emperor, who courted the popes, till he got them into his power.

‡ Procopius, Anecdot. c. 13; Evagrius, l. 4, c. 10. If the ecclesiastical never read the secret historian, their common suspicion proves at least the general hatred.

§ On the subject of the three chapters, the original acts of the fifth general council of Constantinople supply much useless though authentic knowledge. (Concil. tom. vi, p. 1—194.) The Greek Evagrius is less copious and correct (l. 4, c. 38) than the three zealous Africans, Facundus (in his twelve books de tribus capitulis, which are most correctly published by Sirmond), Liberatus (in his Breviarum, c. 22—24), and Victor Tununensis in his Chronicle (in tom. i, Antiq. Lect. Canisii, p. 330—334). The Liber Pontificalis, or Anastasius (in Vigilio Pelagio, &c.) is original Italian evidence. The modern reader will derive some information from Dupin (Bibliot. Eccles. tom. 5. p. 189—207), and Basnage, (Hist.

volumes than it deserves lines, is deeply marked with this subtle and disingenuous spirit. It was now three hundred years since the body of Origen* had been eaten by the worms: his soul, of which he held the pre-existence, was in the hands of its Creator, but his writings were eagerly perused by the monks of Palestine. In these writings, the piercing eye of Justinian descried more than ten metaphysical errors; and the primitive doctor, in the company of Pythagoras and Plato, was devoted by the clergy to the *eternity* of hell-fire, which he had presumed to deny. Under the cover of this precedent, a treacherous blow was aimed at the council of Chalcedon. The fathers had listened without impatience to the praise of Theodore of Mopsuestia:† and their justice or indulgence had restored both Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa, to the communion of the church. But the characters of these Oriental bishops were tainted with the reproach of heresy; the first had been the master, the two others were the friends of Nestorius: their most suspicious passages were accused under the title of the *three chapters;* and the condemnation of their memory must involve the honour of a synod, whose name was pronounced with sincere or affected reverence by the Catholic world. If these bishops, whether innocent or guilty, were annihilated in the sleep of death, they would not probably be awakened by the clamour which after a hundred years was raised over their grave. If they were already in the fangs of the demon, their torments could neither be aggravated nor assuaged by

de l'Eglise, tom. i, p. 519—541); yet the latter is too firmly resolved to depreciate the authority and character of the popes. ["The Three Chapters," is an incorrect translation of *περὶ τριῶν κεφαλαίων—de tribus capitulis,* which denoted, not chapters, but the three heads or points of dispute which had so long agitated the church (Neander, 4, 254). This edict was designed by Justinian, like the Henoticon of Zeno, to compose differences, but was equally ineffectual.—ED.]

* Origen had indeed too great a propensity to imitate the *πλάνη* and *δυσσέβεια* of the old philosphers. (Justinian, ad Mennam, in Concil. tom. vi, p. 356.) His moderate opinions were too repugnant to the zeal of the church, and he was found guilty of the heresy of reason.

† Basnage (Prefat. p. 11—14, ad tom. i, Antiq. Lect. Canis.) has fairly weighed the guilt and innocence of Theodore of Mopsuestia. If he composed ten thousand volumes, as many errors would be a charitable allowance. In all the subsequent catalogues of heresiarchs, he alone, without his two brethren, is included: and it is the duty of Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv, p. 203—207) to justify the sentence.

human industry. If in the company of saints and angels they enjoyed the rewards of piety, they must have smiled at the idle fury of the theological insects who still crawled on the surface of the earth. The foremost of these insects, the emperor of the Romans, darted his sting, and distilled his venom, perhaps without discerning the true motives of Theodora and her ecclesiastical faction. The victims were no longer subject to his power, and the vehement style of his edicts could only proclaim their damnation, and invite the clergy of the East to join in a full chorus of curses and anathemas. The East, with some hesitation, consented to the voice of her sovereign: the fifth general council, of three patriarchs and one hundred and sixty-five bishops, was held at Constantinople; and the authors, as well as the defenders, of the three chapters were separated from the communion of the saints, and solemnly delivered to the prince of darkness. But the Latin churches were more jealous of the honour of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon; and if they had fought as they usually did under the standard of Rome, they might have prevailed in the cause of reason and humanity. But their chief was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy; the throne of St. Peter, which had been disgraced by the simony, was betrayed by the cowardice, of Vigilius, who yielded, after a long and inconsistent struggle, to the despotism of Justinian and the sophistry of the Greeks. His apostacy provoked the indignation of the Latins, and no more than two bishops could be found who would impose their hands on his deacon and successor Pelagius. Yet the perseverance of the popes insensibly transferred to their adversaries the appellation of schismatics; the Illyrian, African, and Italian churches, were oppressed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, not without some effort of military force;* the distant barbarians transcribed the creed of the Vatican, and in the period of a century, the schism of the three chapters expired in an obscure angle of the Venetian

* See the complaints of Liberatus and Victor, and the exhortations of Pope Pelagius to the conqueror and exarch of Italy. Schisma per potestates publicas opprimatur, &c. (Concil. tom. vi, p. 467, &c.). An army was detained to suppress the sedition of an Illyrian city. See Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. 4, c. 25): ὥνπερ ἕνεκα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διαμάχονται. He seems to promise an ecclesiastical history. It would have been curious and impartial.

province.* But the religious discontent of the Italians had already promoted the conquests of the Lombards, and the Romans themselves were accustomed to suspect the faith, and to detest the government, of their Byzantine tyrant.

Justinian was neither steady nor consistent in the nice process of fixing his volatile opinions and those of his subjects. In his youth he was offended by the slightest deviation from the orthodox line; in his old age he transgressed the measure of temperate heresy; and the Jacobites, not less than the Catholics, were scandalized by his declaration that the body of Christ was incorruptible, and that his manhood was never subject to any wants and infirmities, the inheritance of our mortal flesh. This *phantastic* opinion was announced in the last edicts of Justinian; and at the moment of his seasonable departure, the clergy had refused to subscribe, the prince was prepared to persecute, and the people were resolved to suffer or resist. A bishop of Treves, secure beyond the limits of his power, addressed the monarch of the East in the language of authority and affection. "Most gracious Justinian, remember your baptism and your creed! Let not your grey hairs be defiled with heresy. Recall your fathers from exile, and your followers from perdition. You cannot be ignorant, that Italy and Gaul, Spain and Africa, already deplore your fall, and anathematize your name. Unless, without delay, you destroy what you have taught; unless you exclaim with a loud voice, I have erred, I have sinned, anathema to Nestorius, anathema to Eutyches, you deliver your soul to the same flames in which *they* will eternally burn." He died and made no sign.† His death restored in some degree the peace of the church, and the reigns of his four successors, Justin, Tiberius, Maurice, and Phocas, are distinguished by a rare, though fortunate, vacancy, in the ecclesiastical history of the East.‡

* The bishops of the patriarchate of Aquileia were reconciled by Pope Honorius, A.D. 638 (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v, p. 376); but they again relapsed, and the schism was not finally extinguished till 698. Fourteen years before, the church of Spain had overlooked the fifth general council with contemptuous silence. (13 Concil. Toletan. in Concil. tom. vii, p. 487—494).

† Nicetius, bishop of Treves (Concil. tom. vi, p. 511—513); he himself, like most of the Gallican prelates (Gregor. Epist. l. 7, ep. 5, in Concil. tom. vi, p. 1007), was separated from the communion of the four patriarchs by his refusal to condemn the three chapters. Baronius almost pronounces the damnation of Justinian (A.D. 565, No. 6).

‡ After relating the

The faculties of sense and reason are least capable of acting on themselves; the eye is most inaccessible to the sight, the soul to the thought; yet we think, and even feel, that *one will*, a sole principle of action, is essential to a rational and conscious being. When Heraclius returned from the Persian war, the orthodox hero consulted his bishops, whether the Christ whom he adored, of one person, but of two natures, was actuated by a single or a double will. They replied in the singular, and the emperor was encouraged to hope that the Jacobites of Egypt and Syria might be reconciled by the profession of a doctrine, most certainly harmless, and most probably true, since it was taught even by the Nestorians themselves.* The experiment was tried without effect, and the timid or vehement Catholics condemned even the semblance of a retreat in the presence of a subtle and audacious enemy. The orthodox (the prevailing) party devised new modes of speech, and argument, and interpretation: to either nature of Christ, they speciously applied a proper and distinct energy; but the difference was no longer visible when they allowed that the human and the divine will were invariably the same.† The disease was attended with the customary symptoms; but the Greek clergy, as if satiated with the endless controversy of the incarnation, instilled a healing counsel into the ear of the prince and people. They declared themselves MONOTHELITES (assertors of the unity of will), but they treated the words as new, the questions as superfluous: and recom-

last heresy of Justinian (l. 4, c. 39—41), and the edict of his successor (l. 5, c. 3,) the remainder of the history of Evagrius is filled with civil, instead of ecclesiastical, events.

* This extraordinary, and perhaps inconsistent, doctrine of the Nestorians, had been observed by La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i, p. 19, 20), and is more fully exposed by Abulpharagius (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii, p. 292, Hist. Dynast. p. 91, vers. Latin. Pocock.), and Asseman himself (tom. iv, p. 218). They seem ignorant that they might allege the positive authority of the ecthesis. Ὁ μίαρος Νεστόριος καίπερ διαίρων τὴν θείαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν, καὶ δύο εἰσάγων υἱούς, (the common reproach of the Monophysites,) δύο θελήματα τούτων εἶπειν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε, τουνάντιον δὲ ταῦτο Βουλίαν τῶν δύο πρόσωπων ἐδόξασε. (Concil. tom. vii, p. 205).

† See the orthodox faith in Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. tom. v, l. 9, c. 6—10, p. 433—447); all the depths of this controversy are sounded in the Greek dialogue between Maximus and Pyrrhus, (ad calcem tom. viii, Annal. Baron. p. 755—794,) which relates a real conference, and produced as short-

mended a religious silence as the most agreeable to the prudence and charity of the gospel.

This law of silence was successively imposed by the *ecthesis* or exposition of Heraclius, and the *type* or model of his grandson Constans;* and the Imperial edicts were subscribed with alacrity or reluctance by the four patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. But the bishop and monks of Jerusalem sounded the alarm: in the language, or even in the silence, of the Greeks, the Latin churches detected a latent heresy; and the obedience of pope Honorius to the commands of his sovereign was retracted and censured by the bolder ignorance of his successors. They condemned the execrable and abominable heresy of the Monothelites, who revived the errors of Manes, Apollinaris, Eutyches, &c.; they signed the sentence of excommunication on the tomb of St. Peter; the ink was mingled with the sacramental wine, the blood of Christ; and no ceremony was omitted that could fill the superstitious mind with horror and affright. As the representative of the Western church, pope Martin and his Lateran synod anathematized the perfidious and guilty silence of the Greeks; one hundred and five bishops of Italy, for the most part the subjects of Constans, presumed to reprobate his wicked *type* and the impious *ecthesis* of his grandfather, and to confound the authors and their adherents with the twenty-one notorious heretics, the apostates from the church, and the organs of the devil. Such an insult under the tamest reign could not pass with impunity. Pope Martin ended his days on the inhospitable shore of the Tauric Chersonesus, and his oracle, the abbot Maximus, was inhumanly chastised by the amputation of his tongue and his right hand.† But the same invincible spirit survived in their successors, and the triumph of the Latins avenged their recent defeat, and obli-

lived a conversion.

* Impiissimam ecthesim sclerosum typum (Concil. tom. vii, p. 366,) diabolicæ operationis genimina, (fors. germina, or else the Greek γεννήματα in the original. Concil. p. 363, 364,) are the expressions of the eighteenth anathema. The epistle of Pope Martin to Amandus, a Gallican bishop, stigmatizes the Monothelites and their heresy, with equal virulence (p. 392).

† The sufferings of Martin and Maximus are described with pathetic simplicity in their original letters and acts (Concil. tom. vii, p. 63—78. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 656, No. 2, et annos subsequent.). Yet the chastisement of their disobedience, ἐξόρια and σώματος αἴκισμος, had

terated the disgrace of the three chapters. The synods of Rome were confirmed by the sixth general council of Constantinople, in the palace and the presence of a new Constantine, a descendant of Heraclius. The royal convert converted the Byzantine pontiff and a majority of the bishops;* the dissenters, with their chief, Macarius of Antioch, were condemned to the spiritual and temporal pains of heresy; the East condescended to accept the lessons of the West; and the creed was finally settled, which teaches the Catholics of every age that two wills or energies are harmonized in the person of Christ. The majesty of the pope and the Roman synod was represented by two priests, one deacon, and three bishops; but these obscure Latins had neither arms to compel, nor treasures to bribe, nor language to persuade; and I am ignorant by what arts they could determine the lofty emperor of the Greeks to abjure the catechism of his infancy, and to persecute the religion of his fathers. Perhaps the monks and people of Constantinople† were favourable to the Lateran creed, which is indeed the least reasonable of the two: and the suspicion is countenanced by the unnatural moderation of the Greek clergy, who appear in this quarrel to be conscious of their weakness. While the synod debated, a fanatic proposed a more summary decision, by raising a dead man to life: the prelates assisted at the trial, but the acknowledged failure may serve to indicate, that the passions and prejudices of the multitude were not enlisted on the side of the Monothelites. In the next generation, when the son of Constantine was deposed and slain by the disciple of Macarius, they tasted the feast of revenge and dominion: the image or monument of the sixth council was defaced, and the original acts were committed to the flames. But in the second year, their

been previously announced in the type of Constans. (Concil tom. vii, p. 240.)

* Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 368,) most erroneously supposes that the one hundred and twenty-four bishops of the Roman synod transported themselves to Constantinople; and, by adding them to the one hundred and sixty-eight Greeks, thus composes the sixth council of two hundred and ninety-two fathers.

† The Monothelite Constans was hated by all *διὰ τοὶ ταῦτα* (says Theophanes, Chron. p. 292,) *ἐμισηθη σφοδρῶς παρα πάντων.* When the Monothelite monk failed in this miracle, the people shouted—*ὁ λαὸς ἀνεβόησε.* (Concil. tom. vii, p. 1032.) But this was a natural and transient emotion; and I much fear that the latter is an anticipation of orthodoxy in the good people of Constantinople.

patron was cast headlong from the throne, the bishops of the East were released from their occasional conformity, the Roman faith was more firmly replanted by the orthodox successors of Bardanes, and the fine problems of the incarnation were forgotten in the more popular and visible quarrel of the worship of images.*

Before the end of the seventh century, the creed of the incarnation, which had been defined at Rome and Constantinople, was uniformly preached in the remote islands of Britain and Ireland,† the same ideas were entertained, or rather the same words were repeated, by all the Christians whose liturgy was performed in the Greek or the Latin tongue. Their numbers, and visible splendour, bestowed an imperfect claim to the appellation of Catholics: but in the East, they were marked with the less honourable name

* The history of Monothelitism may be found in the Acts of the Synods of Rome (tom. vii, p. 77—395. 601—608), and Constantinople (p. 609—1429). Baronius extracted some original documents from the Vatican library; and his chronology is rectified by the diligence of Pagi. Even Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclés. tom. vi, p. 57—71,) and Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i, p. 541—555,) afford a tolerable abridgment.

† In the Lateran synod of 679, Wilfrid, an Anglo-Saxon bishop, subscribed pro omni aquilonari parte Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, quæ ab Anglorum et Brittonum, necnon Scotorum et Pictorum, gentibus colebantur. (Eddius, in Vit. St. Wilfrid. c. 31, apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iii, p. 88.) Theodore (magnæ insulæ Britanniæ archiepiscopus et philosophus) was long expected at Rome (Concil. tom. vii, p. 714); but he contented himself with holding (A.D. 680) his provincial synod of Hatfield, in which he received the decrees of Pope Martin and the first Lateran council against the Monothelites. (Concil. tom. vii, p. 597, &c.) Theodore, a monk of Tarsus in Cilicia, had been named to the primacy of Britain by Pope Vitalian (A.D. 668, see Baronius and Pagi), whose esteem for his learning and piety was tainted by some distrust of his national character—ne quid contrarium veritati fidei, Græcorum more, in ecclesiam cui præesset introduceret. The Cilician was sent from Rome to Canterbury under the tuition of an African guide. (Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Anglorum, l. 4, c. 1.) He adhered to the Roman doctrine; and the same creed of the incarnation has been uniformly transmitted from Theodore to the modern primates, whose sound understanding is perhaps seldom engaged with that abstruse mystery. [Wighard, who had been appointed to the see of Canterbury by Egbert, king of Kent, died at Rome, whither he had gone for ordination. Vitalian selected in his place Hadrian, abbot of the Niridian monastery near Naples, who declined the dignity, and recommended the monk Theodore. This choice the hope confirmed, on condition that Hadrian should accompany his friend. On their arrival, the new archbishop gave to his associate

of *Melchites* or royalists;* of men, whose faith, instead of resting on the basis of Scripture, reason, or tradition, had been established, and was still maintained, by the arbitrary power of a temporal monarch. Their adversaries might allege the words of the fathers of Constantinople, who profess themselves the slaves of the king; and they might relate, with malicious joy, how the decrees of Chalcedon had been inspired and reformed by the emperor Marcian and his virgin bride. The prevailing faction will naturally inculcate the duty of submission, nor is it less natural that dissenters should feel and assert the principles of freedom. Under the rod of persecution, the Nestorians and Monophysites degenerated into rebels and fugitives; and the most ancient and useful allies of Rome were taught to consider the emperor not as the chief, but as the enemy of the Christians. Language, the leading principle which unites or separates the tribes of mankind, soon discriminated the sectaries of the East, by a peculiar and perpetual badge, which abolished the means of intercourse and the hope of reconciliation. The long dominion of the Greeks, their colonies, and, above all, their eloquence, had propagated a language, doubtless the most perfect that has been contrived by the art of man. Yet the body of the people, both in Syria and Egypt, still persevered in the use of their national idioms; with this difference, however, that the Coptic was confined to the rude and illiterate peasants of the Nile, while the Syriac,† from the mountains of Assyria to the Red sea, was

the abbey of St. Peter (afterwards St. Augustine's); they not only acted together in cordial harmony, but diffused the same spirit around them. Bede says, that Theodore was the first "whom all the English church obeyed." (Ecc. Hist. p. 170–172, edit. Bohn.)—ED.]

* This name, unknown till the tenth century, appears to be of Syriac origin. It was invented by the Jacobites, and eagerly adopted by the Nestorians and Mahometans; but it was accepted without shame by the Catholics, and is frequently used in the Annals of Eutychius. (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii, p. 507, &c.; tom. iii, p. 355. Renaudot. Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 119.) Ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ Βασιλέως, was the acclamation of the fathers of Constantinople. (Concil. tom. vii, p. 765.)

† The Syriac, which the natives revere as the primitive language, was divided into three dialects.—1. The Aramæan, as it was refined at Edessa and the cities of Mesopotamia. 2. The Palestine, which was used in Jerusalem, Damascus, and the rest of Syria. 3. The Nabathæan, the rustic idiom of the mountains of Assyria and the villages of

adapted to the higher topics of poetry and argument. Armenia and Abyssinia were infected by the speech or learning of the Greeks; and their Barbaric tongues, which have been revived in the studies of modern Europe, were unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The Syriac and the Coptic, the Armenian and the Æthiopic, are consecrated in the service of their respective churches; and their theology is enriched by domestic versions,* both of the Scriptures and of the most popular fathers. After a period of thirteen hundred and sixty years, the spark of controversy, first kindled by a sermon of Nestorius, still burns in the bosom of the East, and the hostile communions still maintain the faith and discipline of their founders. In the most abject state of ignorance, poverty, and servitude, the Nestorians and Monophysites reject the spiritual supremacy of Rome, and cherish the toleration of their Turkish masters, which allows them to anathematize, on one hand, St. Cyril and the synod of Ephesus; on the other, pope Leo and the council of Chalcedon. The weight which they cast into the downfal of the Eastern empire demands our notice; and the reader may be amused with the various prospects of, I. The Nestorians. II. The Jacobites.† III. The Maronites. IV. The Armenians. V. The Copts; and, VI. The Abyssinians. To the three former, the Syriac is common; but of the latter, each is discriminated by the use of a national idiom. Yet the modern natives of Armenia and Abyssinia would be incapable of conversing with their ancestors; and

Irak. (Gregor. Abulpharag. Hist. Dynast. p. 11.) On the Syriac, see Ebed-Jesu, (Asseman. tom. iii, p. 326, &c.,) whose prejudice alone could prefer it to the Arabic.

* I shall not enrich my ignorance with the spoils of Simon, Walton, Mill, Wetstein, Assemannus, Ludolphus, La Croze, whom I have consulted with some care. It appears, 1. That, of all the versions which are celebrated by the fathers, it is doubtful whether any are now extant in their pristine integrity. 2. That the Syriac has the best claim; and that the consent of the Oriental sects is a proof that is more ancient than their schism.

† On the account of the Monophysites and Nestorians, I am deeply indebted to the Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana of Joseph Simon Assemannus. That learned Maronite was dispatched in the year 1715, by Pope Clement XI. to visit the monasteries of Egypt and Syria in search of MSS. His four folio volumes, published at Rome, 1719—1728, contain a part only, though perhaps the most valuable, of his extensive project. As a native and as a scholar, he possessed the Syriac literature; and, though a dependant of Rome, he wishes to be

the Christians of Egypt and Syria, who reject the religion, have adopted the language, of the Arabians. The lapse of time has seconded the sacerdotal arts; and in the East, as well as in the West, the Deity is addressed in an obsolete tongue unknown to the majority of the congregation.

I. Both in his native and his episcopal province, the heresy of the unfortunate Nestorius was speedily obliterated. The Oriental bishops, who at Ephesus had resisted to his face the arrogance of Cyril, were mollified by his tardy concessions. The same prelates, or their successors, subscribed, not without a murmur, the decrees of Chalcedon; the power of the Monophysites reconciled them with the Catholics in the conformity of passion, of interest, and insensibly of belief; and their last reluctant sigh was breathed in the defence of the three chapters. Their dissenting brethren, less moderate or more sincere, were crushed by the penal laws; and, as early as the reign of Justinian, it became difficult to find a church of Nestorians within the limits of the Roman empire. Beyond those limits they had discovered a new world, in which they might hope for liberty, and aspire to conquest. In Persia, notwithstanding the resistance of the Magi, Christianity had struck a deep root, and the nations of the east reposed under its salutary shade. The *Catholic*, or primate, resided in the capital: in *his* synods, and in *their* dioceses, his metropolitans, bishops, and clergy, represented the pomp and order of a regular hierarchy: they rejoiced in the increase of proselytes, who were converted from the Zend-avesta to the gospel, from the secular to the monastic life; and their zeal was stimulated by the presence of an artful and formidable enemy. The Persian church had been founded by the missionaries of Syria; and their language, discipline, and doctrine, were closely interwoven with its original frame. The *Catholics* were elected and ordained by their own suffragans; but their filial dependance on the patriarchs of Antioch is attested by the canons of the Oriental church.* In the Persian school of

moderate and candid.

* See the Arabic canons of Nice in the translation of Abraham Ecchelensis, No. 37—40. Concil. tom. ii, p. 335, 336, edit. Venet. These vulgar titles, Nicene and Arabic, are both apocryphal. The council of Nice enacted no more than twenty canons (Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. lib. 1, c. 8); and the remainder,

Edessa,* the rising generations of the faithful imbibed their theological idiom; they studied in the Syriac version the ten thousand volumes of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and they revered the apostolic faith and holy martyrdom of his disciple Nestorius, whose person and language were equally unknown to the nations beyond the Tigris. The first indelible lesson of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, taught them to execrate the *Egyptians*, who, in the synod of Ephesus, had impiously confounded the two natures of Christ. The flight of the masters and scholars, who were twice expelled from the Athens of Syria, dispersed a crowd of missionaries, inflamed by the double zeal of religion and revenge. And the rigid unity of the Monophysites, who, under the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, had invaded the thrones of the East, provoked their antagonists, in a land of freedom, to avow a moral, rather than a physical, union of the two persons of Christ. Since the first preaching of the gospel, the Sassanian kings beheld, with an eye of suspicion, a race of aliens and apostates, who had embraced the religion, and who might favour the cause, of the hereditary foes of their country. The royal edicts had often prohibited their dangerous correspondence with the Syrian clergy; the progress of the schism was grateful to the jealous pride of Perozes; and he listened to the eloquence of an artful prelate, who painted Nestorius as the friend of Persia, and urged him to secure the fidelity of his Christian subjects, by granting a just preference to the victims and enemies of the Roman tyrant. The Nestorians composed a large majority of the clergy and people: they were encouraged by the smile, and armed with the sword, of despotism; yet many of their weaker brethren were startled at the thought of breaking loose from the communion of the Christian

seventy or eighty, were collected from the synods of the Greek church. The Syriac edition of Maruthas is no longer extant (Asseman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i. p. 195; tom. iii. p. 74), and the Arabic version is marked with many recent interpolations. Yet this code contains many curious relics of ecclesiastical discipline; and since it is equally revered by all the eastern communions, it was probably finished before the schism of the Nestorians and Jacobites. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xi. p. 363—367.)

* Theodore the reader (l. 2, c. 5. 49, ad calcem Hist. Eccles.) has noticed this Persian school of Edessa. Its ancient splendour, and the two eras of its downfal (A.D. 431 and 489,) are clearly discussed by Assemannus (Biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. p. 402; iii. p. 376. 378; iv. p. 70. 924).

world, and the blood of seven thousand seven hundred Monophysites, or Catholics, confirmed the uniformity of faith and discipline in the churches of Persia.* Their ecclesiastical institutions are distinguished by a liberal principle of reason, or at least of policy: the austerity of the cloister was relaxed and gradually forgotten; houses of charity were endowed for the education of orphans and foundlings; the law of celibacy, so forcibly recommended to the Greeks and Latins, was disregarded by the Persian clergy; and the number of the elect was multiplied by the public and reiterated nuptials of the priests, the bishops, and even the patriarch himself. To this standard of natural and religious freedom, myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the Eastern empire; the narrow bigotry of Justinian was punished by the emigration of his most industrious subjects; they transported into Persia the arts both of peace and war; and those who deserved the favour, were promoted in the service, of a discerning monarch. The arms of Nushirvan, and his fiercer grandson, were assisted with advice, and money, and troops, by the desperate sectaries who still lurked in their native cities of the East; their zeal was rewarded with the gift of the Catholic churches; but when those cities and churches were recovered by Heraclius, their open profession of treason and heresy compelled them to seek a refuge in the realm of their foreign ally. But the seeming tranquillity of the Nestorians was often endangered, and sometimes overthrown. They were involved in the common evils of Oriental despotism: their enmity to Rome could not always atone for their attachment to the gospel: and a colony of three hundred thousand Jacobites, the captives of Apamea and Antioch, was permitted to erect a hostile altar in the face of the *Catholic*, and in the sunshine of the court. In his last treaty, Justinian introduced some conditions which tended to enlarge and fortify the toleration of Christianity in Persia. The emperor, ignorant of the rights of con-

* A dissertation on the state of the Nestorians has swelled in the hands of Assemannus to a folio volume of nine hundred and fifty pages, and his learned researches are digested in the most lucid order. Besides this fourth volume of the Bibliotheca Orientalis, the extracts in the three preceding tomes (tom. i. p. 203; ii. p. 321—463; iii. 64—70. 378—395, &c. 403—408. 580—589) may be usefully consulted.

science, was incapable of pity or esteem for the heretics who denied the authority of the holy synods: but he flattered himself that they would gradually perceive the temporal benefits of union with the empire and the church of Rome; and if he failed in exciting their gratitude, he might hope to provoke the jealousy of their sovereign. In a later age, the Lutherans have been burnt at Paris, and protected in Germany, by the superstition and policy of the most Christian king.

The desire of gaining souls for God, and subjects for the church, has excited in every age the diligence of the Christian priests. From the conquest of Persia they carried their spiritual arms to the north, the east, and the south; and the simplicity of the gospel was fashioned and painted with the colours of the Syriac theology. In the sixth century, according to the report of a Nestorian traveller,* Christianity was successfully preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites: the Barbaric churches, from the Gulf of Persia to the Caspian sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The pepper coast of Malabar, and the isles of the ocean, Socotora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians, and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions derived their ordination from the Catholic of Babylon. In a subsequent age, the zeal of the Nestorians overleaped the limits which had confined the ambition

* See the Topographia Christiana of Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian navigator, l. 3, p. 178, 179; l. 11, p. 337. The entire work, of which some curious extracts may be found in Photius (cod. 36, p. 9, 10, edit. Hoeschel), Thevenot (in the first part of his Relations des Voyages, &c.), and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. 3, c. 25, tom. ii. p. 603—617), has been published by father Montfaucon at Paris, 1707, in the Nova Collectio Patrum (tom. ii. p. 113—346). It was the design of the author to confute the impious heresy of those who maintain that the earth is a globe, and not a flat oblong table, as it is represented in the Scriptures (l. 2, p. 138). But the nonsense of the monk is mingled with the practical knowledge of the traveller, who performed his voyage A.D. 522, and published his book at Alexandria, A.D. 547 (l. 2, p. 140, 141. Montfaucon, Præfat. c. 2). The Nestorianism of Cosmas, unknown to his learned editor, was detected by La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 40—55), and is confirmed by Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 605, 606).

and curiosity both of the Greeks and Persians. The missionaries of Balch and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga. They exposed a metaphysical creed to those illiterate shepherds: to those sanguinary warriors, they recommended humanity and repose. Yet a khan, whose power they vainly magnified, is said to have received at their hands the rites of baptism, and even of ordination; and the fame of *Prester* or *Presbyter* John* has long amused the credulity of Europe. The royal convert was indulged in the use of a portable altar; but he dispatched an embassy to the patriarch, to inquire how, in the season of Lent, he should abstain from animal food, and how he might celebrate the eucharist in a desert that produced neither corn nor wine. In their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered China by the port of Canton and the northern residence of Sigan. Unlike the senators of Rome, who assumed with a smile the characters of priests and augurs, the mandarins, who affect in public the reason of philosophers, are devoted in private to every mode of popular superstition. They cherished and they confounded the gods of Palestine and of India; but the propagation of Christianity awakened the jealousy of the State, and, after a short vicissitude of favour and persecution, the foreign sect expired in ignorance and oblivion.† Under the reign of the Caliphs, the Nestorian church was diffused from

* In its long progress to Mosul, Jerusalem, Rome, &c. the story of Prester John evaporated in a monstrous fable, of which some features have been borrowed from the Lama of Thibet (Hist. Généalogique des Tartares, p. 2. p. 42. Hist. de Gengiscan, p. 31, &c.), and were ignorantly transferred by the Portuguese to the emperor of Abyssinia. (Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. Comment. l. 2, c. 1.) Yet it is probable that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Nestorian Christianity was professed in the horde of the Keraites (D'Herbelot, p. 256. 915. 959; Assemannus, tom. iv. p. 468—504). [For Prester John, see Marco Polo's Travels, p. 121, edit. Bohn, and our English travellers Porter and Layard, as referred to in the next page.—ED.]

† The Christianity of China, between the seventh and the thirteenth century, is invincibly proved by the consent of Chinese, Arabian, Syriac, and Latin evidence. (Assemannus, Biblioth. Orient. tom. iv. p. 502—552. Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript. tom. xxx. p. 802—819.) The inscription of Siganfu, which describes the fortunes of the Nestorian church from the first mission, A.D. 636, to the current year 781, is accused of forgery by La Croze, Voltaire, &c. who become the dupes of their own cunning, while they are afraid of a Jesuitical fraud.

China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions.* Twenty-five metropolitans or archbishops composed their hierarchy; but several of these were dispensed, by the distance and danger of the way, from the duty of personal attendance, on the easy condition that every six years they should testify their faith and obedience to the *Catholic* or patriarch of Babylon, a vague appellation, which has been successively applied to the royal seats of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad. These remote branches are long since withered, and the old patriarchal trunk † is now divided by the *Elijahs* of Mosul, the representatives, almost in lineal descent, of the genuine and primitive succession; the *Josephs* of Amida, who are reconciled to the church of Rome;‡ and the *Simeons* of Van or Ormia, whose revolt at the head of forty thousand families was promoted in the sixteenth century by the Sophis of Persia. The number of three hundred thousand is allowed for the whole body of the Nestorians, who, under the name of Chaldeans or Assyrians, are confounded with the most learned or the most powerful nation of eastern antiquity.

According to the legend of antiquity, the gospel was preached in India by St. Thomas.§ At the end of the ninth

* Jacobitæ et Nestorianæ plures quam Græci et Latini. Jacob. a Vitriaco, Hist. Hierosol. l. 2, c. 76, p. 1093, in the Gesta Dei per Francos. The numbers are given by Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 172. † The division of the patriarchate may be traced in the Bibliotheca Orient. of Assemannus, tom. i. p. 523—549; tom. ii. p. 457, &c.; tom. iii. p. 603, p. 621—623; tom. iv. p. 164—169, p. 423, p. 622—629, &c. ‡ The pompous language of Rome, on the submission of a Nestorian patriarch, is elegantly represented in the seventh book of Fra Paolo, Babylon, Nineveh, Arbela, and the trophies of Alexander, Tauris, and Ecbatana, the Tigris and Indus. [Most eastern travellers tell us of the Nestorians and Nestorian-Chaldæans in Kurdistan, whom the Turks still call Nasara. See Porter's Travels, ii. 578, and Layard's Nineveh, i. 233—261; also, for a second visit to the same region, see his Nineveh and Babylon, p. 421—435. Van and Ormia (Ooroomia) are two distinct places. See Porter, ii. 591; Layard, 390. 406; and p. 184 of this volume.—Ed.]

§ The Indian missionary St. Thomas, an apostle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant (La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 57—70), was famous, however, as early as the time of Jerome (ad Marcellam, epist. 148). Marco Polo was informed on the spot that he suffered martyrdom in the city of Malabar, or Meliapour, a league only from Madras (D'Anville, Eclaircissemens sur l'Inde, p. 125), where the Portuguese founded an episcopal church under the

century, his shrine, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Madras, was devoutly visited by the ambassadors of Alfred, and their return with a cargo of pearls and spices rewarded the zeal of the English monarch, who entertained the largest projects of trade and discovery.* When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages on the coast of Malabar, and the difference of their character and colour attested the mixture of a foreign race. In arms, in arts, and possibly in virtue, they excelled the natives of Hindostan; the husbandmen cultivated the palm-tree, the merchants were enriched by the pepper-trade, the soldiers preceded the *nairs* or nobles of Malabar, and their hereditary privileges were respected by the gratitude or the fear of the king of Cochin and the Zamorin himself. They acknowledged a Gentoo sovereign; but they were governed, even in temporal concerns, by the bishop of Angamala. He still asserted his ancient title of Metropolitan of India, but his real jurisdiction was exercised in fourteen hundred churches, and he was intrusted with the care of two hundred thousand souls. Their religion would have rendered them the firmest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese; but the inquisitors soon discerned in the Christians of St. Thomas the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism. Instead of owning themselves the subjects of the Roman pontiff, the spiritual and temporal monarch of the globe, they adhered, like their ancestors, to the communion of the Nestorian patriarch; and the bishops whom he ordained at Mosul traversed the dangers of the sea and land to reach their diocese on the coast of Malabar. In

name of St. Thomé, and where the saint performed an annual miracle, till he was silenced by the profane neighbourhood of the English. (La Croze, tom. ii. p. 7—16.)

* Neither the author of the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 883) nor William of Malmesbury (de Gestis Regum Angliæ, l. 2, c. 4, p. 44), were capable, in the twelfth century, of inventing this extraordinary fact; they are incapable of explaining the motives and measures of Alfred; and their hasty notice serves only to provoke our curiosity. William of Malmesbury feels the difficulties of the enterprise, quod quivis in hoc seculo miretur; and I almost suspect that the English ambassadors collected their cargo and legend in Egypt. The royal author has not enriched his Orosius (see Barrington's Miscellanies) with an Indian as well as a Scandinavian voyage. [Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, the reputed writer of this portion of the Saxon Chronicle, lived at the time, and was therefore a competent authority. Lappenberg says, that "such a step on the part of a monarch like Alfred, will excite in us little surprise." (Hist. of Eng. ii. 71.)—ED.]

their Syriac liturgy, the names of Theodore and Nestorius were piously commemorated: they united their adoration of the two persons of Christ; the title of mother of God was offensive to their ear, and they measured with scrupulous avarice the honours of the Virgin Mary, whom the superstition of the Latins had *almost* exalted to the rank of a goddess. When her image was first presented to the disciples of St. Thomas, they indignantly exclaimed, "We are Christians, not idolaters!" and their simple devotion was content with the veneration of the cross. Their separation from the Western world had left them in ignorance of the improvements or corruptions of a thousand years; and their conformity with the faith and practice of the fifth century, would equally disappoint the prejudices of a Papist or a Protestant. It was the first care of the ministers of Rome to intercept all correspondence with the Nestorian patriarch, and several of his bishops expired in the prisons of the holy office. The flock, without a shepherd, was assaulted by the power of the Portuguese, the arts of the Jesuits, and the zeal of Alexes de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, in his personal visitation of the coast of Malabar. The synod of Diamper, at which he presided, consummated the pious work of the reunion, and rigorously imposed the doctrine and discipline of the Roman church, without forgetting auricular confession, the strongest engine of ecclesiastical torture. The memory of Theodore and Nestorius was condemned, and Malabar was reduced under the dominion of the pope, of the primate, and of the Jesuits, who invaded the see of Angamala or Cranganor. Sixty years of servitude and hypocrisy were patiently endured; but as soon as the Portuguese empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted, with vigour and effect, the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused; the arms of forty thousand Christians were pointed against their falling tyrants; and the Indian archdeacon assumed the character of bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the patriarch of Babylon. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar. The trading companies of Holland and England are the friends of toleration; but if oppression be less mortifying than contempt the Christians of St. Thomas have reason to

complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren of Europe.*

II. The history of the Monophysites is less copious and interesting than that of the Nestorians. Under the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, their artful leaders surprised the ear of the prince, usurped the thrones of the East, and crushed on its native soil the school of the Syrians. The rule of the Monophysite faith was defined with exquisite discretion by Severus, patriarch of Antioch: he condemned, in the style of the Henoticon, the adverse heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, maintained against the latter the reality of the body of Christ, and constrained the Greeks to allow that he was a liar who spoke truth.† But the approximation of ideas could not abate the vehemence of passion; each party was the more astonished that their blind antagonist could dispute on so trifling a difference; the tyrant of Syria enforced the belief of his creed, and his reign was polluted with the blood of three hundred and fifty monks, who were slain, not perhaps without provocation or resistance, under the walls of Apamea.‡ The successor of Anastasius replanted the orthodox standard in the East; Severus fled into Egypt; and his friend, the eloquent Xenaias,§ who had escaped from the Nestorians of Persia, was suffocated in his

* Concerning the Christians of St. Thomas, see Assemannus, Biblioth. Orient. tom. iv. p. 391—407. 435—451; Geddes's Church History of Malabar, and, above all, La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, in two vols. 12mo, La Haye, 1758, a learned and agreeable work. They have drawn from the same source, the Portuguese and Italian narratives; and the prejudices of the Jesuits are sufficiently corrected by those of the Protestants.

† Οἷον εἰπεῖν ψευδάλήθης is the expression of Theodore in his treatise of the incarnation, p. 245. 247, as he is quoted by La Croze (Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie, p. 35), who exclaims, perhaps too hastily, "Quel pitoyable raisonnement!" Renaudot has touched (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 127—138) the Oriental account of Severus; and his authentic creed may be found in the epistle of John the Jacobite, patriarch of Antioch, in the tenth century, to his brother Mennas of Alexandria (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 132—141).

‡ Epist. Archimandritarum et Monachorum Syriæ Secundæ ad Papam Hormisdam, Concil. tom. v. p. 598—602. The courage of St. Sabas, ut leo animosus, will justify the suspicion that the arms of these monks were not always spiritual or defensive. (Baronius, A.D. 513, No. 7, &c.)

§ Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 10—46) and La Croze (Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 36—40), will supply the history of Xenaias or Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, or Hierapolis, in Syria. He was a perfect master of the Syriac language, and the author or editor of a version of the New Testament.

exile by the Melchites of Paphlagonia. Fifty-four bishops were swept from their thrones, eight hundred ecclesiastics were cast into prison,* and notwithstanding the ambiguous favour of Theodora, the Oriental flocks, deprived of their shepherds, must insensibly have been either famished or poisoned. In this spiritual distress, the expiring faction was revived, and united, and perpetuated, by the labours of a monk; and the name of James Baradæus† has been preserved in the appellation of *Jacobites;* a familiar sound, which may startle the ear of an English reader. From the holy confessors in their prison of Constantinople, he received the powers of bishop of Edessa and apostle of the East, and the ordination of fourscore thousand bishops, priests, and deacons, is derived from the same inexhaustible source. The speed of the zealous missionary was promoted by the fleetest dromedaries of a devout chief of the Arabs; the doctrine and discipline of the Jacobites were secretly established in the dominions of Justinian; and each Jacobite was compelled to violate the laws and to hate the Roman legislator. The successors of Severus, while they lurked in convents or villages, while they sheltered their proscribed heads in the caverns of hermits, or the tents of the Saracens, still asserted, as they now assert, their indefeasible right to the title, the rank, and the prerogatives, of the patriarch of Antioch; under the milder yoke of the infidels, they reside about a league from Merdin, in the pleasant monastery of Zapharan, which they have embellished with cells, aqueducts,

* The names and titles of fifty-four bishops, who were exiled by Justin, are preserved in the Chronicle of Dionysius (apud Asseman. tom. ii. p. 54). Severus was personally summoned to Constantinople —for his trial, says Liberatus (Brev. c. 19),—that his tongue might be cut out, says Evagrius (l. 4, c. 4). The prudent patriarch did not stay to examine the difference. This ecclesiastical revolution is fixed by Pagi to the month of September of the year 518. (Critica, tom. ii. p. 506.)

† The obscure history of James, or Jacobus Baradæus, or Zanzalus, may be gathered from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 144. 147), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 133), and Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 424; tom. ii. p. 62—69. 324—332, p. 414; tom. iii. p. 385—388). He seems to be unknown to the Greeks. The Jacobites themselves had rather deduce their name and pedigree from St. James the apostle. [Jacob was a monk of Phasitla, in the district of Nisibis, a man inured to privations and hardships and of unshaken firmness and constancy. With great rapidity, and through many perils, he traversed Syria and the adjacent provinces in the disguise of a beggar; and from this he received the surmame of Al Baradai, Baradæus, the man in rags. (Neander, 4. 272.)—Ed.]

and plantations. The secondary though honourable place is filled by the *maphrian*, who, in his station at Mosul itself, defies the Nestorian *Catholic*, with whom he contests the supremacy of the East. Under the patriarch and the maphrian, one hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops have been counted in the different ages of the Jacobite church; but the order of the hierarchy is relaxed or dissolved, and the greater part of their dioceses is confined to the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The cities of Aleppo and Amida, which are often visited by the patriarch, contain some wealthy merchants and industrious mechanics, but the multitude derive their scanty sustenance from their daily labour: and poverty, as well as superstition, may impose their excessive fasts,—five annual lents, during which both the clergy and laity abstain not only from flesh or eggs, but even from the taste of wine, of oil, and of fish. Their present numbers are esteemed from fifty to fourscore thousand souls, the remnant of a populous church, which has gradually decreased under the oppression of twelve centuries. Yet in that long period, some strangers of merit have been converted to the Monophysite faith, and a Jew was the father of Abulpharagius,* primate of the East, so truly eminent both in his life and death. In his life, he was an elegant writer of the Syriac and Arabic tongues, a poet, physician, and historian, a subtle philosopher, and a moderate divine. In his death, his funeral was attended by his rival the Nestorian patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes, and mingled their tears over the grave of an enemy. The sect which was honoured by the virtues of Abulpharagius, appears, however, to sink below the level of their Nestorian brethren. The superstition of the Jacobites is more abject, their fasts more rigid,† their intestine divisions are more numerous, and their

* The account of his person and writings is perhaps the most curious article in the Bibliotheca of Assemannus (tom. ii. p. 244—321, under the name of Gregorius Bar-Hebræus). La Croze (Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 53—63) ridicules the prejudice of the Spaniards against the Jewish blood, which secretly defiles their church and state. [The father, who bore the name of Harun (Aaron), was the convert to Christianity. The son, who was born in 1226, studied and practised medicine before he became an ecclesiastic. He was so eminent as a scholar and his character so estimable, that while he was bishop of Aleppo, the Mahometans among whom he lived intrusted to him the education of their sons.—ED.]

† This excessive abstinence

doctors (as far as I can measure the degrees of nonsense) are more remote from the precincts of reason. Something may possibly be allowed for the rigour of the Monophysite theology; much more for the superior influence of the monastic order. In Syria, in Egypt, in Æthiopia, the Jacobite monks have ever been distinguished by the austerity of their penance and the absurdity of their legends. Alive or dead, they are worshipped as the favourites of the Deity; the crosier of bishop and patriarch is reserved for their venerable hands; and they assume the government of men, while they are yet reeking with the habits and prejudices of the cloister.*

III. In the style of the Oriental Christians, the Monothelites of every age are described under the appellation of *Maronites*,† a name which has been insensibly transferred from a hermit to a monastery, from a monastery to a nation. Maron, a saint or savage of the fifth century, displayed his religious madness in Syria; the rival cities of Apamea and Emesa disputed his relics, a stately church was erected on his tomb, and six hundred of his disciples united their solitary cells on the banks of the Orontes. In the controversies of the incarnation, they nicely threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches; but the unfortunate question of *one will* or operation in the two natures of Christ was generated by their curious leisure. Their proselyte, the emperor Heraclius, was rejected as a Maronite from the walls of Emesa; he found a refuge in the monastery of his brethren; and their theological lessons were repaid with the gift of a spacious and wealthy domain. The name and doctrine of this venerable school were propagated among the Greeks and Syrians, and their zeal is expressed by Macarius patriarch of Antioch, who declared before the

is censured by La Croze (p. 352), and even by the Syrian Assemannus (tom. i. p. 226; tom. ii. p. 304, 305).

* The state of the Monophysites is excellently illustrated in a dissertation at the beginning of the second volume of Assemannus, which contains one hundred and forty-two pages. The Syriac Chronicle of Gregory Bar-Hebræus, or Abulpharagius (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 321—463), pursues the double series of the Nestorian Catholics, and the Maphrians of the Jacobites.

† The synonymous use of the two words may be proved from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 191. 267. 332), and many similar passages which may be found in the methodical table of Pocock. He was not actuated by any prejudice against the Maronites of the tenth century; and we may believe a Melchite, whose testimony is

synod of Constantinople, that sooner than subscribe the *two wills* of Christ, he would submit to be hewn piecemeal, and cast into the sea.* A similar or a less cruel mode of persecution soon converted the unresisting subjects of the plain, while the glorious title of *Mardaites*,† or rebels, was bravely maintained by the hardy natives of mount Libanus. John Maron, one of the most learned and popular of the monks, assumed the character of patriarch of Antioch; his nephew Abraham, at the head of the Maronites, defended their civil and religious freedom against the tyrants of the East. The son of the orthodox Constantine pursued with pious hatred a people of soldiers, who might have stood the bulwark of his empire against the common foes of Christ and of Rome. An army of Greeks invaded Syria; the monastery of St. Maron was destroyed with fire; the bravest chieftains were betrayed and murdered, and twelve thousand of their followers were transplanted to the distant frontiers of Armenia and Thrace. Yet the humble nation of the Maronites has survived the empire of Constantinople, and they still enjoy, under their Turkish masters, a free religion, and a mitigated servitude. Their domestic governors are chosen among the ancient nobility; the patriarch, in his monastery of Canobin, still fancies himself on the throne of Antioch; nine bishops compose his synod, and one hundred and fifty priests, who retain the liberty of marriage, are intrusted with the care of one hundred thousand souls. Their country extends from the ridge of mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli; and the gradual descent affords, in a narrow space, each variety of soil and climate, from the Holy Cedars, erect under the weight of snow,‡ to the vine, the mulberry,

confirmed by the Jacobites and Latins.

* Concil. tom. vii. p. 780. The Monothelite cause was supported with firmness and subtlety by Constantine, a Syrian priest of Apamea (p. 1040, &c.).

† Theophanes (Chron. p. 295, 296. 300. 302. 306), and Cedrenus (p. 437. 440) relate the exploits of the Mardaites: the name (*Mard;* in Syriac *rebellavit*) is explained by La Roque (Voyage de la Syrie, tom. ii. p. 53), the dates are fixed by Pagi (A.D. 676, No. 4—14; A.D. 685, No. 3, 4), and even the obscure story of the patriarch John Maron (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 496—520) illustrates, from the year 686 to 707, the troubles of mount Libanus.

‡ In the last century twenty large cedars still remained, (Voyage de la Roque, tom. i. p. 68—76,) at present they are reduced to four or five. (Volney, tom. i. p. 264). These trees, so famous in Scripture, were guarded by excommunication; the wood was sparingly borrowed for small crosses, &c., an annual mass was chaunted under their

and the olive trees of the fruitful valley. In the twelfth century, the Maronites, abjuring the Monothelite error, were reconciled to the Latin churches of Antioch and Rome,* and the same alliance has been frequently renewed by the ambition of the popes and the distress of the Syrians. But it may reasonably be questioned, whether their union has ever been perfect or sincere; and the learned Maronites of the college of Rome have vainly laboured to absolve their ancestors from the guilt of heresy and schism.†

IV. Since the age of Constantine, the ARMENIANS‡ had signalized their attachment to the religion and empire of the Christians. The disorders of their country, and their ignorance of the Greek tongue, prevented their clergy from assisting at the synod of Chalcedon, and they floated eighty-four years,§ in a state of indifference or suspense, till their

shade; and they were endowed by the Syrians with a sensitive power of erecting their branches to repel the snow to which Mount Libanus is less faithful than it is painted by Tacitus; inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus—a daring metaphor! (Hist. v. 6.) [Dr. Lepsius, on his return from Egypt, crossed Labinus, and passed through "a venerable forest of cedars in a great level bay of the mountain range." He adds that there are others in more northern tracts. Single stems of these gigantic trees are forty feet in circumference and ninety feet high. The largest *are stated* to be 3,000 years old. Letters from Egypt, p. 350, edit. Bohn.—ED.]

* The evidence of William of Tyre (Hist. in Gestis Dei per Francos, l. 22, c. 8, p. 1022,) is copied or confirmed by Jacques de Vitra. (Hist. Hierosolym. l. 2, c. 77, p. 1093, 1094). But this unnatural league expired with the power of the Franks; and Abulpharagius, (who died in 1286) considers the Maronites as a sect of Monothelites. (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 292.)

† I find a description and history of the Maronites in the Voyage de la Syrie et du Mont Liban par la Roque, (2 vols. in 12mo. Amsterdam, 1723, particularly tom. i. p. 42—47, p. 174—184; tom. ii, p. 10—120.) In the ancient part, he copies the prejudices of Nairon and the other Maronites of Rome, which Assemannus is afraid to renounce, and ashamed to support. Jablonski (Institut. Hist. Christ. tom. iii. p. 186), Niebuhr (Voyage de l'Arabie, &c., tom. ii. p. 346. 370—381), and, above all, the judicious Volney (Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, tom. ii. p. 8—31. Paris, 1787,) may be consulted.

‡ The religion of the Armenians is briefly described by La Croze (Hist. du Christ. de l'Ethiopie et de l'Armenie, p. 269—402.) He refers to the great Armenian History of Galanus (3 vols. in folio, Rome, 1650—1661), and commends the state of Armenia in the third volume of the Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant. The work of a Jesuit must have sterling merit when it is praised by La Croze.

§ The schism of the Armenians is placed eighty-four years after the council of Chalcedon, (Pagi Critica, ad A D. 535.) It was consummated at the end of seventeen years; and it is from the year of Christ 552 that we date the era of the

vacant faith was finally occupied by the missionaries of Julian of Halicarnassus,* who, in Egypt, their common exile, had been vanquished by the arguments or the influence of his rival Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. The Armenians alone are the pure disciples of Eutyches, an unfortunate parent, who has been renounced by the greater part of his spiritual progeny. They alone persevere in the opinion, that the manhood of Christ was created, or existed without creation, of a divine and incorruptible substance. Their adversaries reproach them with the adoration of a phantom; and they retort the accusation, by deriding or execrating the blasphemy of the Jacobites, who impute to the Godhead the vile infirmities of the flesh, even the natural effects of nutrition and digestion. The religion of Armenia could not derive much glory from the learning or the power of its inhabitants. The royalty expired with the origin of their schism; and their Christian kings, who arose and fell in the thirteenth century on the confines of Cilicia, were the clients of the Latins and the vassals of the Turkish sultan of Iconium. The helpless nation has seldom been permitted to enjoy the tranquillity of servitude. From the earliest period to the present hour, Armenia has been the theatre of perpetual war; the lands between Tauris and Erivan were dispeopled by the cruel policy of the Sophis; and myriads of Christian families were transplanted to perish or to propagate in the distant provinces of Persia. Under the rod of oppression, the zeal of the Armenians is fervid and intrepid; they have often preferred the crown of martyrdom to the white turban of Mahomet; they devoutly hate the error and idolatry of the Greeks; and their transient union with the Latins is not less devoid of truth, than the thousand bishops whom their patriarch offered at the feet of the Roman pontiff.† The *Catholic* or patriarch of the Armenians resides in the monastery of Ekmiasin, three leagues

Armenians. (L'Art de vérifier les Dates, p. 35.) [Religious persecution drove the Armenians to revolt and facilitated the Persian conquest of the country. Chosroes promoted their separation from the Greek church; and under his sanction, Nierses, their first bishop or Catholicus, held a synod at Thriven in 536, by which the Monophysite system was confirmed and the council of Chalcedon anathematized. (Neander. 4. 271).—ED.]

* The sentiments and success of Julian of Halicarnassus may be seen in Liberatus (Brev. c. 19), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 132—303), and Assemannus. (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. Dissertat. de Monophysitis, c. 8, p. 286.)

† See a remarkable fact of the twelfth century in the History of

from Erivan. Forty-seven archbishops, each of whom may claim the obedience of four or five suffragans, are consecrated by his hand; but the far greater part are only titular prelates, who dignify with their presence and service the simplicity of his court. As soon as they have performed the liturgy, they cultivate the garden; and our bishops will hear with surprise, that the austerity of their life increases in just proportion to the elevation of their rank. In the fourscore thousand towns or villages of his spiritual empire, the patriarch receives a small and voluntary tax from each person above the age of fifteen; but the annual amount of six hundred thousand crowns is insufficient to supply the incessant demands of charity and tribute. Since the beginning of the last century, the Armenians have obtained a large and lucrative share of the commerce of the East: in their return from Europe, the caravan usually halts in the neighbourhood of Erivan; the altars are enriched with the fruits of ther patient industry; and the faith of Eutyches is preached in their recent congregations of Barbary and Poland.*

V. In the rest of the Roman empire, the despotism of the prince might eradicate or silence the sectaries of an obnoxious creed. But the stubborn temper of the Egyptians maintained their opposition to the synod of Chalcedon, and the policy of Justinian condescended to expect and to seize the opportunity of discord. The Monophysite church of Alexandria† was

Nicetas Choniates (p. 258). Yet three hundred years before, Photius (Epistol. 2, p. 49, edit. Montacut.) had gloried in the conversion of the Armenians—λατρεύει σήμερον ὀρθοδόξως.

* The travelling Armenians are in the way of every traveller, and their mother-church is on the high road between Constantinople and Ispahan: for their present state, see Fabricius (Lux Evangelii, &c., c. 38, p. 40—51), Olearius (l. 4, c. 40), Chardin (vol. ii. p. 232), Tournefort (lettre 20), and, above all, Tavernier (tom. i. p. 28—37. 510—518), that rambling jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well. [For the superstition, ignorance, and attempted reform of the present Armenians, see Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 47. 392. 405—7. In one of their churches a rude picture represents "a victorious St. George blowing out the brains of a formidable dragon, with a bright brass blunderbuss."—ED.]

† The history of the Alexandrian patriarchs, from Dioscorus to Benjamin, is taken from Renaudot (p. 114—164,) and the second tome of the Annals of Eutychius. [Clinton, in his chronology of these patriarchs (F. R. ii. p. 544—548), has critically corrected the dates and col-

torn by the disputes of the *corruptibles* and *incorruptibles;* and on the death of the patriarch, the two factions upheld their respective candidates.* Gaian was the disciple of Julian, Theodosius had been the pupil of Severus: the claims of the former were supported by the consent of the monks and senators, the city and the province; the latter depended on the priority of his ordination, the favour of the empress Theodora, and the arms of the eunuch Narses, which might have been used in more honourable warfare. The exile of the popular candidate to Carthage and Sardinia inflamed the ferment of Alexandria; and, after a schism of one hundred and seventy years, the *Gaianites* still revered the memory and doctrine of their founder. The strength of numbers and of discipline was tried in a desperate and bloody conflict; the streets were filled with the dead bodies of citizens and soldiers; the pious women ascending the roofs of their houses, showered down every sharp or ponderous utensil on the heads of the enemy; and the final victory of Narses was owing to the flames with which he wasted the third capital of the Roman world. But the lieutenant of Justinian had not conquered in the cause of a heretic; Theodosius himself was speedily, though gently removed; and Paul of Tanis, an orthodox monk, was raised to the throne of Athanasius. The powers of government were strained in his support; he might appoint or displace the dukes and tribunes of Egypt; the allowance of bread which Diocletian had granted, was suppressed, the churches were shut, and a nation of schismatics was deprived at once of their spiritual and carnal food. In his turn the tyrant was excommunicated by the zeal and revenge of the people; and none except his servile Melchites would salute him as a man, a Christian, or a bishop. Yet such is the blindness of ambition, that, when Paul was expelled on a charge of murder, he solicited, with a bribe of seven hundred pounds of gold, his restoration to the same station of hatred and ignominy. His successor Apollinaris entered the hostile city in military array, alike qualified for prayer or for battle.

lated the narratives of John Malalas, Theophanes, Victor Tununensis, Nicephorus, Liberatus, and others; and he has attentively examined Pagi and Renaudot, and supplied some omissions.—ED.]

* Liberat. Brev. c. 20—23. Victor. Chron. p. 329, 330. Procop. Anecdot. c. 26, 27

His troops under arms, were distributed through the streets. the gates of the cathedral were guarded, and a chosen band was stationed in the choir, to defend the person of their chief. He stood erect on his throne, and throwing aside the upper garment of a warrior, suddenly appeared before the eyes of the multitude in the robes of patriarch of Alexandria. Astonishment held them mute; but no sooner had Apollinaris begun to read the tome of St. Leo, than a volley of curses, and invectives, and stones, assaulted the odious minister of the emperor and the synod. A charge was instantly sounded by the successor of the apostles; the soldiers waded to their knees in blood, and two hundred thousand Christians are said to have fallen by the sword; an incredible account, even if it be extended from the slaughter of a day to the eighteen years of the reign of Apollinaris. Two succeeding patriarchs, Eulogius* and John,† laboured in the conversion of heretics, with arms and arguments more worthy of their evangelical profession. The theological knowledge of Eulogius was displayed in many a volume, which magnified the errors of Eutyches and Severus, and attempted to reconcile the ambiguous language of St. Cyril with the orthodox creed of pope Leo and the fathers of Chalcedon. The bounteous alms of John the eleemosynary were dictated by superstition, or benevolence, or policy. Seven thousand five hundred poor were maintained at his expense; on his accession, he found eight thousand pounds of gold in the treasury of the church; he collected ten thousand from the liberality of the faithful; yet the primate could boast in his testament, that he left behind him no more than the third part of the smallest of the silver coins.

* Eulogius, who had been a monk of Antioch, was more conspicuous for subtlety than eloquence. He proves that the enemies of the faith, the Gaianites and Theodosians, ought not to be reconciled; that the same proposition may be orthodox in the mouth of St. Cyril, heretical in that of Severus; that the opposite assertions of St. Leo are equally true, &c. His writings are no longer extant, except in the extracts of Photius, who had perused them with care and satisfaction, Cod. 208. 225—227. 230. 280.

† See the life of John the eleemosynary by his contemporary Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, whose Greek text, either lost or hidden, is reflected in the Latin version of Baronius (A.D. 619, No. 9; A.D. 629, No. 8). Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 763) and Fabricius (l. 5, c. 11, tom. vii. p. 454), have made some critical observations.

The churches of Alexandria were delivered to the Catholics, the religion of the Monophysites was proscribed in Egypt, and a law was revived which excluded the natives from the honours and emoluments of the state.

A more important conquest still remained, of the patriarch, the oracle and leader of the Egyptian church. Theodosius had resisted the threats and promises of Justinian with the spirit of an apostle or an enthusiast. "Such," replied the patriarch, "were the offers of the tempter when he shewed the kingdoms of the earth. But my soul is far dearer to me than life or dominion. The churches are in the hands of a prince who can kill the body; but my conscience is my own; and in exile, poverty, or chains, I will steadfastly adhere to the faith of my holy predecessors, Athanasius, Cyril, and Dioscorus. Anathema to the tome of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon; Anathema to all who embrace their creed! Anathema to them now and for evermore! Naked came I out of my mother's womb, naked shall I descend into the grave. Let those who love God, follow me and seek their salvation." After comforting his brethren, he embarked for Constantinople, and sustained, in six successive interviews, the almost irresistible weight of the royal presence. His opinions were favourably entertained in the palace and the city; the influence of Theodora assured him a safe conduct and honourable dismission; and he ended his days, though not on the throne, yet in the bosom of his native country. On the news of his death, Apollinaris indecently feasted the nobles and the clergy; but his joy was checked by the intelligence of a new election: and while he enjoyed the wealth of Alexandria, his rivals reigned in the monasteries of Thebais, and were maintained by the voluntary oblations of the people. A perpetual succession of patriarchs arose from the ashes of Theodosius; and the Monophysite churches of Syria and Egypt were united by the name of Jacobites and the communion of the faith. But the same faith, which has been confined to a narrow sect of the Syrians, was diffused over the mass of the Egyptian or Coptic nation; who almost unanimously rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon. A thousand years were now elapsed since Egypt had ceased to be a kingdom, since the conquerors of Asia and Europe had trampled on the ready necks of a people, whose ancient wisdom and

power ascend beyond the records of history. The conflict of zeal and persecution rekindled some sparks of their national spirit. They abjured, with a foreign heresy, the manners and language of the Greeks: every Melchite, in their eyes, was a stranger, every Jacobite a citizen; the alliance of marriage, the offices of humanity, were condemned as a deadly sin; the natives renounced all allegiance to the emperor; and his orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the pressure of military force. A generous effort might have redeemed the religion and liberty of Egypt, and her six hundred monasteries might have poured forth their myriads of holy warriors, for whom death should have no terrors, since life had no comfort or delight. But experience has proved the distinction of active and passive courage; the fanatic who endures without a groan the torture of the rack or the stake, would tremble and fly before the face of an armed enemy. The pusillanimous temper of the Egyptians could only hope for a change of masters; the arms of Chosroes depopulated the land; yet under his reign the Jacobites enjoyed a short and precarious respite. The victory of Heraclius renewed and aggravated the persecution, and the Patriarch again escaped from Alexandria to the desert. In his flight, Benjamin was encouraged by a voice, which bade him expect, at the end of ten years, the aid of a foreign nation, marked like the Egyptians themselves with the ancient rite of circumcision. The character of these deliverers, and the nature of the deliverance, will be hereafter explained; and I shall step over the interval of eleven centuries to observe the present misery of the Jacobites of Egypt. The populous city of Cairo affords a residence, or rather a shelter, for their indigent patriarch and a remnant of ten bishops; forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs; and the progress of servitude and apostasy has reduced the Coptic nation to the despicable number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families;* a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation

* This number is taken from the curious Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois (tom. ii. p. 192, 193), and appears more probable than the six hundred thousand ancient, or fifteen thousand modern, Copts of Gemelli Carreri. Cyril Lucar, the Protestant patriarch of Constantinople, laments that those heretics were ten times more numerous than his orthodox Greeks, ingeniously applying the πολλαί κεν

is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation.*

VI. The Coptic patriarch, a rebel to the Cæsars, or a slave to the khalifs, still gloried in the filial obedience of the kings of Nubia and Æthiopia. He repaid their homage by magnifying their greatness; and it was boldly asserted that they could bring into the field a hundred thousand horse with an equal number of camels;† that their hand could pour or restrain the waters of the Nile;‡ and the peace and plenty of Egypt was obtained, even in this world, by the intercession of the patriarch. In exile at Constantinople, Theodosius recommended to his patroness the conversion of the black nations of Nubia,§ from the tropic of Cancer to

δεκάδες δενοίατο οἰνοχόοιο of Homer (Iliad. 2. 128), the most perfect expression of contempt. (Fabric. Lux Evangelii, 740.)

* The history of the Copts, their religion, manners, &c. may be found in the Abbé Renaudot's motley work, neither a translation nor an original; the Chronicon Orientale of Peter, a Jacobite; in the two versions of Abraham Ecchellensis, Paris, 1651, and John Simon Asseman, Venet. 1729. These annals descend no lower than the thirteenth century. The more recent accounts must be searched for in the travellers into Egypt, and the Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant. In the last century, Joseph Abudacnus, a native of Cairo, published at Oxford, in thirty pages, a slight Historia Jacobitarum, 147 post 150. [The letters of Dr. Lepsius from Egypt in 1844, furnish the most recent account of the Copts; and place them in a far more respectable position. See p. 268—278, edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

† About the year 737. See Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 221, 222. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 99.

‡ Ludolph. Hist. Æthiopic. et Comment. l. 1, c. 8. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. 480, &c. This opinion, introduced into Egypt and Europe by the artifice of the Copts, the pride of the Abyssinians, the fear and ignorance of the Turks and Arabs, has not even the semblance of truth. The rains of Æthiopia do not, in the increase of the Nile, consult the will of the monarch. If the river approaches at Napata, within three days' journey of the Red Sea (see D'Anville's maps), a canal that should divert its course would demand, and most probably surpass, the power of the Cæsars. [Lepsius (p. 223) says, that the ancient Napata was situated near the present town of Meraui, which is far inland and separated from the Red Sea by ridges of porphyry and wide sandy deserts.—Ed.]

§ The Abyssinians, who still preserve the features and olive complexion of the Arabs, afford a proof that two thousand years are not sufficient to change the colour of the human race. The Nubians, an African race, are pure negroes, as black as those of Senegal or Congo, with flat noses, thick lips, and woolly hair. (Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 117, 143, 144, 166, 219, edit. in 12mo, Paris, 1769.) The

the confines of Abyssinia. Her design was suspected and emulated by the more orthodox emperor. The rival missionaries, a Melchite and a Jacobite, embarked at the same time; but the empress, from a motive of love or fear, was more effectually obeyed; and the Catholic priest was detained by the president of Thebais, while the king of Nubia and his court were hastily baptized in the faith of Dioscorus. The tardy envoy of Justinian was received and dismissed with honour; but when he accused the heresy and treason of the Egyptians, the negro convert was instructed to reply that he would never abandon his brethren, the true believers, to the persecuting ministers of the synod of Chalcedon.* During several ages, the bishops of Nubia were named and consecrated by the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria: as late as the twelfth century, Christianity prevailed; and some rites, some ruins, are still visible in the savage towns of Sennaar and Dongola.† But the Nubians at length executed their threats of returning to the worship of idols; the climate required the indulgence of polygamy, and they have finally

ancients beheld, without much attention, the extraordinary phenomenon which has exercised the philosophers and theologians of modern times. [The conversion of Abyssinia, by Frumentius in the time of Athanasius, is related by Bruce, from the records of that country (Travels, i. 508), and by Neander (3, 169) from the ecclesiastical History of Rufinus (l. 1, c. 9). The two accounts do not materially differ till the latter cites the "Apologia Athanasii;" to show that the emperor Constantius "considered it necessary to persecute the disciples of Athanasius, even in those remote regions." The traveller, on the contrary states, that the conversion was as quietly conducted as, at an earlier period, had been that of the same people from Paganism to the Jewish religion; that there were "no fanatic preachers, no warm saints or madmen, and *no persecution*."—ED.]

* Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 329.

† The Christianity of the Nubians, A.D. 1153, is attested by the sherif al Edrisi, falsely described under the name of the Nubian geographer (p. 18), who represents them as a nation of Jacobites. The rays of historical light that twinkle in the history of Renaudot (p. 178, 220—224, 281—286, 405, 434, 451, 464), are all previous to this era. See the modern state in the Lettres Edifiantes (Recueil 4), and Busching (tom. ix. p. 152—159, par Berenger). [For the present state of the Nubians, see the Letters of Lepsius, Nos. 15, 24, 26, 28, and the physical geography of their country, Appendix, p. 516. He says, (p. 127), "the Nubians or Barâbra (plur. of Berberi) are an intelligent and honest race, peaceful, but of a disposition anything but slavish, with well-formed bodies, and a skin of a light reddish brown colour." —ED.]

preferred the triumph of the Koran to the abasement of the cross. A metaphysical religion may appear too refined for the capacity of the negro race: yet a black or a parrot might be taught to repeat the *words* of the Chalcedonian or Monophysite creed.

Christianity was more deeply rooted in the Abyssinian empire; and, although the correspondence has been sometimes interrupted above seventy or a hundred years, the mother-church of Alexandria retains her colony in a state of perpetual pupilage. Seven bishops once composed the Æthiopic synod: had their number amounted to ten, they might have elected an independent primate; and one of their kings was ambitious of promoting his brother to the ecclesiastical throne. But the event was foreseen, the increase was denied; the episcopal office has been gradually confined to the *abuna*,* the head and author of the Abyssinian priesthood; the patriarch supplies each vacancy with an Egyptian monk; and the character of a stranger appears more venerable in the eyes of the people, less dangerous in those of the monarch. In the sixth century, when the schism of Egypt was confirmed, the rival chiefs, with their patrons, Justinian and Theodora, strove to outstrip each other in the conquest of a remote and independent province. The industry of the empress was again victorious, and the pious Theodora has established in that sequestered church the faith and discipline of the Jacobites.† Encompassed on

* The abuna is improperly dignified by the Latins with the title of patriarch. The Abyssinians acknowledge only the four patriarchs, and their chief is no more than a metropolitan, or national primate. (Ludolph. Hist. Æthiopic. et Comment. l. 3, c. 7.) The seven bishops of Renaudot (p. 511), who existed A.D. 1131, are unknown to the historian. [*Abuna*, from the Arabian *abu* (father), was used by the Abyssinians to designate their chief priest. Their form of church government was very simple; and having no rich bishoprics, they had no sects, heresies, councils, factions, or massacres. This tranquillity remained undisturbed more than a thousand years. They had a convent, or rather a lodging-house for pilgrims and travellers, at Jerusalem. This connection with the church was the cause of their king, Zara Jacob, who reigned from 1434 to 1468, sending his representatives to the council of Florence. On their return, they were accompanied by some Frangi or Franks, who introduced the first religious disputes in Abyssinia. (Bruce's Travels, ii. p. 68.)—ED.]

† I know not why Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 384) should call in question these probable missions of Theodora into Nubia and

all sides by the enemies of their religion, the Æthiopians slept near a thousand years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten. They were awakened by the Portuguese, who, turning the southern promontory of Africa, appeared in India and the Red Sea, as if they had descended through the air from a distant planet.* In the first moments of their interview, the subjects of Rome and Alexandria observed the resemblance, rather than the difference of their faith; and each nation expected the most important benefits from an alliance with their Christian brethren. In their lonely situation, the Æthiopians had almost relapsed into the savage life. Their vessels, which had traded to Ceylon,

Æthiopia. The slight notices of Abyssinia till the year 1500 are supplied by Renaudot (p. 336—341, 381, 382, 405, 443, &c. 452, 456, 463, 475, 480, 511, 525, 559—564) from the Coptic writers. The mind of Ludolphus was a perfect blank. * [The Abyssinian annals record their first intercourse with the Portuguese as having taken place in the time of their king Bæda Mariam, who reigned from 1468 to 1478. Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, Prince Henry of Viseu, the originator of Portuguese enterprise, dispatched two emissaries to obtain information respecting the practicability of a sea-route to India. They made their way to India, where one of them died. The other, Peter Covilham, while travelling homewards, penetrated into Abyssinia. According to the custom of the country, he was forcibly detained, but honourably treated, married, and appointed to eminent offices. In 1508, during the minority of David of Abyssinia, his mother Helena, being regent, was alarmed by the growing power of the Mahometans around her. She consulted Covilham, and by his advice sent Matthew, an Armenian merchant, to ask assistance of the Portuguese in India, who, in the meantime, had accomplished their long desired passage, and established their empire at Goa. Albuquerque (the Portuguese viceroy at Goa) received the ambassador coldly, and after many delays, referred him to his sovereign at Lisbon. There, Matthew was regarded with suspicion; but his secret instructions to offer a cession of territory, in return for afforded assistance, at last gained him a favourable hearing. After long negotiations, he returned, accompanied by an aged ambassador, who died during the passage. At Goa, Roderigo de Lima was appointed in his place, who, on arriving in Abyssinia, was, in his turn, very cavalierly treated. David had taken the government into his own hands, and completely defeated his Mahometan enemies in July 1518. No longer in want of an ally, he indignantly refused to ratify his mother's proposed abandonment of a portion of their lands. Roderigo was kept there five years, and only obtained permission to depart, by leaving some of his train. His chaplain, Alvarez, published a very false account of all these transactions, especially of the reception given to Roman Catholicism. (Bruce's Travels, vol. ii. p. 87—107.)—Ed.]

scarcely presumed to navigate the rivers of Africa; the ruins of Axume were deserted, the nation was scattered in villages, and the emperor (a pompous name) was content, both in peace and war, with the moveable residence of a camp. Conscious of their own indigence, the Abyssinians had formed the rational project of importing the arts and ingenuity of Europe,* and their ambassadors at Rome and Lisbon were instructed to solicit a colony of smiths, carpenters, tilers, masons, printers, surgeons, and physicians, for the use of their country. But the public danger soon called for the instant and effectual aid of arms and soldiers to defend an unwarlike people from the barbarians who ravaged the inland country, and the Turks and Arabs who advanced from the sea-coast in more formidable array. Æthiopia was saved by four hundred and fifty Portuguese, who displayed in the field the native valour of Europeans, and the artificial powers of the musket and cannon. In a moment of terror, the emperor had promised to reconcile himself and his subjects to the Catholic faith; a Latin patriarch represented the supremacy of the pope;† the empire, enlarged in a tenfold proportion, was supposed to contain more gold than the mines of America; and the wildest hopes of avarice and zeal were built on the willing submission of the Christians of Africa.

But the vows which pain had extorted, were forsworn on the return of health. The Abyssinians still adhered with unshaken constancy to the Monophysite faith; their languid

* Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. l. 4, c. 5. The most necessary arts are now exercised by the Jews, and the foreign trade is in the hands of the Armenians. What Gregory principally admired and envied was the industry of Europe—artes et opificia.

† John Bermudez, whose relation, printed at Lisbon, 1569, was translated into English by Purchas (Pilgrims, l. 7. c. 7, p. 1149, &c.), and from thence into French by La Croze (Christianisme d'Æthiopie, p. 92—265). The piece is curious; but the author may be suspected of deceiving Abyssinia, Rome, and Portugal. His title to the rank of patriarch is dark and doubtful. (Ludolph. Comment. No. 101, p. 473.) [Bermudez was a medical attendant on Roderigo de Lima, and one of those who were detained in Abyssinia. He accepted the vacant office of abuna, on condition of being allowed to visit Rome, and receive ordination from the pope. This was granted; and Paul III. appointed him patriarch of Abyssinia, Alexandria, and *of the sea*. When he returned, he attempted to rule the youthful prince, Claudius, whose moderation contrasted strikingly with "the fiery, brutal zeal of the

belief was inflamed by the exercise of dispute; they branded the Latins with the names of Arians and Nestorians, and imputed the adoration of *four* gods to those who separated the two natures of Christ. Fremona, a place of worship, or rather of exile, was assigned to the Jesuit missionaries. Their skill in the liberal and mechanic arts, their theological learning, and the decency of their manners, inspired a barren esteem; but they were not endowed with the gift of miracles,* and they vainly solicited a reinforcement of European troops. The patience and dexterity of forty years at length obtained a more favourable audience, and two emperors of Abyssinia were persuaded that Rome could ensure the temporal and everlasting happiness of her votaries. The first of these royal converts lost his crown and his life; and the rebel army was sanctified by the *abuna*, who hurled

ignorant, bigoted, and ill-mannered priest." (Bruce's Travels, ii. 195.) —Ed.]

* Religio Romana nec precibus patrum nec miraculis ab ipsis editis suffulciebatur, is the uncontradicted assurance of the devout emperor Susneus to his patriarch Mendez (Ludolph. Comment. No. 126, p. 529); and such assurances should be preciously kept, as an antidote against any marvellous legends. [Gibbon followed his best authorities on this subject; but they misrepresented all the proceedings. In the second volume of Bruce's Travels (p. 173—400), these have since been detailed at great length from the records of the country where they occurred. To that narrative the reader must refer. When Claudius was hard pressed by the Mahometans, Bermudez obtained from Goa an auxiliary force of four hundred Portuguese, under Christopher de Gama. But so far from saving Abyssinia, they were defeated with great loss, and their leader slain. At the first discharge of the Moorish artillery, the native troops fled in terror, and left the Europeans to their fate. The survivors of these settled in the country, married, and formed a kind of permanent military mission for propagating their creed. In another unsuccessful battle, Claudius was killed, and his kingdom almost subdued. Za Denghel reigned from 1595 to 1604. On his conversion to the Roman Catholic church, his subjects rebelled, and though assisted by the Portuguese band, he was defeated and fell in the battle. Socinios, the rightful heir, taking the name of Malec Segued, reigned from 1605 to 1632. *Segued* was a surname, meaning the feared or reverenced, often adopted by the kings of Abyssinia. Wishing to conciliate the Portuguese and promote tranquillity, he joined the Roman Catholic church. This involved him in protracted troubles; and the history of a reign of twenty-seven years is briefly summed up in a characteristic proclamation, which he issued, resigning the crown to his son. "Thus," adds the traveller, "in one day fell the whole fabric of the Romish faith and hierarchy of the Church of Rome in Abyssinia—thrown down by an exertion of the civil power, in its own

an anathema at the apostate, and absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity. The fate of Zadenghel was revenged by the courage and fortune of Susneus, who ascended the throne under the name of Segued, and more vigorously prosecuted the pious enterprise of his kinsman. After the amusement of some unequal combats between the Jesuits and his illiterate priests, the emperor declared himself a proselyte to the synod of Chalcedon, presuming that his clergy and people would embrace without delay the religion of their prince. The liberty of choice was succeeded by a law which imposed, under pain of death, the belief of the two natures of Christ: the Abyssinians were enjoined to work and to play on the sabbath; and Segued, in the face of Europe and Africa, renounced his connection with the Alexandrian church. A Jesuit, Alphonso Mendez, the Catholic patriarch of Æthiopia, accepted, in the name of Urban VIII., the homage and abjuration of his penitent. "I confess," said the emperor on his knees, "I confess that the pope is the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, and the sovereign of the world. To him I swear true obedience, and at his feet I offer my person and kingdom." A similar oath was repeated by his son, his brother, the clergy, the nobles, and even the ladies of the court: the Latin patriarch was invested with honours and wealth; and his missionaries erected their churches or citadels in the most convenient stations of the empire. The Jesuits themselves deplore the fatal indiscretion of their chief, who forgot the mildness of the gospel and the policy of his order, to introduce with hasty violence the liturgy of Rome and the Inquisition of Portugal. He condemned the ancient practice of circumcision, which health rather than superstition had first invented in the climate of Æthiopia.* A new baptism, a

defence, against the encroachments of priesthood and ecclesiastical tyranny."—ED.]

* I am aware how tender is the question of circumcision. Yet I will affirm, 1. That the Æthiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males, and even of females. (Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. ii.) 2. That it was practised in Æthiopia long before the introduction of Judaism, or Christianity. (Herodot. l. 2, c. 104; Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 72, 73.) "Infantes circumcidunt ob consuetudinem non ob Judaismum," says Gregory the Abyssinian priest (apud Fabric. Lux Christiana, p. 720). Yet, in the heat of dispute, the Portuguese were sometimes branded with the name of uncircumcised. (La Croze, p. 80 Ludolph

new ordination, was inflicted on the natives; and they trembled with horror when the most holy of the dead were torn from their graves, when the most illustrious of the living were excommunicated by a foreign priest. In the defence of their religion and liberty, the Abyssinians rose in arms, with desperate but unsuccessful zeal. Five rebellions were extinguished in the blood of the insurgents; two abunas were slain in battle, whole legions were slaughtered in the field, or suffocated in their caverns; and neither merit, nor rank, nor sex, could save from an ignominious death the enemies of Rome. But the victorious monarch was finally subdued by the constancy of the nation, of his mother, of his son, and of his most faithful friends. Segued listened to the voice of pity, of reason, perhaps of fear; and his edict of liberty of conscience instantly revealed the tyranny and weakness of the Jesuits. On the death of his father, Basilides expelled the Latin patriarch, and restored to the wishes of the nation the faith and the discipline of Egypt. The Monophysite churches resounded with a song of triumph, "that the sheep of Æthiopia were now delivered from the hyænas of the West;" and the gates of that solitary realm were for ever shut against the arts, the science, and the fanaticism of Europe.*

Hist. and Comment. l. 3, c. 1.)

* The three Protestant historians, Ludolphus (Hist. Æthiopica, Francofurt. 1681; Commentarius, 1691; Relatio Nova, &c. 1693, in folio); Geddes (Church History of Æthiopia, London, 1696, in octavo), and La Croze (Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie, La Haye, 1739, in duodecimo), have drawn their principal materials from the Jesuits, especially from the General History of Tellez, published in Portuguese at Conimbra, 1660. We might be surprised at their frankness; but their most flagitious vice, the spirit of persecution, was, in their eyes, the most meritorious virtue. Ludolphus possessed some, though a slight, advantage from the Æthiopic language, and the personal conversation of Gregory, a free-spirited Abyssinian priest, whom he invited from Rome to the court of Saxe-Gotha. See the Theologia Æthiopica of Gregory, in Fabricius, Lux Evangelii, p. 716—734. [Facilidas, on succeeding to the throne, vacated by his father, took the surname of Sultan Segued. He banished the patriarch and missionaries to Fremona; but finding that they were engaged there in hatching rebellion against him, and had invoked the aid of their countrymen in India, he sent all the Portuguese to the island of Masuah, and entered into treaties with the petty princes along the coast, to close their harbours for ever against that nation. (Bruce, ii. 409.) Yet from time to time, emissaries made their way into the

CHAPTER XLVIII. — PLAN OF THE REMAINDER OF THE WORK. — SUCCESSION AND CHARACTERS OF THE GREEK EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, FROM THE TIME OF HERACLIUS TO THE LATIN CONQUEST.

I HAVE now deduced from Trajan to Constantine, from Constantine to Heraclius, the regular series of the Roman emperors; and faithfully exposed the prosperous and adverse fortunes of their reigns. Five centuries of the decline and fall of the empire have already elapsed; but a period of more than eight hundred years still separates me from the term of my labours, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Should I persevere in the same course, should I observe the same measure, a prolix and slender thread would be spun through many a volume, nor would the patient reader find an adequate reward of instruction or amusement. At every step as we sink deeper in the decline and fall of the Eastern empire, the annals of each succeeding reign would impose a more ungrateful and melancholy task. These annals must continue to repeat a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery; the natural connection of causes and events would be broken by frequent and hasty transitions, and a minute accumulation of circumstances must destroy the light and effect of those general pictures which compose the use and ornament of a remote history. From the time of Heraclius, the Byzantine theatre is contracted and darkened: the line of empire, which had been defined by the laws of Justinian and the arms of Belisarius, recedes on all sides from our view; the Roman name, the proper subject of our inquiries, is reduced to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople; and the fate of the Greek empire has been compared to that of the Rhine, which loses itself in the sands before its waters mingle with the ocean. The scale of dominion is diminished to our view by the distance of time and place; nor is the loss of external splendour compensated by the nobler gifts of virtue and genius. In the last moments of her decay, Constantinople was doubtless more opulent and populous than Athens at her most flourishing era, when a scanty sum of six thousand talents,

country, to renew abortive attempts; and so late as the year 1715, some of them were executed for disturbing the peace of the land.—ED.

or twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, was possessed by twenty-one thousand male citizens of an adult age. But each of these citizens was a freeman who dared to assert the liberty of his thoughts, words, and actions; whose person and property were guarded by equal law; and who exercised his independent vote in the government of the republic. Their numbers seem to be multiplied by the strong and various discriminations of character; under the shield of freedom, on the wings of emulation and vanity, each Athenian aspired to the level of the national dignity: from this commanding eminence, some chosen spirits soared beyond the reach of a vulgar eye; and the chances of superior merit in a great and populous kingdom, as they are proved by experience, would excuse the computation of imaginary millions. The territories of Athens, Sparta, and their allies, do not exceed a moderate province of France or England; but after the trophies of Salamis and Platæa, they expand in our fancy to the gigantic size of Asia, which had been trampled under the feet of the victorious Greeks. But the subjects of the Byzantine empire, who assume and dishonour the names both of Greeks and Romans, present a dead uniformity of abject vices, which are neither softened by the weakness of humanity, nor animated by the vigour of memorable crimes. The freemen of antiquity might repeat with generous enthusiasm the sentence of Homer, "that on the first day of his servitude, the captive is deprived of one half of his manly virtue." But the poet had only seen the effects of civil or domestic slavery, nor could he foretell that the second moiety of manhood must be annihilated by the spiritual despotism, which shackles, not only the actions, but even the thoughts, of the prostrate votary. By this double yoke, the Greeks were oppressed under the successors of Heraclius, the tyrant; a law of eternal justice was degraded by the vices of his subjects; and on the throne, in the camp, in the schools, we search, perhaps with fruitless diligence, the names and characters that may deserve to be rescued from oblivion. Nor are the defects of the subject compensated by the skill and variety of the painters. Of a space of eight hundred years, the first four centuries are overspread with a cloud, interrupted by some faint and broken rays of historic light: in the lives of the emperors, from Maurice

to Alexius, Basil the Macedonian has alone been the theme of a separate work; and the absence, or loss, or imperfection of contemporary evidence, must be poorly supplied by the doubtful authority of more recent compilers. The four last centuries are exempt from the reproach of penury: and with the Comnenian family, the historic muse of Constantinople again revives, but her apparel is gaudy, her motions are without elegance or grace. A succession of priests, or courtiers, treads in each other's footsteps in the same path of servitude and superstition; their views are narrow, their judgment is feeble, or corrupt: and we close the volume of copious barrenness, still ignorant of the causes of events, the characters of the actors, and the manners of the times, which they celebrate or deplore. The observation which has been applied to a man, may be extended to a whole people, that the energy of the sword is communicated to the pen; and it will be found by experience that the tone of history will rise or fall with the spirit of the age.

From these considerations, I should have abandoned without regret the Greek slaves and their servile historians, had not I reflected that the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world. The space of the lost provinces was immediately replenished with new colonies and rising kingdoms: the active virtues of peace and war deserted from the vanquished to the victorious nations; and it is in their origin and conquests, in their religion and government, that we must explore the causes and effects of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire. Nor will this scope of narrative, the riches and variety of these materials, be incompatible with the unity of design and composition. As, in his daily prayers, the Mussulman of Fez or Delhi still turns his face towards the temple of Mecca, the historian's eye shall be always fixed on the city of Constantinople. The excursive line may embrace the wilds of Arabia and Tartary, but the circle will be ultimately reduced to the decreasing limit of the Roman monarchy.

On this principle I shall now establish the plan of the following parts of the present work. The first chapter will contain, in a regular series, the emperors who reigned at Constantinople during a period of six hundred years, from

the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest: a rapid abstract, which may be supported by a *general* appeal to the order and text of the original historians. In this introduction I shall confine myself to the revolutions of the throne, the succession of families, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domestic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or suspend the downfal of the Eastern empire. Such a chronological review will serve to illustrate the various arguments of the subsequent chapters; and each circumstance of the eventful story of the barbarians will adapt itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. The internal state of the empire, and the dangerous heresy of the Paulicians, which shook the East and enlightened the West, will be the subject of two separate chapters; but these inquiries must be postponed till our farther progress shall have opened the view of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era. After this foundation of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes, and each will occupy the space to which it may be entitled by greatness or merit, or the degree of connection with the Roman world and the present age. I. The FRANKS; a general appellation which includes all the Barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany, who were united by the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne. The persecution of images and their votaries, separated Rome and Italy from the Byzantine throne, and prepared the restoration of the Roman empire in the West. II. The ARABS or SARACENS. Three ample chapters will be devoted to this curious and interesting object. In the first, after a picture of the country and its inhabitants, I shall investigate the character of Mahomet; the character, religion, and success of the prophet. In the second, I shall lead the Arabs to the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the provinces of the Roman empire; nor can I check their victorious career till they have overthrown the monarchies of Persia and Spain. In the third, I shall inquire how Constantinople and Europe were saved by the luxury and arts, the division and decay, of the empire of the caliphs. A single chapter will include, III. The BULGARIANS, IV. HUNGARIANS, and V. RUSSIANS, who assaulted by sea or by land the provinces and

the capital; but the last of these, so important in their present greatness, will excite some curiosity in their origin and infancy. VI. The NORMANS, or rather the private adventurers of that warlike people, who founded a powerful kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, shook the throne of Constantinople, displayed the trophies of chivalry, and almost realized the wonders of romance. VII. The LATINS; the subjects of the pope, the nations of the West, who enlisted under the banner of the cross for the recovery or relief of the holy sepulchre. The Greek emperors were terrified and preserved by the myriads of pilgrims who marched to Jerusalem with Godfrey of Bouillon and the peers of Christendom. The second and third crusades trod in the footsteps of the first: Asia and Europe were mingled in a sacred war of two hundred years; and the Christian powers were bravely resisted, and finally expelled, by Saladin and the Mamelukes of Egypt. In these memorable crusades, a fleet and army of French and Venetians were diverted from Syria to the Thracian Bosphorus: they assaulted the capital, they subverted the Greek monarchy; and a dynasty of Latin princes was seated near threescore years on the throne of Constantine. VIII. The GREEKS themselves, during this period of captivity and exile, must be considered as a foreign nation; the enemies, and again the sovereigns of Constantinople. Misfortune had rekindled a spark of national virtue; and the imperial series may be continued with some dignity from their restoration to the Turkish conquest. IX. The MOGULS and TARTARS. By the arms of Zingis and his descendants, the globe was shaken from China to Poland and Greece; the sultans were overthrown; the caliphs fell, and the Cæsars trembled on their throne. The victories of Timour suspended above fifty years the final ruin of the Byzantine empire. X. I have already noticed the first appearance of the TURKS; and the names of the fathers, of *Seljuk* and *Othman*, discriminate the two successive dynasties of the nation, which emerged in the eleventh century from the Scythian wilderness. The former established a potent and splendid kingdom from the banks of the Oxus to Antioch and Nice; and the first crusade was provoked by the violation of Jerusalem and the danger of Constantinople. From an humble origin, the *Ottomans* arose, the scourge and terror of Christendom. Constan-

tinople was besieged and taken by Mahomet II. and his triumph annihilates the remnant, the image, the title, of the Roman empire in the East. The schism of the Greeks will be connected with their last calamities, and the restoration of learning in the Western world. I shall return from the captivity of the new, to the ruins of ancient ROME; and the venerable name, the interesting theme, will shed a ray of glory on the conclusion of my labours.

The emperor Heraclius had punished a tyrant and ascended his throne; and the memory of his reign is perpetuated by the transient conquest, and irreparable loss, of the Eastern provinces. After the death of Eudocia, his first wife, he disobeyed the patriarch, and violated the laws, by his second marriage with his niece Martina; and the superstition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the diseases of the father and the deformity of his offspring. But the opinion of an illegitimate birth is sufficient to distract the choice, and loosen the obedience, of the people: the ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a step-mother; and the aged husband was too feeble to withstand the arts of conjugal allurements. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed in a mature age the title of Augustus; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague and a guardian, and he yielded with secret reluctance to the partition of the empire. The senate was summoned to the palace to ratify or attest the association of Heracleonas, the son of Martina: the imposition of the diadem was consecrated by the prayer and blessing of the patriarch; the senators and patricians adored the majesty of the great emperor and the partners of his reign; and, as soon as the doors were thrown open, they were hailed by the tumultuary but important voice of the soldiers. After an interval of five months, the pompous ceremonies, which formed the essence of the Byzantine state, were celebrated in the cathedral and the hippodrome; the concord of the royal brothers was affectedly displayed by the younger leaning on the arm of the elder; and the name of Martina was mingled in the reluctant or venal acclamations of the people. Heraclius survived this association about two years; his last testament declared his two

sons the equal heirs of the Eastern empire, and commanded them to honour his widow Martina as their mother and their sovereign.

When Martina first appeared on the throne with the name and attributes of royalty, she was checked by a firm, though respectful, opposition; and the dying embers of freedom were kindled by the breath of superstitious prejudice. "We reverence," exclaimed the voice of a citizen, "we reverence the mother of our princes; but to those princes alone our obedience is due; and Constantine, the elder emperor, is of an age to sustain, in his own hands, the weight of the sceptre. Your sex is excluded by nature from the toils of government. How could you combat, how could you answer, the barbarians, who, with hostile or friendly intentions, may approach the royal city? May heaven avert from the Roman republic this national disgrace, which would provoke the patience of the slaves of Persia." Martina descended from the throne with indignation, and sought a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Constantine III. lasted only one hundred and three days:* he expired in the thirtieth year of his age, and, although his life had been a long malady, a belief was entertained that poison had been the means, and his cruel step-mother the author, of his untimely fate.

Martina reaped indeed the harvest of his death, and assumed the government in the name of the surviving emperor; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred; the jealousy of the people was awakened, and the two orphans whom Constantine had left became the objects of the public care. It was in vain that the son of Martina, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was taught to declare himself the guardian of his nephews, one of whom he had presented at the baptismal font: it was in vain that he swore on the wood of the true cross, to defend them against all their enemies. On his death bed, the late emperor had dispatched a trusty servant to arm the troops and provinces of the East in the defence of his helpless children.

* [Constantine III. is the title given by numismatists to the emperor who was proclaimed in Britain, A.D. 407. (See vol. iii. p. 378; Eckhel, viii. 176; Humphreys' Manual, p. 651.) The son of Heraclius and Eudocia is therefore styled Constantine IV. by some of these writers, but by Eckhel, Heraclius II.—ED.]

the eloquence and liberality of Valentin had been successful, and, from his camp of Chalcedon, he boldly demanded the punishment of the assassins, and the restoration of the lawful heir. The licence of the soldiers, who devoured the grapes and drank the wine of their Asiatic vineyards, provoked the citizens of Constantinople against the domestic authors of their calamities, and the dome of St. Sophia re-echoed, not with prayers and hymns, but with the clamours and imprecations of an enraged multitude. At their imperious command, Heracleonas appeared in the pulpit with the eldest of the royal orphans; Constans alone was saluted as emperor of the Romans, and a crown of gold, which had been taken from the tomb of Heraclius, was placed on his head, with the solemn benediction of the patriarch. But in the tumult of joy and indignation, the church was pillaged, the sanctuary was polluted by a promiscuous crowd of Jews and Barbarians; and the Monothelite Pyrrhus, a creature of the empress, after dropping a protestation on the altar, escaped by a prudent flight from the zeal of the Catholics. A more serious and bloody task was reserved for the senate, who derived a temporary strength from the consent of the soldiers and people. The spirit of Roman freedom revived the ancient and awful examples of the judgment of tyrants, and the imperial culprits were deposed and condemned as the authors of the death of Constantine. But the severity of the conscript fathers was stained by the indiscriminate punishment of the innocent and the guilty: Martina and Heracleonas were sentenced to the amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his nose; and after this cruel execution they consumed the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion. The Greeks who were capable of reflection might find some consolation for their servitude, by observing the abuse of power when it was lodged for a moment in the hands of an aristocracy.

We shall imagine ourselves transported five hundred years backwards, to the age of the Antonines, if we listen to the oration which Constans II. pronounced in the twelfth year of his age before the Byzantine senate. After returning his thanks for the just punishment of the assassins who had intercepted the fairest hopes of his father's reign,—"By the Divine Providence," said the young emperor, "and

by your righteous decree, Martina and her incestuous progeny have been cast headlong from the throne. Your majesty and wisdom have prevented the Roman state from degenerating into lawless tyranny. I therefore exhort and beseech you to stand forth as the counsellors and judges of the common safety." The senators were gratified by the respectful address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealous fear lest the senate or people should one day invade the right of primogeniture, and seat his brother Theodosius on an equal throne. By the imposition of holy orders, the grandson of Heraclius was disqualified for the purple; but this ceremony, which seemed to profane the sacraments of the church, was insufficient to appease the suspicions of the tyrant, and the death of the deacon Theodosius could alone expiate the crime of his royal birth. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the assassin, in the fulness of power, was driven from his capital into voluntary and perpetual exile. Constans embarked for Greece; and, as if he meant to retort the abhorrence which he deserved, he is said, from the imperial galley, to have spit against the walls of his native city. After passing the winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum in Italy, visited Rome, and concluded a long pilgrimage of disgrace and sacrilegious rapine, by fixing his residence at Syracuse.* But if Constans could fly from his people, he could not fly from himself. The remorse of his conscience created a phantom who pursued him by land and sea, by day and by night; and the visionary Theodosius, presenting to his lips a cup of blood, said, or seemed to say, "Drink, brother, drink;" a sure emblem of the aggravation of his guilt, since he had received from the hands of the deacon the mystic cup of the blood of Christ. Odious to himself and to mankind, Constans perished by domestic, perhaps by episcopal, treason, in the capital of Sicily. A

* [Muratori (Annali d'Italia, ix. 336—347) censures the proceedings of Constans in Italy, A.D. 663. Beneventum was besieged, and, after a visit of twelve days, the imperial robber carried away with him whatever he could seize in Rome, not sparing even the brazen tiles of the Pantheon, or church of Sta. Maria ai Martiri.—ED.]

servant who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, struck him violently with the vase. He fell, stunned by the blow, and suffocated by the water; and his attendants, who wondered at the tedious delay, beheld with indifference the corpse of their lifeless emperor. The troops of Sicily invested with the purple an obscure youth, whose inimitable beauty eluded (and it might easily elude) the declining art of the painters and sculptors of the age.

Constans had left in the Byzantine palace three sons, the eldest of whom had been clothed in his infancy with the purple. When the father summoned them to attend his person in Sicily, these precious hostages were detained by the Greeks, and a firm refusal informed him that they were the children of the State. The news of his murder was conveyed with almost supernatural speed from Syracuse to Constantinople; and Constantine, the eldest of his sons, inherited his throne without being the heir of the public hatred. His subjects contributed, with zeal and alacrity, to chastise the guilt and presumption of a province which had usurped the rights of the senate and people; the young emperor sailed from the Hellespont with a powerful fleet; and the legions of Rome and Carthage were assembled under his standard in the harbour of Syracuse. The defeat of the Sicilian tyrant was easy, his punishment just, and his beauteous head was exposed in the hippodrome: but I cannot applaud the clemency of a prince, who, among a crowd of victims, condemned the son of a patrician, for deploring with some bitterness the execution of a virtuous father. The youth was castrated; he survived the operation, and the memory of this indecent cruelty is preserved by the elevation of Germanus to the rank of a patriarch and saint. After pouring this bloody libation on his father's tomb, Constantine returned to his capital, and the growth of his young beard during the Sicilian voyage, was announced by the familiar surname of Pogonatus, to the Grecian world.* But his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained with fraternal discord. On his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, he had bestowed the title of

* [Eckhel (viii. 226) remarks, that, although surnamed Pogonatus, still the beard of this emperor, on his coins, is not like the "barba hirta et expansa" which distinguishes his father Constans. He is called by Humphreys (p. 654) Constantine V.—ED.]

Augustus; an empty title, for they continued to languish without trust or power in the solitude of the palace.* At their secret instigation, the troops of the Anatolian *theme* or province approached the city on the Asiatic side, demanded for the royal brothers the partition or exercise of sovereignty, and supported their seditious claim by a theological argument. They were Christians (they cried), and orthodox Catholics; the sincere votaries of the holy and undivided Trinity. Since there are three equal persons in heaven, it is reasonable there should be three equal persons upon earth. The emperor invited these learned divines to a friendly conference, in which they might propose their arguments to the senate; they obeyed the summons, but the prospect of their bodies hanging on the gibbet in the suburb of Galata, reconciled their companions to the unity of the reign of Constantine. He pardoned his brothers, and their names were still pronounced in the public acclamations; but on the repetition or suspicion of a similar offence, the obnoxious princes were deprived of their titles and noses, in the presence of the Catholic bishops who were assembled at Constantinople in the sixth general synod. In the close of his life, Pogonatus was anxious only to establish the right of primogeniture: the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, was offered on the shrine of St. Peter, as a symbol of their spiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exalted to the rank of Augustus and the assurance of the empire.

After the decease of his father, the inheritance of the Roman world devolved to Justinian II. and the name of a triumphant lawgiver was dishonoured by the vices of a boy, who imitated his namesake only in the expensive luxury of building. His passions were strong; his understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride, that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest community would not have chosen him for their local magistrate. His favourite ministers were two beings the least susceptible of human sympathy, a eunuch and a monk: to the one he abandoned the palace, to the other the

* [These two princes received the title of Cæsar from their father, and it is only on the reverse of some of his coins, that their portraits are found. (Eckhel, viii. 226, Humphreys, p. 654.)—ED.]

finances; the former corrected the emperor's mother with a scourge, the latter suspended the insolvent tributaries, with their heads downwards, over a slow and smoky fire. Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla, the cruelty of the Roman princes had most commonly been the effect of their fear; but Justinian, who possessed some vigour of character, enjoyed the sufferings, and braved the revenge, of his subjects about ten years, till the measure was full of his crimes and of their patience. In a dark dungeon, Leontius, a general of reputation, had groaned above three years with some of the noblest and most deserving of the patricians: he was suddenly drawn forth to assume the government of Greece; and this promotion of an injured man was a mark of the contempt rather than of the confidence of his prince. As he was followed to the port by the kind offices of his friends, Leontius observed, with a sigh, that he was a victim adorned for sacrifice, and that inevitable death would pursue his footsteps. They ventured to reply, that glory and empire might be the recompense of a generous resolution; that every order of men abhorred the reign of a monster; and that the hands of two hundred thousand patriots expected only the voice of a leader. The night was chosen for their deliverance; and in the first effort of the conspirators, the prefect was slain, and the prisons were forced open: the emissaries of Leontius proclaimed in every street,—"Christians, to St. Sophia!" and the seasonable text of the patriarch, "This is the day of the Lord!" was the prelude of an inflammatory sermon. From the church the people adjourned to the hippodrome: Justinian, in whose cause not a sword had been drawn, was dragged before these tumultuary judges, and their clamours demanded the instant death of the tyrant. But Leontius, who was already clothed with the purple, cast an eye of pity on the prostrate son of his own benefactor and of so many emperors. The life of Justinian was spared; the amputation of his nose, perhaps of his tongue, was imperfectly performed: the happy flexibility of the Greek language could impose the name of Rhinotmetus; and the mutilated tyrant was banished to Chersonæ in Crim-Tartary, a lonely settlement, where corn, wine, and oil, were imported as foreign luxuries.

On the edge of the Scythian wilderness, Justinian still cherished the pride of his birth and the hope of his resto-

ration. After three years' exile, he received the pleasing intelligence that his injury was avenged by a second revolution, and that Leontius in his turn had been dethroned and mutilated by the rebel Apsimar, who assumed the more respectable name of Tiberius. But the claim of lineal succession was still formidable to a plebeian usurper; and his jealousy was stimulated by the complaints and charges of the Chersonites, who beheld the vices of the tyrant in the spirit of the exile. With a band of followers, attached to his person by common hope or common despair, Justinian fled from the inhospitable shore to the horde of the Chozars, who pitched their tents between the Tanais and Borysthenes. The khan entertained with pity and respect the royal suppliant: Phanagoria, once an opulent city, on the Asiatic side of the lake Mœotis, was assigned for his residence; and every Roman prejudice was stifled in his marriage with the sister of the barbarian, who seems, however, from the name of Theodora, to have received the sacrament of baptism. But the faithless Chozar was soon tempted by the gold of Constantinople; and had not the design been revealed by the conjugal love of Theodora, her husband must have been assassinated, or betrayed into the power of his enemies. After strangling, with his own hands, the two emissaries of the khan, Justinian sent back his wife to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in search of new and more faithful allies. His vessel was assaulted by a violent tempest; and one of his pious companions advised him to deserve the mercy of God by a vow of general forgiveness, if he should be restored to the throne. "Of forgiveness?" replied the intrepid tyrant, "may I perish this instant—may the Almighty whelm me in the waves—if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies!" He survived this impious menace, sailed into the mouth of the Danube, trusted his person in the royal village of the Bulgarians, and purchased the aid of Terbelis, a Pagan conqueror, by the promise of his daughter and a fair partition of the treasures of the empire. The Bulgarian kingdom extended to the confines of Thrace; and the two princes besieged Constantinople at the head of fifteen thousand horse. Apsimar was dismayed by the sudden and hostile apparition of his rival, whose head had been promised by the Chozar, and of whose evasion he was yet ignorant. After an absence of ten years, the crimes of

Justinian were faintly remembered, and the birth and misfortunes of their hereditary sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever discontented with the ruling powers; and by the active diligence of his adherents, he was introduced into the city and palace of Constantine.

In rewarding his allies and recalling his wife, Justinian displayed some sense of honour and gratitude; and Terbelis retired, after sweeping away a heap of gold coin, which he measured with his Scythian whip. But never was vow more religiously performed than the sacred oath of revenge which he had sworn amid the storms of the Euxine. The two usurpers, for I must reserve the name of tyrant for the conqueror, were dragged into the hippodrome, the one from his prison, the other from his palace. Before their execution, Leontius and Apsimar were cast prostrate in chains beneath the throne of the emperor; and Justinian, planting a foot on each of their necks, contemplated above an hour the chariot-race, while the inconstant people shouted, in the words of the Psalmist,—"Thou shalt trample on the asp and basilisk, and on the lion and dragon shalt thou set thy foot!" The universal defection which he had once experienced might provoke him to repeat the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one head. Yet I shall presume to observe, that such a wish is unworthy of an ingenious tyrant, since his revenge and cruelty would have been extinguished by a single blow, instead of the slow variety of tortures which Justinian inflicted on the victims of his anger. His pleasures were inexhaustible: neither private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active, or even passive, obedience to an established government; and during the six years of his new reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack, as the only instruments of royalty.* But his most implacable hatred was pointed against the Chersonites, who had insulted his exile, and violated the laws of hospitality. Their remote situation afforded some means of defence, or at least of escape; and a grievous tax was imposed on Constantinople, to supply the preparations of a fleet and army. "All are

* [This unforgiving, blood-thirsty tyrant styled himself "the servant of Christ," and inscribed the new title on his coins—"Novus Augustorum titulus se *servos Christi* profitentium." (Eckhel, viii. 227.) —ED.)

guilty and all must perish," was the mandate of Justinian; and the bloody execution was intrusted to his favourite Stephen, who was recommended by the epithet of the savage. Yet even the savage Stephen imperfectly accomplished the intentions of his sovereign. The slowness of his attack allowed the greater part of the inhabitants to withdraw into the country; and the minister of vengeance contented himself with reducing the youth of both sexes to a state of servitude, with roasting alive seven of the principal citizens, with drowning twenty in the sea, and with reserving forty-two in chains to receive their doom from the mouth of the emperor. In their return, the fleet was driven on the rocky shores of Anatolia; and Justinian applauded the obedience of the Euxine, which had involved so many thousands of his subjects and enemies in a common shipwreck; but the tyrant was still insatiate of blood; and a second expedition was commanded to extirpate the remains of the proscribed colony. In the short interval, the Chersonites had returned to their city, and were prepared to die in arms; the khan of the Chozars had renounced the cause of his odious brother; the exiles of every province were assembled in Tauris; and Bardanes, under the name of Philippicus, was invested with the purple. The imperial troops, unwilling and unable to perpetrate the revenge of Justinian, escaped his displeasure by abjuring his allegiance; the fleet, under their new sovereign, steered back a more auspicious course to the harbours of Sinope and Constantinople; and every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every hand to execute, the death of the tyrant. Destitute of friends, he was deserted by his barbarian guards; and the stroke of the assassin was praised as an act of patriotism and Roman virtue. His son Tiberius had taken refuge in a church; his aged grandmother guarded the door; and the innocent youth, suspending round his neck the most formidable relics, embraced with one hand the altar, with the other the foot of the true cross.* But the popular fury that dares to trample on superstition, is deaf to the cries of humanity; and the race of Heraclius was extinguished after a reign of one hundred years.

* [This youth was associated in the empire with his father, under the title of Tiberius IV. as appears on many of their coins. (Eckhel, viii. 228; Humphreys, p. 654.)—ED.]

Between the fall of the Heraclian and the rise of the Isaurian dynasty, a short interval of six years is divided into three reigns. Bardanes, or Philippicus, was hailed at Constantinople as a hero who had delivered his country from a tyrant; and he might taste some moments of happiness in the first transports of sincere and universal joy. Justinian had left behind him an ample treasure, the fruit of cruelty and rapine; but this useful fund was soon and idly dissipated by his successor. On the festival of his birth-day, Philippicus entertained the multitude with the games of the hippodrome; from thence he paraded through the streets with a thousand banners and a thousand trumpets; refreshed himself in the baths of Zeuxippus, and, returning to the palace, entertained his nobles with a sumptuous banquet. At the meridian hour he withdrew to his chamber, intoxicated with flattery and wine, and forgetful that his example had made every subject ambitious, and that every ambitious subject was his secret enemy. Some bold conspirators introduced themselves in the disorder of the feast; and the slumbering monarch was surprised, bound, blinded, and deposed, before he was sensible of his danger. Yet the traitors were deprived of their reward; and the free voice of the senate and people promoted Artemius from the office of secretary to that of emperor: he assumed the title of Anastasius II. and displayed in a short and troubled reign the virtues both of peace and war. But after the extinction of the imperial line, the rule of obedience was violated, and every change diffused the seeds of new revolutions.* In a mutiny of the fleet, an obscure and reluctant officer of the revenue was forcibly invested with the purple: after some months of a naval war, Anastasius resigned the sceptre; and the conqueror, Theodosius III. submitted in his turn to the superior ascendant of Leo, the general and emperor of the Oriental troops. His two predecessors were permitted to embrace the ecclesiastical profession: the restless impatience of Anastasius tempted him to risk and to lose his life in a treasonable enterprise; but the last days of Theodosius were honourable and secure. The single and sublime word, "HEALTH," which he inscribed on his tomb, expresses the

* [Muratori (Annali d'Italia, ix. 549) contrasts the "invidiabil pace" of Italy under the Lombard king, Liutprand, with the convulsions of the misgoverned Eastern empire.—ED.]

confidence of philosophy or religion; and the fame of his miracles was long preserved among the people of Ephesus. This convenient shelter of the church might sometimes impose a lesson of clemency; but it may be questioned whether it is for the public interest to diminish the perils of unsuccessful ambition.

I have dwelt on the fall of a tyrant; I shall briefly represent the founder of a new dynasty, who is known to posterity by the invectives of his enemies, and whose public and private life is involved in the ecclesiastical story of the Iconoclasts. Yet in spite of the clamours of superstition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Isaurian, may be reasonably drawn from the obscurity of his birth, and the duration of his reign.*—I. In an age of manly spirit, the prospect of an imperial reward would have kindled every energy of the mind, and produced a crowd of competitors as deserving as they were desirous to reign. Even in the corruption and debility of the modern Greeks, the elevation of a plebeian from the last to the first rank of society, supposes some qualifications above the level of the multitude. He would probably be ignorant and disdainful of speculative science; and in the pursuit of fortune, he might absolve himself from the obligations of benevolence and justice; but to his character we may ascribe the useful virtues of prudence and fortitude, the knowledge of mankind, and the important art of gaining their confidence and directing their passions. It is agreed that Leo was a native of Isauria, and that Conon was his primitive name. The writers, whose awkward satire is praise, describe him as an itinerant pedlar, who drove an ass with some paltry merchandise to the country fairs; and foolishly relate that he met on the road some Jewish fortune-tellers, who promised him the Roman empire, on condition that he should abolish the worship of idols. A more probable account relates the migration of his father from Asia Minor to Thrace, where he exercised the lucrative trade of a grazier; and he must have acquired considerable wealth, since the first introduction of his son was procured by a supply of five hundred sheep to the imperial

* [Muratori (Annali d'Italia, ix. 649) and Eckhel (viii. 231) make Leo's elevation to have taken place in 717, instead of 718, which is Gibbon's date. This accords also with a reign of twenty-four years, and his death in 741.—ED.]

camp. His first service was in the guards of Justinian, where he soon attracted the notice, and, by degrees, the jealousy, of the tyrant. His valour and dexterity were conspicuous in the Colchian war: from Anastasius he received the command of the Anatolian legions, and by the suffrage of the soldiers he was raised to the empire, with the general applause of the Roman world. II. In this dangerous elevation, Leo III. supported himself against the envy of his equals, the discontent of a powerful faction, and the assaults of his foreign and domestic enemies. The Catholics, who accuse his religious innovations, are obliged to confess that they were undertaken with temper, and conducted with firmness. Their silence respects the wisdom of his administration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of twenty-four years, he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople; and the purple which he had acquired was transmitted by the right of inheritance to the third generation.

In a long reign of thirty-four years, the son and successor of Leo, Constantine V.* surnamed Copronymus, attacked with less temperate zeal the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhausted the bitterness of religious gall, in their portrait of this spotted panther, this antichrist, this flying dragon of the serpent's seed, who surpassed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. His reign was a long butchery of whatever was most noble, or holy, or innocent in his empire. In person, the emperor assisted at the execution of his victims, surveyed their agonies, listened to their groans, and indulged, without satiating, his appetite for blood: a plate of noses was accepted as a grateful offering, and his domestics were often scourged or mutilated by the royal hand. His surname was derived from his pollution of his baptismal font. The infant might be excused; but the manly pleasures of Copronymus degraded him below the level of a brute; his lust confounded the eternal distinctions of sex and species; and he seemed to extract some

* [Constantine VI. Humphreys, p. 654. Eckhel has coins from which it appears, that on the death of Leo III. Artavasdus, who had married Anna, the daughter of Leo, was proclaimed emperor, and gave the title of Augustus to his son Nicephorus I. They were overcome and deprived of their sight by Constantine Copronymus, in 743. De Num. Vet. viii. 253.—Ed.]

unnatural delight from the objects most offensive to human sense. In his religion, the Iconoclast was a heretic, a Jew, a Mahometan, a Pagan, and an atheist; and his belief of an invisible power could be discovered only in his magic rites, human victims, and nocturnal sacrifices to Venus and the demons of antiquity. His life was stained with the most opposite vices, and the ulcers which covered his body anticipated before his death the sentiment of hell tortures. Of these accusations, which I have so patiently copied, a part is refuted by its own absurdity; and in the private anecdotes of the life of princes, the lie is more easy as the detection is more difficult. Without adopting the pernicious maxim, that where much is alleged, something must be true, I can however discern, that Constantine V. was dissolute and cruel. Calumny is more prone to exaggerate than to invent; and her licentious tongue is checked in some measure by the experience of the age and country to which she appeals. Of the bishops and monks, the generals and magistrates, who are said to have suffered under his reign, the numbers are recorded, the names were conspicuous, the execution was public, the mutilation visible and permanent. The Catholics hated the person and government of Copronymus; but even their hatred is a proof of their oppression. They dissemble the provocations which might excuse or justify his rigour; but even these provocations must gradually inflame his resentment, and harden his temper in the use or the abuse of despotism. Yet the character of the fifth Constantine was not devoid of merit, nor did his government always deserve the curses or the contempt of the Greeks. From the confession of his enemies, I am informed of the restoration of an ancient aqueduct, of the redemption of two thousand five hundred captives, of the uncommon plenty of the times, and of the new colonies with which he repeopled Constantinople and the Thracian cities. They reluctantly praise his activity and courage; he was on horseback in the field at the head of his legions; and, although the fortune of his arms was various, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and barbarian war. Heretical praise must be cast into the scale, to counterbalance the weight of orthodox invective. The Iconoclasts revered the virtues of the prince: forty years after his death, they still prayed before the tomb of

the saint. A miraculous vision was propagated by fanaticism or fraud; and the Christian hero appeared on a milk-white steed, brandishing his lance against the Pagans of Bulgaria: "an absurd fable," says the Catholic historian, "since Copronymus is chained with the demons in the abyss of hell."*

Leo IV. the son of the fifth, and the father of the sixth, Constantine, was of a feeble constitution both of mind and body, and the principal care of his reign was the settlement of the succession. The association of the young Constantine was urged by the officious zeal of his subjects; and the emperor, conscious of his decay, complied, after a prudent hesitation, with their unanimous wishes. The royal infant, at the age of five years, was crowned with his mother Irene; and the national consent was ratified by every circumstance of pomp and solemnity that could dazzle the eyes, or bind the conscience, of the Greeks. An oath of fidelity was administered in the palace, the church, and the hippodrome, to the several orders of the state, who adjured the holy names of the son, and mother of God. "Be witness, O Christ! that we will watch over the safety of Constantine, the son of Leo, expose our lives in his service, and bear true allegiance to his person and posterity." They pledged their faith on the wood of the true cross, and the act of their engagement was deposited on the altar of St. Sophia. The first to swear, and the first to violate their oath, were the five sons of Copronymus by a second marriage; and the story of these princes is singular and tragic. The right of primogeniture excluded them from the throne; the injustice of their elder brother defrauded them of a legacy of about two millions sterling; some vain titles were not deemed a sufficient compensation for wealth and power; and they repeatedly conspired against their nephew, before and after the death of his father. Their first attempt was pardoned: for the second offence they were condemned to the ecclesiastical state; and for the third treason, Nicephorus, the eldest and most guilty, was deprived of his eyes, and his four brothers, Christopher, Nicetas, Anthemeus, and Eudoxas, were punished, as a milder sentence, by the amputa-

* [Muratori records the death of Copronymus, but does not pursue him beyond this world, from which he says that the Iconoclast departed, "con lasciar dopo di se un' abbominevol memoria presso i Cattolici." Annali d' Italia. x. 236.—ED.]

tion of their tongues. After five years' confinement, they escaped to the church of St. Sophia, and displayed a pathetic spectacle to the people. "Countrymen and Christians," cried Nicephorus for himself and his mute brethren, "behold the sons of your emperor, if you can still recognize our features in this miserable state. A life, an imperfect life, is all that the malice of our enemies has spared. It is now threatened, and we now throw ourselves on your compassion." The rising murmur might have produced a revolution, had it not been checked by the presence of a minister, who soothed the unhappy princes with flattery and hope, and gently drew them from the sanctuary to the palace. They were speedily embarked for Greece, and Athens was allotted for the place of their exile. In this calm retreat, and in their helpless condition, Nicephorus and his brothers were tormented by the thirst of power, and tempted by a Sclavonian chief, who offered to break their prison, and to lead them in arms, and in the purple, to the gates of Constantinople. But the Athenian people, ever zealous in the cause of Irene, prevented her justice or cruelty; and the five sons of Copronymus were plunged in eternal darkness and oblivion.

For himself, that emperor had chosen a barbarian wife, the daughter of the khan of the Chozars:* but in the marriage of his heir, he preferred an Athenian virgin, an orphan, seventeen years old, whose sole fortune must have consisted in her personal accomplishments. The nuptials of Leo and Irene were celebrated with royal pomp; she soon acquired the love and confidence of a feeble husband, and in his testament he declared the empress guardian of the Roman world, and of their son Constantine VI.† who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood Irene most ably and assiduously discharged, in her public administration, the duties of a faithful mother; and her zeal in the restoration of images has deserved the name and honours of a

* [The "barbarian wife" of Copronymus had also the name of Irene. From her origin, their son Leo IV. was surnamed Chazarus. The superstition of the age attributed his death to his having gratified a childish fondness for jewelry, by placing on his head a richly ornamented crown, that had been presented to a church by the emperor Maurice. This was followed by an eruption, which in a few days terminated his life prematurely at the age of thirty years. Eckhel, viii. 233.—ED.]

† [Constantine VII. Humphreys, p. 655.—ED.]

saint, which she still occupies in the Greek calendar. But the emperor attained the maturity of youth; the maternal yoke became more grievous; and he listened to the favourites of his own age, who shared his pleasures, and were ambitious of sharing his power. Their reasons convinced him of his right, their praises of his ability, to reign; and he consented to reward the services of Irene by a perpetual banishment to the isle of Sicily. But her vigilance and penetration easily disconcerted their rash projects: a similar, or more severe, punishment was retaliated on themselves and their advisers; and Irene inflicted on the ungrateful prince the chastisement of a boy. After this contest the mother and the son were at the head of two domestic factions; and, instead of mild influence and voluntary obedience, she held in chains a captive and an enemy. The empress was overthrown by the abuse of victory; the oath of fidelity which she exacted to herself alone, was pronounced with reluctant murmurs; and the bold refusal of the Armenian guards encouraged a free and general declaration, that Constantine VI. was the lawful emperor of the Romans. In this character he ascended his hereditary throne, and dismissed Irene to a life of solitude and repose. But her haughty spirit condescended to the arts of dissimulation: she flattered the bishops and eunuchs, revived the filial tenderness of the prince, regained his confidence, and betrayed his credulity. The character of Constantine was not destitute of sense or spirit; but his education had been studiously neglected;* and his ambitious mother exposed to the public censure the vices which she had nourished, and the actions which she had secretly advised: his divorce and second marriage offended the prejudices of the clergy, and by his imprudent rigour he forfeited the attachment of the Armenian guards. A powerful conspiracy was formed for the restoration of Irene; and the secret, though widely diffused, was faithfully kept above eight months, till the emperor, suspicious of his danger, escaped from Constantinople, with the design of appealing to the provinces and armies. By

* [This "studious neglect" of her son's education by Irene, is an evidence, not only of the spirit of the age, but also of the course advisedly and sagaciously taken by those who wanted to rule. The fate of Constantine VI. is but a type of the accomplished purpose of ignorance, through the whole circuit of society.—ED.]

this hasty flight, the empress was left on the brink of the precipice; yet before she implored the mercy of her son, Irene addressed a private epistle to the friends whom she had placed about his person, with a menace, that unless *they* accomplished, *she* would reveal, their treason. Their fear rendered them intrepid; they seized the emperor on the Asiatic shore, and he was transported to the Porphyry apartment of the palace where he had first seen the light. In the mind of Irene, ambition had stifled every sentiment of humanity and nature; and it was decreed in her bloody council that Constantine should be rendered incapable of the throne: her emissaries assaulted the sleeping prince, and stabbed their daggers with such violence and precipitation into his eyes, as if they meant to execute a mortal sentence. An ambiguous passage of Theophanes persuaded the annalist of the church that death was the immediate consequence of this barbarous execution. The Catholics have been deceived or subdued by the authority of Baronius; and Protestant zeal has re-echoed the words of a cardinal desirous, as it should seem, to favour the patroness of images. Yet the blind son of Irene survived many years, oppressed by the court, and forgotten by the world; the Isaurian dynasty was silently extinguished; and the memory of Constantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his daughter Euphrosyne with the emperor Michael II.

The most bigoted orthodoxy has justly execrated the unnatural mother, who may not easily be paralleled in the history of crimes. To her bloody deed superstition has attributed a subsequent darkness of seventeen days; during which many vessels in mid-day were driven from their course, as if the sun, a globe of fire so vast and so remote, could sympathize with the atoms of a revolving planet. On earth, the crime of Irene was left five years unpunished; her reign was crowned with external splendour; and if she could silence the voice of conscience, she neither heard nor regarded the reproaches of mankind. The Roman world bowed to the government of a female; and as she moved through the streets of Constantinople, the reins of four milk-white steeds were held by as many patricians, who marched on foot before the golden chariot of their queen. But these patricians were for the most part eunuchs; and their black ingratitude justified, on this occasion, the popular hatred

and contempt. Raised, enriched, intrusted with the first dignities of the empire, they basely conspired against their benefactress: the great treasurer Nicephorus was secretly invested with the purple; her successor was introduced into the palace, and crowned at St. Sophia by the venal patriarch. In their first interview, she recapitulated with dignity the revolutions of her life, gently accused the perfidy of Nicephorus, insinuated that he owed his life to her unsuspicious clemency, and, for the throne and treasures which she resigned, solicited a decent and honourable retreat. His avarice refused this modest compensation; and in her exile of the isle of Lesbos, the empress earned a scanty subsistence by the labours of her distaff.

Many tyrants have reigned undoubtedly more criminal than Nicephorus, but none perhaps have more deeply incurred the universal abhorrence of their people. His character was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice; his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was vanquished by the Saracens, and slain by the Bulgarians; and the advantage of his death overbalanced, in the public opinion, the destruction of a Roman army. His son and heir Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound: yet six months of an expiring life were sufficient to refute his indecent, though popular, declaration, that he would in all things avoid the example of his father. On the near prospect of his decease, Michael, the great master of the palace, and the husband of his sister Procopia, was named by every person of the palace and city, except by his envious brother. Tenacious of a sceptre, now falling from his hand, he conspired against the life of his successor, and cherished the idea of changing to a democracy the Roman empire. But these rash projects served only to inflame the zeal of the people, and to remove the scruples of the candidate: Michael I. accepted the purple, and before he sank into the grave, the son of Nicephorus implored the clemency of his new sovereign.* Had Michael in an age of

* [Michael was the son of Theophylactus. He had the names of Rhangabe from his grandfather, and Curopalata, from his office. His predecessor is called Nicephorus *the second* by Eckhel (viii. 237,) who says also that Stauracius died the following year in a monastery.—ED.]

peace ascended an hereditary throne, he might have reigned and died the father of his people: but his mild virtues were adapted to the shade of private life, nor was he capable of controlling the ambition of his equals, or of resisting the arms of the victorious Bulgarians. While his want of ability and success exposed him to the contempt of the soldiers, the masculine spirit of his wife Procopia awakened their indignation. Even the Greeks of the ninth century were provoked by the insolence of a female, who, in the front of the standards, presumed to direct their discipline and animate their valour; and their licentious clamours advised the new Semiramis to reverence the majesty of a Roman camp. After an unsuccessful campaign, the emperor left, in their winter quarters of Thrace, a disaffected army under the command of his enemies; and their artful eloquence persuaded the soldiers to break the dominion of the eunuchs, to degrade the husband of Procopia, and to assert the right of a military election. They marched towards the capital; yet the clergy, the senate, and the people of Constantinople, adhered to the cause of Michael; and the troops and treasures of Asia might have protracted the mischiefs of civil war. But his humanity (by the ambitious it will be termed his weakness) protested, that not a drop of Christian blood should be shed in his quarrel, and his messengers presented the conquerors with the keys of the city and the palace. They were disarmed by his innocence and submission; his life and his eyes were spared; and the imperial monk enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion above thirty-two years after he had been stripped of the purple and separated from his wife.*

A rebel in the time of Nicephorus, the famous and unfortunate Bardanes, had once the curiosity to consult an Asiatic prophet, who after prognosticating his fall, announced the fortunes of his three principal officers, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Phrygian, and Thomas the Cappadocian, the successive reigns of the two former, the fruitless

* [Michael had also a son Theophylactus, whom he made his colleague, and whom he wished to connect, by marriage, with the family of Charlemagne. (Muratori, Ann. d'Ital. xi. 6.) The coins on which this prince is represented with his father, are noticed by Humphreys, (p. 655) but overlooked by Eckhel. The unfortunate youth was mutilated by Leo and confined in a monastery.—ED.]

and fatal enterprise of the third. This prediction was verified, or rather was produced by the event. Ten years afterwards, when the Thracian camp rejected the husband of Procopia, the crown was presented to the same Leo, the first in military rank and the secret author of the mutiny. As he affected to hesitate—"with this sword," (said his companion Michael) "I will open the gates of Constantinople to your imperial sway; or instantly plunge it into your bosom, if you obstinately resist the just desires of your fellow-soldiers." The compliance of the Armenian was rewarded with the empire, and he reigned seven years and a half under the name of Leo V. Educated in a camp, and ignorant both of laws and letters, he introduced into his civil government the rigour and even cruelty of military discipline; but if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. His religious inconstancy was taxed by the epithet of chameleon, but the Catholics have acknowledged by the voice of a saint and confessors, that the life of the Iconoclast was useful to the republic. The zeal of his companion Michael was repaid with riches, honours, and military command; and his subordinate talents were beneficially employed in the public service. Yet the Phrygian was dissatisfied at receiving as a favour a scanty portion of the imperial prize, which he had bestowed on his equal; and his discontent, which sometimes evaporated in a hasty discourse, at length assumed a more threatening and hostile aspect against a prince whom he represented as a cruel tyrant. That tyrant, however, repeatedly detected, warned, and dismissed the old companion of his arms, till fear and resentment prevailed over gratitude; and Michael, after a scrutiny into his actions and designs, was convicted of treason, and sentenced to be burnt alive in the furnace of the private baths. The devout humanity of the empress Theophano was fatal to her husband and family. A solemn day, the twenty-fifth of December, had been fixed for the execution; she urged, that the anniversary of the Saviour's birth would be profaned by this inhuman spectacle, and Leo consented with reluctance to a decent respite. But on the vigil of the feast, his sleepless anxiety prompted him to visit at the dead of night the chamber in which his enemy was confined: he beheld him released from his chain, and stretched on his jailer's bed in a profound slumber

Leo was alarmed at these signs of security and intelligence; but though he retired with silent steps, his entrance and departure were noticed by a slave who lay concealed in a corner of the prison. Under the pretence of requesting the spiritual aid of a confessor, Michael informed the conspirators that their lives depended on his discretion, and that a few hours were left to assure their own safety by the deliverance of their friend and country. On the great festivals, a chosen band of priests and chanters was admitted into the palace by a private gate, to sing matins in the chapel; and Leo, who regulated with the same strictness the discipline of the choir and of the camp, was seldom absent from these early devotions. In the ecclesiastical habit, but with swords under their robes, the conspirators mingled with the procession, lurked in the angles of the chapel, and expected, as the signal of murder, the intonation of the first psalm by the emperor himself. The imperfect light, and the uniformity of dress, might have favoured his escape, while their assault was pointed against a harmless priest; but they soon discovered their mistake, and encompassed on all sides the royal victim. Without a weapon and without a friend, he grasped a weighty cross, and stood at bay against the hunters of his life; but as he asked for mercy,—"This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance," was the inexorable reply. The stroke of a well-aimed sword separated from his body the right arm and the cross, and Leo the Armenian was slain at the foot of the altar.*

A memorable reverse of fortune was displayed in Michael II. who, from a defect in his speech, was surnamed the Stammerer.† He was snatched from the fiery furnace to the sovereignty of an empire; and as in the tumult a smith could not readily be found, the fetters remained on his legs several hours after he was seated on the throne of

* [Leo had a son and colleague, named Constantine, who, on his father's death, was mutilated and banished. See Eckhel (viii. 238) who does not however give this prince a place in his list of emperors; and Humphreys (p. 655) who calls him Constantine VIII. Great confusion will be found from this time in the numbering of successive Constantines by different writers.—ED.]

† [Michael II. was the founder of the Amorian dynasty, so called from the place of his birth, Amorium, a city of Phrygia. See ch. 52. – ED.]

the Cæsars. The royal blood which had been the price of his elevation, was unprofitably spent; in the purple he retained the ignoble vices of his origin; and Michael lost his provinces with as supine indifference as if they had been the inheritance of his fathers. His title was disputed by Thomas, the last of the military triumvirate, who transported into Europe fourscore thousand barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the shores of the Caspian. He formed the siege of Constantinople; but the capital was defended with spiritual and carnal weapons; a Bulgarian king assaulted the camp of the Orientals, and Thomas had the misfortune, or the weakness, to fall alive into the power of the conqueror. The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; he was placed on an ass, and, amidst the insults of the people, was led through the streets, which he sprinkled with his blood. The depravation of manners, as savage as they were corrupt, is marked by the presence of the emperor himself. Deaf to the lamentations of a fellow-soldier, he incessantly pressed the discovery of more accomplices, till his curiosity was checked by the question of an honest or guilty minister,—"Would you give credit to an enemy against the most faithful of your friends?" After the death of his first wife, the emperor, at the request of the senate, drew from her monastery Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine VI. Her august birth might justify a stipulation in the marriage-contract, that her children should equally share the empire with their elder brother. But the nuptials of Michael and Euphrosyne were barren; and she was content with the title of mother of Theophilus, his son and successor.

The character of Theophilus is a rare example in which religious zeal has allowed, and perhaps magnified, the virtues of a heretic and a persecutor. His valour was often felt by the enemies, and his justice by the subjects, of the monarchy; but the valour of Theophilus was rash and fruitless, and his justice arbitrary and cruel. He displayed the banner of the cross against the Saracens; but his five expeditions were concluded by a signal overthrow; Amorium, the native city of his ancestors, was levelled with the ground, and from his military toils, he derived only the surname of the Unfortunate. The wisdom of a sovereign is comprised in the institution of laws and the choice of magistrates, and

while he seems without action, his civil government revolves round his centre with the silence and order of the planetary system. But the justice of Theophilus was fashioned on the model of the Oriental despots, who, in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult the reason or passion of the moment, without measuring the sentence by the law, or the penalty by the offence. A poor woman threw herself at the emperor's feet to complain of a powerful neighbour, the brother of the empress, who had raised his palace-wall to such an inconvenient height, that her humble dwelling was excluded from light and air! On the proof of the fact, instead of granting, like an ordinary judge, sufficient or ample damages to the plaintiff, the sovereign adjudged to her use and benefit the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with this extravagant satisfaction; his zeal converted a civil trespass into a criminal act; and the unfortunate patrician was stripped and scourged in the public place of Constantinople. For some venial offences, some defect of equity or vigilance, the principal ministers, a prefect, a quæstor, a captain of the guards, were banished, or mutilated, or scalded with boiling pitch, or burnt alive in the hippodrome; and as these dreadful examples might be the effects of error or caprice, they must have alienated from his service the best and wisest of the citizens. But the pride of the monarch was flattered in the exercise of power, or, as he thought, of virtue; and the people, safe in their obscurity, applauded the danger and debasement of their superiors. This extraordinary rigour was justified, in some measure, by its salutary consequences; since, after a scrutiny of seventeen days, not a complaint or abuse could be found in the court or city; and it might be alleged that the Greeks could be ruled only with a rod of iron, and that the public interest is the motive and law of the supreme judge. Yet in the crime, or the suspicion, of treason, that judge is of all others the most credulous and partial. Theophilus might inflict a tardy vengeance on the assassins of Leo and the saviours of his father; but he enjoyed the fruits of their crime; and his jealous tyranny sacrificed a brother and a prince to the future safety of his life. A Persian of the race of the Sassanides died in poverty and exile at Constantinople, leaving an only son, the issue of a plebeian marriage. At the age of twelve years, the royal

birth of Theophobus was revealed, and his merit was not unworthy of his birth. He was educated in the Byzantine palace, a Christian and a soldier; advanced with rapid steps in the career of fortune and glory; received the hand of the emperor's sister; and was promoted to the command of thirty thousand Persians, who, like his father, had fled from the Mahometan conquerors. These troops, doubly infected with mercenary and fanatic vices, were desirous of revolting against their benefactor, and erecting the standard of their native king: but the loyal Theophobus rejected their offers, disconcerted their schemes, and escaped from their hands to the camp or palace of his royal brother. A generous confidence might have secured a faithful and able guardian for his wife and his infant son, to whom Theophilus, in the flower of his age, was compelled to leave the inheritance of the empire.* But his jealousy was exasperated by envy and disease: he feared the dangerous virtues which might either support or oppress their infancy and weakness; and the dying emperor demanded the head of the Persian prince. With savage delight he recognized the familiar features of his brother: "Thou art no longer Theophobus," he said; and sinking on his couch, he added with a faultering voice, "Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus!"

The Russians, who have borrowed from the Greeks the greatest part of their civil and ecclesiastical policy, preserved, till the last century, a singular institution in the marriage of the czar. They collected, not the virgins of every rank and of every province, a vain and romantic idea, but the daughters of the principal nobles, who awaited in the palace the choice of their sovereign. It is affirmed, that a similar method was adopted in the nuptials of Theophilus. With a golden apple in his hand, he slowly walked between two lines of contending beauties: his eye was detained by the charms of Icasia, and, in the awkwardness of a first declaration, the prince could only observe, that in this world, women had been the cause of much evil: "And surely, sir," (she pertly replied), "they have likewise been the

* [Theophilus had another son, Constantine, whose name is found on coins. In Eckhel's enumeration he appears as Constantine VII. (vol. viii. p. 240. 528); Humphreys (p. 655) gives his name only, without a number.—ED.]

occasion of much good." This affectation of unseasonable wit displeased the imperial lover: he turned aside in disgust; Icasia concealed her mortification in a convent; and the modest silence of Theodora was rewarded with the golden apple. She deserved the love, but did not escape the severity, of her lord. From the palace garden he beheld a vessel deeply laden, and steering into the port: on the discovery that the precious cargo of Syrian luxury was the property of his wife, he condemned the ship to the flames, with a sharp reproach, that her avarice had degraded the character of an empress into that of a merchant. Yet his last choice intrusted her with the guardianship of the empire and her son Michael, who was left an orphan in the fifth year of his age. The restoration of images, and the final extirpation of the Iconoclasts, has endeared her name to the devotion of the Greeks; but in the fervour of religious zeal, Theodora entertained a grateful regard for the memory and salvation of her husband. After thirteen years of a prudent and frugal administration, she perceived the decline of her influence; but the second Irene imitated only the virtues of her predecessor. Instead of conspiring against the life or government of her son, she retired, without a struggle, though not without a murmur, to the solitude of private life, deploring the ingratitude, the vices, and the inevitable ruin, of the worthless youth.

Among the successors of Nero and Elagabalus, we have not hitherto found the imitation of their vices, the character of a Roman prince who considered pleasure as the object of life, and virtue as the enemy of pleasure. Whatever might have been the maternal care of Theodora in the education of Michael III. her unfortunate son was a king before he was a man. If the ambitious mother laboured to check the progress of reason, she could not cool the ebullition of passion; and her selfish policy was justly repaid by the contempt and ingratitude of the headstrong youth. At the age of eighteen, he rejected her authority, without feeling his own incapacity to govern the empire and himself. With Theodora, all gravity and wisdom retired from the court: their place was supplied by the alternate dominion of vice and folly; and it was impossible, without forfeiting the public esteem, to acquire or preserve the favour of the emperor. The millions of gold and silver which had been

accumulated for the service of the state, were lavished on the vilest of men, who flattered his passions and shared his pleasures; and in a reign of thirteen years, the richest of sovereigns was compelled to strip the palace and the churches of their precious furniture. Like Nero, he delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and sighed to be surpassed in the accomplishments in which he should have blushed to excel. Yet the studies of Nero in music and poetry betrayed some symptoms of a liberal taste: the more ignoble arts of the son of Theophilus were confined to the chariot-race of the hippodrome. The four factions which had agitated the peace, still amused the idleness, of the capital: for himself, the emperor assumed the blue livery; the three rival colours were distributed to his favourites, and in the vile though eager contention he forgot the dignity of his person and the safety of his dominions. He silenced the messenger of an invasion, who presumed to divert his attention in the most critical moment of the race; and, by his command, the importunate beacons were extinguished, that too frequently spread the alarm from Tarsus to Constantinople. The most skilful charioteers obtained the first place in his confidence and esteem; their merit was profusely rewarded; the emperor feasted in their houses, and presented their children at the baptismal font; and, while he applauded his own popularity, he affected to blame the cold and stately reserve of his predecessors. The unnatural lusts which had degraded even the manhood of Nero were banished from the world; yet the strength of Michael was consumed by the indulgence of love and intemperance. In his midnight revels, when his passions were inflamed by wine, he was provoked to issue the most sanguinary commands; and, if any feelings of humanity were left, he was reduced, with the return of sense, to approve the salutary disobedience of his servants. But the most extraordinary feature in the character of Michael is the profane mockery of the religion of his country. The superstition of the Greeks might indeed excite the smile of a philosopher; but his smile would have been rational and temperate, and he must have condemned the ignorant folly of a youth who insulted the objects of public veneration. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the patriarch; his twelve metropolitans, among whom the

emperor was ranked, assumed their ecclesiastical garments; they used or abused the sacred vessels of the altar; and, in their bacchanalian feasts, the holy communion was administered in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. Nor were these impious spectacles concealed from the eyes of the city. On the day of a solemn festival, the emperor, with his bishops or buffoons, rode on asses through the streets, encountered the true patriarch at the head of his clergy, and, by their licentious shouts and obscene gestures, disordered the gravity of the Christian procession. The devotion of Michael appeared only in some offence to reason or piety; he received his theatrical crowns from the statue of the Virgin; and an imperial tomb was violated for the sake of burning the bones of Constantine the Iconoclast. By this extravagant conduct, the son of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was odious; every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the thirtieth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael III. was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.

The genealogy of Basil the Macedonian (if it be not the spurious offspring of pride and flattery) exhibits a genuine picture of the revolution of the most illustrious families. The Arsacides, the rivals of Rome, possessed the sceptre of the East near four hundred years: a younger branch of these Parthian kings continued to reign in Armenia; and their royal descendants survived the partition and servitude of that ancient monarchy. Two of these, Artabanus and Chlienes, escaped or retired to the court of Leo I.; his bounty seated them in a safe and hospitable exile, in the province of Macedonia: Adrianople was their final settlement. During several generations they maintained the dignity of their birth; and their Roman patriotism rejected the tempting offers of the Persian and Arabian powers, who recalled them to their native country. But their splendour was insensibly clouded by time and poverty; and the father of Basil was reduced to a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands; yet he scorned to disgrace the blood of the Arsacides by a plebeian alliance; his

wife, a widow of Adrianople, was pleased to count among her ancestors the great Constantine; and their royal infant was connected by some dark affinity of lineage or country with the Macedonian Alexander. No sooner was he born, than the cradle of Basil, his family, and his city, were swept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians; he was educated a slave in a foreign land; and, in this severe discipline, he acquired the hardiness of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. In the age of youth or manhood he shared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who generously broke their fetters, marched through Bulgaria to the shores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of Barbarians, embarked in the ships which had been stationed for their reception, and returned to Constantinople, from whence they were distributed to their respective homes. But the freedom of Basil was naked and destitute: his farm was ruined by the calamities of war: after his father's death, his manual labour, or service, could no longer support a family of orphans; and he resolved to seek a more conspicuous theatre, in which every virtue and every vice may lead to the paths of greatness. The first night of his arrival at Constantinople, without friends or money, the weary pilgrim slept on the steps of the church of St. Diomede; he was fed by the casual hospitality of a monk; and was introduced to the service of a cousin and namesake of the emperor Theophilus, who, though himself of a diminutive person, was always followed by a train of tall and handsome domestics. Basil attended his patron to the government of Peloponnesus; eclipsed, by his personal merit, the birth and dignity of Theophilus, and formed a useful connection with a wealthy and charitable matron of Patras. Her spiritual or carnal love embraced the young adventurer, whom she adopted as her son. Danielis presented him with thirty slaves; and the produce of her bounty was expended in the support of his brothers, and the purchase of some large estates in Macedonia. His gratitude or ambition still attached him to the service of Theophilus; and a lucky accident recommended him to the notice of the court. A famous wrestler, in the train of the Bulgarian ambassadors, had defied, at the royal banquet, the boldest and most robust of the Greeks. The strength of Basil was praised; he accepted the challenge;

and the barbarian champion was overthrown at the first onset. A beautiful but vicious horse was condemned to be hamstrung; it was subdued by the dexterity and courage of the servant of Theophilus; and his conqueror was promoted to an honourable rank in the imperial stables. But it was impossible to obtain the confidence of Michael, without complying with his vices; and his new favourite, the great chamberlain of the palace, was raised and supported by a disgraceful marriage with a royal concubine, and the dishonour of his sister who succeeded to her place. The public administration had been abandoned to the Cæsar Bardas, the brother and enemy of Theodora; but the arts of female influence persuaded Michael to hate and to fear his uncle: he was drawn from Constantinople, under the pretext of a Cretan expedition, and stabbed in the tent of audience, by the sword of the chamberlain, and in the presence of the emperor. About a month after this execution, Basil was invested with the title of Augustus and the government of the empire. He supported this unequal association till his influence was fortified by popular esteem. His life was endangered by the caprice of the emperor; and his dignity was profaned by a second colleague, who had rowed in the galleys. Yet the murder of his benefactor must be condemned as an act of ingratitude and treason; and the churches which he dedicated to the name of St. Michael were a poor and puerile expiation of his guilt.

The different ages of Basil I. may be compared with those of Augustus. The situation of the Greek did not allow him in his earliest youth to lead an army against his country, or to proscribe the noblest of her sons; but his aspiring genius stooped to the arts of a slave; he dissembled his ambition and even his virtues, and grasped with the bloody hand of an assassin, the empire which he ruled with the wisdom and tenderness of a parent. A private citizen may feel his interest repugnant to his duty: but it must be from a deficiency of sense or courage, that an absolute monarch can separate his happiness from his glory, or his glory from the public welfare. The life or panegyric of Basil has indeed been composed and published under the long reign of his descendants; but even their stability on the throne may be justly ascribed to the su-

perior merit of their ancestor. In his character, his grandson Constantine has attempted to delineate a perfect image of royalty; but that feeble prince, unless he had copied a real model, could not easily have soared so high above the level of his own conduct or conceptions. But the most solid praise of Basil is drawn from the comparison of a ruined and a flourishing monarchy, that which he wrested from the dissolute Michael, and that which he bequeathed to the Macedonian dynasty. The evils, which had been sanctified by time and example, were corrected by his master-hand; and he revived, if not the national spirit, at least the order and majesty of the Roman empire. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his understanding vigorous and decisive; and in his practice he observed that rare and salutary moderation, which pursues each virtue, at an equal distance between the opposite vices. His military service had been confined to the palace; nor was the emperor endowed with the spirit or the talents of a warrior. Yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the Barbarians. As soon as he had formed a new army by discipline and exercise, he appeared in person on the banks of the Euphrates, curbed the pride of the Saracens, and suppressed the dangerous though just revolt of the Manichæans. His indignation against a rebel, who had long eluded his pursuit, provoked him to wish and to pray, that, by the grace of God, he might drive three arrows into the head of Chrysocheir. That odious head, which had been obtained by treason rather than by valour, was suspended from a tree, and thrice exposed to the dexterity of the imperial archer: a base revenge against the dead, more worthy of the times than of the character of Basil. But his principal merit was in the civil administration of the finances and of the laws. To replenish an exhausted treasury, it was proposed to resume the lavish and ill-placed gifts of his predecessor: his prudence abated one moiety of the restitution; and a sum of 1,200,000*l.* was instantly procured to answer the most pressing demands, and to allow some space for the mature operations of economy. Among the various schemes for the improvement of the revenue, a new mode was suggested of capitation, or tribute, which would have too much depended on the arbitrary discretion of the assessors. A sufficient list

of honest and able agents was instantly produced by the minister; but, on the more careful scrutiny of Basil himself, only two could be found who might be safely intrusted with such dangerous powers; and they justified his esteem by declining his confidence. But the serious and successful diligence of the emperor established by degrees an equitable balance of property and payment, of receipt and expenditure; a peculiar fund was appropriated to each service; and a public method secured the interest of the prince and the property of the people. After reforming the luxury, he assigned two patrimonial estates to supply the decent plenty, of the imperial table; the contributions of the subject were reserved for his defence; and the residue was employed in the embellishment of the capital and provinces. A taste for building, however costly, may deserve some praise and much excuse; from thence industry is fed, art is encouraged, and some object is attained of public emolument or pleasure; the use of a road, an aqueduct, or an hospital, is obvious and solid; and the hundred churches that arose by the command of Basil were consecrated to the devotion of the age. In the character of a judge he was assiduous and impartial, desirous to save, but not afraid to strike; the oppressors of the people were severely chastised; but his personal foes, whom it might be unsafe to pardon, were condemned, after the loss of their eyes, to a life of solitude and repentance. The change of language and manners demanded a revision of the obsolete jurisprudence of Justinian: the voluminous body of his Institutes, Pandects, Code, and Novels, was digested under forty titles, in the Greek idiom; and the *Basilics*, which were improved and completed by his son and grandson, must be referred to the original genius of the founder of their race. This glorious reign was terminated by an accident in the chase. A furious stag entangled his horns in the belt of Basil, and raised him from his horse; he was rescued by an attendant, who cut the belt and slew the animal; but the fall, or the fever, exhausted the strength of the aged monarch, and he expired in the palace amidst the tears of his family and people. If he struck off the head of the faithful servant for presuming to draw his sword against his sovereign, the pride of despotism, which had lain dormant in his life, revived in

the last moments of despair, when he no longer wanted or valued the opinion of mankind.

Of the four sons of the emperor, Constantine died before his father, whose grief and credulity were amused by a flattering impostor and a vain apparition.* Stephen, the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; both Leo and Alexander were alike invested with the purple, but the powers of government were solely exercised by the elder brother. The name of Leo VI. has been dignified with the title of *philosopher;* and the union of the prince and the sage, of the active and speculative virtues, would indeed constitute the perfection of human nature. But the claims of Leo are far short of this ideal excellence. Did he reduce his passions and appetites under the dominion of reason? His life was spent in the pomp of the palace, in the society of his wives and concubines; and even the clemency which he shewed, and the peace which he strove to preserve, must be imputed to the softness and indolence of his character. Did he subdue his prejudices, and those of his subjects? His mind was tinged with the most puerile superstition; the influence of the clergy, and the errors of the people, were consecrated by his laws; and the oracles of Leo, which reveal, in prophetic style, the fates of the empire, are founded on the arts of astrology and divination. If we still inquire the reason of his sage appellation, it can only be replied, that the son of Basil was less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state; that his education had been directed by the learned Photius; and that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed by the pen, or in the name, of the imperial *philosopher.* But the reputation of his philosophy and religion was overthrown by a domestic vice, the repetition of his nuptials. The primitive ideas of the merit and holiness of celibacy were preached by the monks and entertained by the Greeks. Marriage was allowed as a necessary means for the propagation of mankind; after the death of either party, the survivor might satisfy, by a *second* union, the weakness or

* [Constantine was proclaimed Augustus in 868 and died in 879. He was the Eighth of the name according to Eckhel (viii. 243,) and the Ninth of Humphreys (p. 656.)—ED.]

the strength of the flesh; but a *third* marriage was censured as a state of legal fornication; and a *fourth* was a sin or scandal as yet unknown to the Christians of the East. In the beginning of his reign, Leo himself had abolished the state of concubines, and condemned, without annulling, third marriages; but his patriotism and love soon compelled him to violate his own laws, and to incur the penance, which in a similar case he had imposed on his subjects. In his three first alliances, his nuptial bed was unfruitful; the emperor required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir. The beautiful Zoe was introduced into the palace as a concubine; and after a trial of her fecundity, and the birth of Constantine, her lover declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child, by the celebration of his fourth nuptials. But the patriarch Nicholas refused his blessing: the imperial baptism of the young prince was obtained by a promise of separation; and the contumacious husband of Zoe was excluded from the communion of the faithful. Neither the fear of exile, nor the desertion of his brethren, nor the authority of the Latin church, nor the danger of failure or doubt in the succession to the empire, could bend the spirit of the inflexible monk. After the death of Leo, he was recalled from exile to the civil and ecclesiastical administration; and the edict of union which was promulgated in the name of Constantine, condemned the future scandal of fourth marriages, and left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

In the Greek language *purple* and *porphyry* are the same word: and as the colours of nature are invariable, we may learn, that a dark deep red was the Tyrian dye which stained the purple of the ancients. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry: it was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses; and the royal birth of their children was expressed by the appellation of *porphyrogenite*, or born in the purple. Several of the Roman princes had been blessed with an heir; but this peculiar surname was first applied to Constantine VII.* His life and titular reign were of equal duration; but of fifty-four years, six had elapsed before his father's death; and the son of Leo was ever the

* [Eckhel (viii. 246) calls him Constantine X. and Humphreys (p. 656) Constantine XI. In most Chronological Tables (Blair, Oxford, Kruse, &c.) he is numbered VII.—ED.]

voluntary or reluctant subject of those who oppressed his weakness or abused his confidence. His uncle Alexander, who had long been invested with the title of Augustus, was the first colleague and governor of the young prince; but in a rapid career of vice and folly, the brother of Leo already emulated the reputation of Michael; and when he was extinguished by a timely death, he entertained a project of castrating his nephew, and leaving the empire to a worthless favourite. The succeeding years of the minority of Constantine were occupied by his mother Zoe, and a succession or council of seven regents, who pursued their interest, gratified their passions, abandoned the republic, supplanted each other, and finally vanished in the presence of a soldier. From an obscure origin, Romanus Lecapenus had raised himself to the command of the naval armies; and in the anarchy of the times, had deserved, or at least had obtained, the national esteem. With a victorious and affectionate fleet, he sailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people, and the guardian of the prince. His supreme office was at first defined by the new appellation of father of the emperor; but Romanus soon disdained the subordinate powers of a minister, and assumed with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near five-and-twenty years. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine, were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes.* Yet, in the preservation of his life and crown, he might still applaud his own fortune and the clemency of the usurper. The examples of ancient and modern history would have excused the ambition of Romanus: the powers and the laws of the empire were in his hand; the spurious birth of Constantine would have justified his exclusion; and the grave or the monastery was open to receive the son of the concubine. But Lecapenus does not appear to have possessed either the virtues or the vices of a tyrant. The spirit and activity of his private life dissolved away in the sunshine of the throne; and in his licentious pleasures, he

* [This precedence makes the son of Romanus appear as Constantine IX. in Eckhel (viii. 245,) and as X. in Humphreys (p. 656.)—Ed.]

forgot the safety both of the republic and of his family. Of a mild and religious character, he respected the sanctity of oaths, the innocence of the youth, the memory of his parents, and the attachment of the people. The studious temper and retirement of Constantine disarmed the jealousy of power: his books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement; and, if he could improve a scanty allowance by the sale of his pictures, if their price was not enhanced by the name of the artist, he was endowed with a personal talent, which few princes could employ in the hour of adversity.

The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his children. After the decease of Christopher his eldest son, the two surviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and conspired against their father. At the hour of noon, when all strangers were regularly excluded from the palace, they entered his apartment with an armed force, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk to a small island in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious communmunity. The rumour of this domestic revolution excited a tumult in the city; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true and lawful emperor, was the object of the public care; and the sons of Lecapenus were taught, by tardy experience, that they had achieved a guilty and perilous enterprise for the benefit of their rival. Their sister Helena, the wife of Constantine, revealed, or supposed, their treacherous design of assassinating her husband at the royal banquet. His loyal adherents were alarmed; and the two usurpers were prevented, seized, degraded from the purple, and embarked for the same island and monastery where their father had been so lately confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach with a sarcastic smile, and, after a just reproach of their folly and ingratitude, presented his imperial colleagues with an equal share of his water and vegetable diet. In the fortieth year of his reign, Constantine VII. obtained the possession of the Eastern world, which he ruled, or seemed to rule, near fifteen years. But he was devoid of that energy of character which could emerge into a life of action and glory; and the studies which had amused and dignified his leisure, were incompatible with the serious duties of a sovereign. The emperor neglected the practice, to instruct his son Romanus in the theory, of

government; while he indulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he dropped the reins of the administration into the hands of Helena his wife; and, in the shifting scene of her favour and caprice, each minister was regretted in the promotion of a more worthless successor. Yet the birth and misfortunes of Constantine had endeared him to the Greeks; they excused his failings; they respected his learning, his innocence and charity, his love of justice; and the ceremony of his funeral was mourned with the unfeigned tears of his subjects. The body, according to ancient custom, lay in state in the vestibule of the palace; and the civil and military officers, the patricians, the senate, and the clergy, approached in due order to adore and kiss the inanimate corpse of their sovereign. Before the procession moved towards the imperial sepulchre, a herald proclaimed this awful admonition:—"Arise, O king of the world, and obey the summons of the King of kings!"

The death of Constantine was imputed to poison; and his son Romanus, who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne of Constantinople. A prince, who, at the age of twenty, could be suspected of anticipating his inheritance, must have been already lost in the public esteem; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked; and the largest share of the guilt was transferred to his wife, Theophano, a woman of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious manners. The sense of personal glory and public happiness, the true pleasures of royalty, were unknown to the son of Constantine; and while the two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours which the emperor owed to his people were consumed in strenuous idleness. In the morning he visited the circus; at noon he feasted the senators; the greater part of the afternoon he spent in the *sphæristerium*, or tennis-court, the only theatre of his victories; from thence he passed over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, hunted and killed four wild boars of the largest size, and returned to the palace, proudly content with the labours of the day. In strength and beauty he was conspicuous above his equals: tall and straight as a young cypress, his complexion was fair and florid, his eyes sparkling, his shoulders broad, his nose long and aquiline. Yet even these perfections were insufficient to fix the love of Theophano; and, after a reign of four

years, she mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father.

By his marriage with this impious woman, Romanus the younger left two sons, Basil II. and Constantine IX.* and two daughters, Theophano and Anne. The eldest sister was given to Otho II. emperor of the West; the younger became the wife of Wolodomir, great duke and apostle of Russia, and, by the marriage of her granddaughter with Henry I. king of France, the blood of the Macedonians, and perhaps of the Arsacides, still flows in the veins of the Bourbon line. After the death of her husband, the empress aspired to reign in the name of her sons, the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two, years of age; but she soon felt the instability of a throne, which was supported by a female who could not be esteemed, and two infants who could not be feared. Theophano looked around for a protector, and threw herself into the arms of the bravest soldier; her heart was capacious; but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable that interest was the motive and excuse of her love. Nicephorus Phocas united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of a hero and saint. In the former character, his qualifications were genuine and splendid: the descendant of a race illustrious by their military exploits, he had displayed, in every station and in every province, the courage of a soldier and the conduct of a chief; and Nicephorus was crowned with recent laurels, from the important conquest of the isle of Crete. His religion was of a more ambiguous cast; and his hair-cloth, his fasts, his pious idiom, and his wish to retire from the business of the world, were a convenient mask for his dark and dangerous ambition. Yet he imposed on a holy patriarch, by whose influence, and by a decree of the senate, he was intrusted, during the minority of the young princes, with the absolute and independent command of the Oriental armies. As soon as he had secured the leaders and the troops, he boldly marched to Constantinople, trampled on his enemies, avowed his correspondence with the empress, and, without degrading her sons, assumed, with the title of Augustus, the pre-eminence of rank and the plenitude of

* [Constantine XI. (Eckhel, viii. 253,) and XII. (Humphreys, p. 656.) —Ed.]

power. But his marriage with Theophano was refused by the same patriarch who had placed the crown on his head; by his second nuptials he incurred a year of canonical penance; a bar of spiritual affinity was opposed to their celebration; and some evasion and perjury were required to silence the scruples of the clergy and people. The popularity of the emperor was lost in the purple: in a reign of six years he provoked the hatred of strangers and subjects: and the hypocrisy and avarice of the first Nicephorus were revived in his successor. Hypocrisy I shall never justify or palliate; but I will dare to observe, that the odious vice of avarice is of all others most hastily arraigned, and most unmercifully condemned. In a private citizen, our judgment seldom expects an accurate scrutiny into his fortune and expense; and in a steward of the public treasure, frugality is always a virtue, and the increase of taxes too often an indispensable duty. In the use of his patrimony, the generous temper of Nicephorus had been proved; and the revenue was strictly applied to the service of the State; each spring the emperor marched in person against the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes in triumphs, conquests, and the security of the Eastern barrier.

Among the warriors who promoted his elevation, and served under his standard, a noble and valiant Armenian had deserved and obtained the most eminent rewards. The stature of John Zimisces was below the ordinary standard; but this diminutive body was endowed with strength, beauty, and the soul of a hero. By the jealousy of the emperor's brother, he was degraded from the office of general of the East, to that of director of the posts, and his murmurs were chastised with disgrace and exile. But Zimisces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress: on her intercession he was permitted to reside at Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of the capital: her bounty was repaid in his clandestine and amorous visits to the palace; and Theophano consented with alacrity to the death of an ugly and penurious husband. Some bold and trusty conspirators were concealed in her most private chambers; in the darkness of a winter night, Zimisces, with his principal companions, embarked in a small boat, traversed the Bosphorus, landed at the palace stairs, and silently ascended a ladder of ropes,

which was cast down by the female attendants. Neither his own suspicions, nor the warnings of his friends, nor the tardy aid of his brother Leo, nor the fortress which he had erected in the palace, could protect Nicephorus from a domestic foe, at whose voice every door was opened to the assassins. As he slept on a bearskin on the ground, he was roused by their noisy intrusion, and thirty daggers glittered before his eyes. It is doubtful whether Zimisces imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign; but he enjoyed the inhuman spectacle of revenge. The murder was protracted by insult and cruelty; and as soon as the head of Nicephorus was shewn from the window, the tumult was hushed, and the Armenian was emperor of the East. On the day of his coronation, he was stopped on the threshold of St. Sophia, by the intrepid patriarch; who charged his conscience with the deed of treason and blood; and required, as a sign of repentance, that he should separate himself from his more criminal associate. This sally of apostolical zeal was not offensive to the prince, since he could neither love nor trust a woman who had repeatedly violated the most sacred obligations; and Theophano, instead of sharing his imperial fortune, was dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace. In their last interview, she displayed a frantic and impotent rage; accused the ingratitude of her lover; assaulted with words and blows her son Basil, as he stood silent and submissive in the presence of a superior colleague; and avowed her own prostitution in proclaiming the illegitimacy of his birth. The public indignation was appeased by her exile, and the punishment of the meaner accomplices; the death of an unpopular prince was forgiven; and the guilt of Zimisces was forgotten in the splendour of his virtues. Perhaps his profusion was less useful to the state than the avarice of Nicephorus; but his gentle and generous behaviour delighted all who approached his person; and it was only in the paths of victory that he trod in the footsteps of his predecessor. The greatest part of his reign was employed in the camp and the field: his personal valour and activity were signalized on the Danube and the Tigris, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Russians and the Saracens, he deserved the titles of saviour of the empire, and conqueror of the East. In his last return from Syria, he observed that the most fruitful

lands of his new provinces were possessed by the eunuchs. "And is it for them," he exclaimed with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for them that we shed our blood, and exhaust the treasures of our people?" The complaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison.

Under this usurpation, or regency, of twelve years, the two lawful emperors, Basil and Constantine, had silently grown to the age of manhood. Their tender years had been incapable of dominion: the respectful modesty of their attendance and salutation was due to the age and merit of their guardians: the childless ambition of those guardians had no temptation to violate their right of succession: their patrimony was ably and faithfully administered; and the premature death of Zimisces was a loss, rather than a benefit, to the sons of Romanus. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obscure and voluntary pupils of a minister, who extended his reign by persuading them to indulge the pleasures of youth, and to disdain the labours of government. In this silken web, the weakness of Constantine was for ever entangled; but his elder brother felt the impulse of genius and the desire of action; he frowned, and the minister was no more. Basil was the acknowledged sovereign of Constantinople and the provinces of Europe; but Asia was oppressed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Sclerus, who, alternately friends and enemies, subjects and rebels, maintained their independence, and laboured to emulate the example of successful usurpation. Against these domestic enemies, the son of Romanus first drew his sword, and they trembled in the presence of a lawful and high-spirited prince. The first, in the front of battle, was thrown from his horse, by the stroke of poison, or an arrow; the second, who had been twice loaded with chains, and twice invested with the purple, was desirous of ending in peace the small remainder of his days. As the aged suppliant approached the throne, with dim eyes and faultering steps, leaning on his two attendants, the emperor exclaimed, in the insolence of youth and power,—"And is this the man who has so long been the object of our terror?" After he had confirmed his own authority, and the peace of the empire, the trophies of Nicephorus and Zimisces would not suffer

their royal pupil to sleep in the palace. His long and frequent expeditions against the Saracens were rather glorious than useful to the empire; but the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria appears, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the Roman arms. Yet instead of applauding their victorious prince, his subjects detested the rapacious and rigid avarice of Basil; and in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only discern the courage, patience, and ferociousness of a soldier. A vicious education, which could not subdue his spirit, had clouded his mind; he was ignorant of every science; and the remembrance of his learned and feeble grandsire might encourage his real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artists and arts. Of such a character, in such an age, superstition took a firm and lasting possession; after the first licence of his youth, Basil II. devoted his life, in the palace and the camp, to the penance of a hermit, wore the monastic habit under his robes and armour, observed a vow of continence, and imposed on his appetites a perpetual abstinence from wine and flesh. In the sixty-eighth year of his age, his martial spirit urged him to embark in person for a holy war against the Saracens of Sicily; he was prevented by death, and Basil, surnamed the slayer of the Bulgarians, was dismissed from the world, with the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people. After his decease, his brother Constantine enjoyed, about three years, the power, or rather the pleasures, of royalty; and his only care was the settlement of the succession. He had enjoyed sixty-six years the title of Augustus; and the reign of the two brothers is the longest, and most obscure, of the Byzantine history.

A lineal succession of five emperors, in a period of one hundred and sixty years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynasty, which had been thrice respected by the usurpers of their power. After the death of Constantine IX., the last male of the royal race, a new and broken scene presents itself, and the accumulated years of twelve emperors do not equal the space of his single reign. His elder brother had preferred his private chastity to the public interest, and Constantine himself had only three daughters, Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora, who were preserved till a mature age in a state

of ignorance and virginity. When their marriage was discussed in the council of their dying father, the cold or pious Theodora refused to give an heir to the empire, but her sister Zoe presented herself a willing victim at the altar. Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of a graceful person and fair reputation, was chosen for her husband, and, on his declining that honour, was informed, that blindness or death was the second alternative. The motive of his reluctance was conjugal affection; but his faithful wife sacrificed her own happiness to his safety and greatness; and her entrance into a monastery removed the only bar to the imperial nuptials. After the decease of Constantine, the sceptre devolved to Romanus III.; but his labours at home and abroad were equally feeble and fruitless; and the mature age, the forty-eight years of Zoe, were less favourable to the hopes of pregnancy than to the indulgence of pleasure. Her favourite chamberlain was a handsome Paphlagonian of the name of Michael, whose first trade had been that of a money-changer; and Romanus, either from gratitude or equity, connived at their criminal intercourse, or accepted a slight assurance of their innocence. But Zoe soon justified the Roman maxim, that every adultress is capable of poisoning her husband; and the death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael IV. The expectations of Zoe were, however, disappointed: instead of a vigorous and grateful lover, she had placed in her bed a miserable wretch, whose health and reason were impaired by epileptic fits, and whose conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. The most skilful physicians of the mind and body were summoned to his aid; and his hopes were amused by frequent pilgrimages to the baths, and to the tombs of the most popular saints; the monks applauded his penance, and, except restitution (but to whom should he have restored?) Michael sought every method of expiating his guilt. While he groaned and prayed in sackcloth and ashes, his brother, the eunuch John, smiled at his remorse, and enjoyed the harvest of a crime of which himself was the secret and most guilty author. His administration was only the art of satiating his avarice, and Zoe became a captive in the palace of her fathers and in the hands of her slaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health, he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who

derived his surname of Calaphates from his father's occupation in the careening of vessels; at the command of the eunuch, Zoe adopted for her son the son of a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was invested with the title and purple of the Cæsars, in the presence of the senate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoe, that she was oppressed by the liberty and power which she recovered by the death of the Paphlagonian; and at the end of four days, she placed the crown on the head of Michael V. who had protested, with tears and oaths, that he should ever reign the first and most obedient of her subjects. The only act of his short reign was his base ingratitude to his benefactors, the eunuch and the empress. The disgrace of the former was pleasing to the public; but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of Constantinople deplored the exile of Zoe, the daughter of so many emperors; her vices were forgotten, and Michael was taught that there is a period in which the patience of the tamest slaves rises into fury and revenge. The citizens of every degree assembled in a formidable tumult which lasted three days; they besieged the palace, forced the gates, recalled their *mothers*, Zoe from her prison, Theodora from her monastery, and condemned the son of Calaphates to the loss of his eyes or of his life. For the first time the Greeks beheld with surprise the two royal sisters seated on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and giving audience to the ambassadors of the nations. But this singular union subsisted no more than two months; the two sovereigns, their tempers, interests, and adherents, were secretly hostile to each other; and as Theodora was still adverse to marriage, the indefatigable Zoe, at the age of sixty, consented, for the public good, to sustain the embraces of a third husband, and the censures of the Greek church. His name and number were Constantine X.* and the epithet of *Monomachus*, the single combatant, must have been expressive of his valour and victory in some public or private quarrel. But his health was broken by the tortures of the gout, and his dissolute reign was spent in the alternative of sickness and pleasure. A fair and noble widow had accompanied Constantine in his exile to the isle of Lesbos, and Sclerena

* [Constantine XII. (Eckhel, viii. 254,) and XIII. (Humphreys, p. 657.)—ED.]

gloried in the appellation of his mistress. After his marriage and elevation, she was invested with the title and pomp of *Augusta*, and occupied a contiguous apartment in the palace. The lawful consort (such was the delicacy or corruption of Zoe) consented to this strange and scandalous partition; and the emperor appeared in public between his wife and his concubine. He survived them both; but the last measures of Constantine to change the order of succession were prevented by the more vigilant friends of Theodora; and after his decease, she resumed, with the general consent, the possession of her inheritance. In her name, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the eastern world was peaceably governed about nineteen months; and as they wished to prolong their dominion, they persuaded the aged princess to nominate for her successor Michael VI. The surname of *Stratioticus* declares his military profession; but the crazy and decrepit veteran could only see with the eyes, and execute with the hands, of his ministers. Whilst he ascended the throne, Theodora sank into the grave; the last of the Macedonian or Basilian dynasty. I have hastily reviewed, and gladly dismiss, this shameful and destructive period of twenty-eight years, in which the Greeks, degraded below the common level of servitude, were transferred like a herd of cattle by the choice or caprice of two impotent females.

From this night of slavery, a ray of freedom, or at least of spirit, begins to emerge; the Greeks either preserved or revived the use of surnames, which perpetuate the fame of hereditary virtue; and we now discern the rise, succession, and alliance, of the last dynasties of Constantinople and Trebizond. The *Comneni*, who upheld for awhile the fate of the sinking empire, assumed the honour of a Roman origin: but the family had been long since transported from Italy to Asia. Their patrimonial estate was situate in the district of Castamona, in the neighbourhood of the Euxine; and one of their chiefs, who had already entered the paths of ambition, revisited with affection, perhaps with regret, the modest though honourable dwelling of his fathers. The first of their line was the illustrious Manuel, who, in the reign of the second Basil, contributed by war and treaty to appease the troubles of the East: he left, in a tender age, two sons, Isaac and John, whom, with the consciousness of desert, he bequeathed to the gratitude and favour of his

sovereign. The noble youths were carefully trained in the learning of the monastery, the arts of the palace, and the exercises of the camp; and from the domestic service of the guards, they were rapidly promoted to the command of provinces and armies. Their fraternal union doubled the force and reputation of the Comneni, and their ancient nobility was illustrated by the marriage of the two brothers with a captive princess of Bulgaria, and the daughter of a patrician, who had obtained the name of *Charon* from the number of enemies whom he had sent to the infernal shades. The soldiers had served with reluctant loyalty a series of effeminate masters; the elevation of Michael VI. was a personal insult to the more deserving generals; and their discontent was inflamed by the parsimony of the emperor and the insolence of the eunuchs. They secretly assembled in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, and the votes of the military synod would have been unanimous in favour of the old and valiant Catacalon, if the patriotism or modesty of the veteran had not suggested the importance of birth as well as merit in the choice of a sovereign. Isaac Comnenus was approved by general consent, and the associates separated without delay to meet in the plains of Phrygia at the head of their respective squadrons and detachments. The cause of Michael was defended in a single battle by the mercenaries of the imperial guard, who were aliens to the public interest, and animated only by a principle of honour and gratitude. After their defeat, the fears of the emperor solicited a treaty, which was almost accepted by the moderation of the Comnenian. But the former was betrayed by his ambassadors, and the latter was prevented by his friends. The solitary Michael submitted to the voice of the people; the patriarch annulled their oath of allegiance; and as he shaved the head of the royal monk, congratulated his beneficial exchange of temporal royalty for the kingdom of heaven; an exchange, however, which the priest, on his own account, would probably have declined. By the hands of the same patriarch, Isaac Comnenus was solemnly crowned; the sword, which he inscribed on his coins, might be an offensive symbol, if it implied his title by conquest; but this sword would have been drawn against the foreign and domestic enemies of the State. The decline of his health and vigour suspended the operation of active virtue; and the prospect of approaching

death determined him to interpose some moments between life and eternity. But instead of leaving the empire as the marriage-portion of his daughter, his reason and inclination concurred in the preference of his brother John, a soldier, a patriot, and the father of five sons, the future pillars of an hereditary succession. His first modest reluctance might be the natural dictates of discretion and tenderness, but his obstinate and successful perseverance, however it may dazzle with the show of virtue, must be censured as a criminal desertion of his duty, and a rare offence against his family and country. The purple which he had refused was accepted by Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house, and whose noble birth was adorned with the experience and reputation of civil policy. In the monastic habit, Isaac recovered his health, and survived two years his voluntary abdication. At the command of his abbot, he observed the rule of St. Basil, and executed the most servile offices of the convent; but his latent vanity was gratified by the frequent and respectful visits of the reigning monarch, who revered in his person the character of a benefactor and a saint.

If Constantine XI.* were indeed the subject most worthy of empire, we must pity the debasement of the age and nation in which he was chosen. In the labour of puerile declamations he sought, without obtaining, the crown of eloquence, more precious, in his opinion, than that of Rome; and, in the subordinate functions of a judge, he forgot the duties of a sovereign and a warrior. Far from imitating the patriotic indifference of the authors of his greatness, Ducas was anxious only to secure, at the expense of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. His three sons, Michael VII., Andronicus I. and Constantine XII.† were invested, in a tender age, with the equal title of Augustus: and the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. His widow, Eudocia, was intrusted with the administration; but experience had taught the jealousy of the dying monarch to protect his sons from the danger of her second nuptials; and her solemn engagement, attested by

* [Constantine XIII. (Eckhel, viii. 256,) and XIV. (Humphreys, p. 657.)—Ed.]

† [This Constantine appears on the coins of Romanus IV. (Eckhel, viii. 258,) and is styled Ducas Porphyrogenitus by Humphreys (p. 657), but has no number attached to his name.—Ed.]

the principal senators, was deposited in the hands of the patriarch. Before the end of seven months, the wants of Eudocia, or those of the State, called aloud for the male virtues of a soldier; and her heart had already chosen Romanus Diogenes, whom she raised from the scaffold to the throne. The discovery of a treasonable attempt had exposed him to the severity of the laws: his beauty and valour absolved him in the eyes of the empress, and Romanus, from a mild exile, was recalled on the second day to the command of the Oriental armies. Her royal choice was yet unknown to the public, and the promise which would have betrayed her falsehood and levity was stolen by a dexterous emissary from the ambition of the patriarch. Xiphilin at first alleged the sanctity of oaths and the sacred nature of a trust; but a whisper that his brother was the future emperor relaxed his scruples, and forced him to confess that the public safety was the supreme law. He resigned the important paper; and when his hopes were confounded by the nomination of Romanus, he could no longer regain his security, retract his declarations, nor oppose the second nuptials of the empress. Yet a murmur was heard in the palace; and the Barbarian guards had raised their battle-axes in the cause of the house of Ducas, till the young princes were soothed by the tears of their mother and the solemn assurances of the fidelity of their guardian, who filled the imperial station with dignity and honour. Hereafter I shall relate his valiant but unsuccessful efforts to resist the progress of the Turks. His defeat and captivity inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine monarchy of the East; and after he was released from the chains of the sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects. His wife had been thrust into a monastery, and the subjects of Romanus had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a prisoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as by the stroke of death, of all the public and private rights of a citizen. In the general consternation, the Cæsar John asserted the indefeasible right of his three nephews; Constantinople listened to his voice, and the Turkish captive was proclaimed in the capital, and received on the frontier, as an enemy of the republic. Romanus was not more fortunate in domestic than in foreign war: the loss of two battles compelled him to yield, on the assurance of fair and

honourable treatment; but his enemies were devoid of faith or humanity, and, after the cruel extinction of his sight, his wounds were left to bleed and corrupt, till in a few days he was relieved from a state of misery. Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas, the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; but the eldest, the pusillanimous Michael, was incapable of sustaining the Roman sceptre; and his surname of *Parapinaces* denotes the reproach which he shared with an avaricious favourite, who enhanced the price, and diminished the measure, of wheat. In the school of Psellus, and after the example of his mother, the son of Eudocia made some proficiency in philosophy and rhetoric; but his character was degraded, rather than ennobled, by the virtues of a monk and the learning of a sophist. Strong in the contempt of their sovereign and their own esteem, two generals, at the head of the European and Asiatic legions, assumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. Their revolt was in the same month; they bore the same name of Nicephorus; but the two candidates were distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates: the former in the maturity of wisdom and courage, the latter conspicuous only by the memory of his past exploits. While Botaniates advanced with cautious and dilatory steps, his active competitor stood in arms before the gates of Constantinople. The name of Bryennius was illustrious; his cause was popular; but his licentious troops could not be restrained from burning and pillaging a suburb; and the people, who would have hailed the rebel, rejected and repulsed the incendiary of his country. This change of the public opinion was favourable to Botaniates, who at length, with an army of Turks, approached the shores of Chalcedon. A formal invitation, in the name of the patriarch, the synod, and the senate, was circulated through the streets of Constantinople; and the general assembly, in the dome of St. Sophia, debated with order and calmness on the choice of their sovereign. The guards of Michael would have dispersed this unarmed multitude; but the feeble emperor, applauding his own moderation and clemency, resigned the ensigns of royalty, and was rewarded with the monastic habit and the title of archbishop of Ephesus. He left a son, a Constantine,* born and educated

* [This Constantine was not proclaimed Augustus, and his name

in the purple; and a daughter of the house of Ducas illustrated the blood, and confirmed the succession, of the Comnenian dynasty.

John Comnenus, the brother of the emperor Isaac, survived in peace and dignity his generous refusal of the sceptre. By his wife Anne, a woman of masculine spirit and policy, he left eight children; the three daughters multiplied the Comnenian alliances with the noblest of the Greeks; of the five sons, Manuel was stopped by a premature death; Isaac and Alexius restored the imperial greatness of their house, which was enjoyed without toil or danger by the two younger brethren, Adrian and Nicephorus. Alexius, the third and most illustrious of the brothers, was endowed by nature with the choicest gifts both of mind and body; they were cultivated by a liberal education, and exercised in the school of obedience and adversity. The youth was dismissed from the perils of the Turkish war, by the paternal care of the emperor Romanus; but the mother of the Comneni, with her aspiring race, was accused of treason, and banished, by the sons of Ducas, to an island in the Propontis. The two brothers soon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's side against the rebels and Barbarians, and adhered to the emperor Michael, till he was deserted by the world and by himself. In his first interview with Botaniates, "Prince," said Alexius, with a noble frankness, "my duty rendered me your enemy; the decrees of God and of the people have made me your subject. Judge of my future loyalty by my past opposition." The successor of Michael entertained him with esteem and confidence: his valour was employed against three rebels, who disturbed the peace of the empire, or at least of the emperors. Ursel, Bryennius, and Basilacius, were formidable by their numerous forces and military fame: they were successively vanquished in the field, and led in chains to the foot of the throne; and whatever treatment they might receive from a timid and cruel court, they applauded the clemency, as well as the courage, of their conqueror. But the loyalty of the Comneni was soon tainted by fear and suspicion; nor is it easy to settle between a

appears on no coins. He is mentioned without any number, by Eckhel (viii. 258,) and Humphreys (p. 658).—Ed.]

subject and a despot the debt of gratitude, which the former is tempted to claim by a revolt, and the latter to discharge by an executioner. The refusal of Alexius to march against a fourth rebel, the husband of his sister, destroyed the merit or memory of his past services; the favourites of Botaniates provoked the ambition which they apprehended and accused; and the retreat of the two brothers might be justified by the defence of their life or liberty. The women of the family were deposited in a sanctuary, respected by tyrants; the men, mounted on horseback, sallied from the city, and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers, who had been gradually assembled in the capital and the neighbourhood, were devoted to the cause of a victorious and injured leader; the ties of common interest and domestic alliance secured the attachment of the house of Ducas; and the generous dispute of the Comneni was terminated by the decisive resolution of Isaac, who was the first to invest his younger brother with the name and ensigns of royalty. They returned to Constantinople, to threaten rather than besiege that impregnable fortress; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted; a gate was surprised, and the fleet was occupied by the active courage of George Palæologus, who fought against his father, without foreseeing that he laboured for his posterity. Alexius ascended the throne; and his aged competitor disappeared in a monastery. An army of various nations was gratified with the pillage of the city; but the public disorders were expiated by the tears and fasts of the Comneni, who submitted to every penance compatible with the possession of the empire.

The life of the emperor Alexius has been delineated by a favourite daughter, who was inspired by a tender regard for his person, and a laudable zeal to perpetuate his virtues. Conscious of the just suspicion of her readers, the princess Anna Comnena repeatedly protests, that, besides her personal knowledge, she had searched the discourse and writings of the most respectable veterans; that, after an interval of thirty years, forgotten by, and forgetful of, the world, her mournful solitude was inaccessible to hope and fear; and that truth, the naked, perfect truth, was more dear and sacred than the memory of her parent. Yet, instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an

elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual strain of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy, to question the veracity of the historian and the merit of the hero. We cannot, however, refuse her judicious and important remark, that the disorders of the times were the misfortune and the glory of Alexius; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign by the justice of Heaven and the vices of his predecessors. In the East, the victorious Turks had spread from Persia to the Hellespont the reign of the Koran and the crescent; the West was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans; and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained, in the science of war, what they had lost in the ferociousness of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the land; and while the frontiers were assaulted by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden, the banner of the cross was displayed by the Latins: Europe was precipitated on Asia, and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest, Alexius steered the imperial vessel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies, he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The discipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful: his discerning eye pervaded the new system of an unknown world; and I shall hereafter describe the superior policy with which he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. In a long reign of thirty-seven years, he subdued and pardoned the envy of his equals: the laws of public and private order were restored: the arts of wealth and science were cultivated: the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia; and the Comnenian sceptre was transmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation. Yet the difficulties of the times betrayed some defects in his character, and have exposed his memory to some just or

ungenerous reproach. The reader may possibly smile at the lavish praise which his daughter so often bestows on a flying hero: the weakness or prudence of his situation might be mistaken for a want of personal courage, and his political arts are branded by the Latins with the names of deceit and dissimulation. The increase of the male and female branches of his family adorned the throne and secured the succession; but their princely luxury and pride offended the patricians, exhausted the revenue, and insulted the misery of the people. Anna is a faithful witness that his happiness was destroyed, and his health was broken, by the cares of a public life; the patience of Constantinople was fatigued by the length and severity of his reign; and before Alexius expired, he had lost the love and reverence of his subjects. The clergy could not forgive his application of the sacred riches to the defence of the State; but they applauded his theological learning and ardent zeal for the orthodox faith, which he defended with his tongue, his pen, and his sword. His character was degraded by the superstition of the Greeks; and the same inconsistent principle of human nature enjoined the emperor to found a hospital for the poor and infirm, and to direct the execution of a heretic, who was burnt alive in the square of St. Sophia. Even the sincerity of his moral and religious virtues was suspected by the persons who had passed their lives in his familiar confidence. In his last hours, when he was pressed by his wife Irene to alter the succession, he raised his head, and breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of this world. The indignant reply of the empress may be inscribed as an epitaph on his tomb—"You die, as you have lived—A HYPOCRITE!"

It was the wish of Irene to supplant the eldest of her surviving sons, in favour of her daughter, the princess Anna, whose philosophy would not have refused the weight of a diadem. But the order of male succession was asserted by the friends of their country; the lawful heir drew the royal signet from the finger of his insensible or conscious father, and the empire obeyed the master of the palace. Anna Comnena was stimulated by ambition and revenge to conspire against the life of her brother; and when the design was prevented by the fears or scruples of her husband, she passionately exclaimed, that nature had mis-

taken the two sexes, and had endowed Bryennius with the soul of a woman. The two sons of Alexius, John and Isaac, maintained the fraternal concord, the hereditary virtue of their race, and the younger brother was content with the title of *Sebastocrator*, which approached the dignity, without sharing the power, of the emperor. In the same person, the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united; his swarthy complexion, harsh features, and diminutive stature, had suggested the ironical surname of Calo-Johannes, or John the Handsome, which his grateful subjects more seriously applied to the beauties of his mind. After the discovery of her treason, the life and fortune of Anna were justly forfeited to the laws. Her life was spared by the clemency of the emperor; but he visited the pomp and treasures of her palace, and bestowed the rich confiscation on the most deserving of his friends. That respectable friend, Axuch, a slave of Turkish extraction, presumed to decline the gift, and to intercede for the criminal; his generous master applauded and imitated the virtue of his favourite, and the reproach or complaint of an injured brother was the only chastisement of the guilty princess. After this example of clemency, the remainder of his reign was never disturbed by conspiracy or rebellion; feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the painful necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his personal enemies. During his government of twenty-five years, the penalty of death was abolished in the Roman empire, a law of mercy most delightful to the humane theorist, but of which the practice, in a large and vicious community, is seldom consistent with the public safety. Severe to himself, indulgent to others, chaste, frugal, abstemious, the philosophic Marcus would not have disdained the artless virtues of his successor, derived from his heart, and not borrowed from the schools. He despised and moderated the stately magnificence of the Byzantine court, so oppressive to the people, so contemptible to the eye of reason. Under such a prince, innocence had nothing to fear, and merit had every thing to hope; and without assuming the tyrannic office of a censor, he introduced a gradual though visible reformation in the public and private manners of Constantinople. The only defect of this accomplished character

was the frailty of noble minds—the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions of John the Handsome may be justified, at least in their principle, by the necessity of repelling the Turks from the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. The sultan of Iconium was confined to his capital, the Barbarians were driven to the mountains, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army, and in the sieges and battles of this holy war his Latin allies were astonished by the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek. As he began to indulge the ambitious hope of restoring the ancient limits of the empire, as he revolved in his mind, the Euphrates and the Tigris, the dominion of Syria, and the conquest of Jerusalem, the thread of his life and of the public felicity was broken by a singular accident. He hunted the wild boar in the valley of Anazarbus, and had fixed his javelin in the body of the furious animal; but, in the struggle, a poisoned arrow dropped from his quiver, and a slight wound in his hand, which produced a mortification, was fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.

A premature death had swept away the two eldest sons of John the Handsome; of the two survivors, Isaac and Manuel, his judgment or affection preferred the younger; and the choice of their dying prince was ratified by the soldiers, who had applauded the valour of his favourite in the Turkish war. The faithful Axuch hastened to the capital, secured the person of Isaac in honourable confinement, and purchased with a gift of two hundred pounds of silver, the leading ecclesiastics of St. Sophia, who possessed a decisive voice in the consecration of an emperor. With his veteran and affectionate troops, Manuel soon visited Constantinople; his brother acquiesced in the title of Sebastocrator; his subjects admired the lofty stature and martial graces of their new sovereign, and listened with credulity to the flattering promise, that he blended the wisdom of age with the activity and vigour of youth. By the experience of his government, they were taught, that he emulated the spirit, and shared the talents, of his father, whose social virtues were buried in the grave. A reign of thirty-seven years is filled by a perpetual though various

warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hordes of the wilderness beyond the Danube. The arms of Manuel were exercised on Mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coast of Italy and Egpyt, and on the seas of Sicily and Greece; the influence of his negociations extended from Jerusalem to Rome and Russia; and the Byzantine monarchy, for awhile, became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe. Educated in the silk and purple of the East, Manuel possessed the iron temper of a soldier, which cannot easily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard I. of England, and of Charles XII. of Sweden. Such was his strength and exercise in arms, that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In a famous tournament, he entered the lists on a fiery courser, and overturned in his first career two of the stoutest of the Italian knights. The first in the charge, the last in the retreat, his friends and his enemies alike trembled, the former for *his* safety and the latter for their own. After posting an ambuscade in a wood, he rode forwards in search of some perilous adventure, accompanied only by his brother and the faithful Axuch, who refused to desert their sovereign. Eighteen horsemen, after a short combat, fled before them; but the numbers of the enemy increased; the march of the reinforcement was tardy and fearful, and Manuel, without receiving a wound, cut his way through a squadron of five hundred Turks. In a battle against the Hungarians, impatient of the slowness of his troops, he snatched a standard from the head of the column, and was the first, almost alone, who passed a bridge that separated him from the enemy. In the same country, after transporting his army beyond the Save, he sent back the boats with an order, under pain of death, to their commander, that he should leave him to conquer or die on that hostile land. In the siege of Corfu, towing after him a captive galley, the emperor stood aloft on the poop, opposing against the volleys of darts and stones a large buckler and a flowing sail; nor could he have escaped inevitable death, had not the Sicilian admiral enjoined his archers to respect the person of a hero. In one day, he is said to have slain above forty of the Barbarians with his own hand; he returned to the camp, dragging along four Turkish prisoners,

whom he had tied to the rings of his saddle; he was ever the foremost to provoke or to accept a single combat; and the *gigantic* champions, who encountered his arm, were transpierced by the lance, or cut asunder by the sword, of the invincible Manuel. The story of his exploits, which appear as a model or copy of the romances of chivalry, may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks: I will not, to vindicate their credit, endanger my own; yet I may observe, that, in the long series of their annals, Manuel is the only prince who has been the subject of similar exaggeration. With the valour of a soldier, he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general; his victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia, and owed his deliverance to the generosity of the Sultan. But the most singular feature in the character of Manuel, is the contrast and vicissitude of labour and sloth, of hardiness and effeminacy. In war he seemed ignorant of peace; in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he slept in the sun or in the snow, tired in the longest marches the strength of his men and horses, and shared with a smile the abstinence or diet of the camp. No sooner did he return to Constantinople, than he resigned himself to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury: the expense of his dress, his table, and his palace, surpassed the measure of his predecessors, and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious isles of the Propontis, in the incestuous love of his niece Theodora. The double cost of a warlike and dissolute prince exhausted the revenue, and multiplied the taxes; and Manuel, in the distress of his last Turkish campaign, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a desperate soldier. As he quenched his thirst, he complained that the water of a fountain was mingled with Christian blood. "It is not the first time," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, "that you have drunk, O emperor! the blood of your Christian subjects." Manuel Comnenus was twice married; to the virtuous Bertha or Irene of Germany, and to the beauteous Maria, a French or Latin princess of Antioch. The only daughter of his first wife was destined for Bela, a Hungarian prince, who was educated at Constantinople, under the name of Alexius; and

the consummation of their nuptials might have transferred the Roman sceptre to a race of free and warlike Barbarians. But as soon as Maria of Antioch had given a son and heir to the empire, the presumptive rights of Bela were abolished, and he was deprived of his promised bride; but the Hungarian prince resumed his name and the kingdom of his fathers, and displayed such virtues as might excite the regret and envy of the Greeks. The son of Maria was named Alexius; and at the age of ten years, he ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's decease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

The fraternal concord of the two sons of the great Alexius had been sometimes clouded by an opposition of interest and passion. By ambition, Isaac the Sebastocrator was excited to flight and rebellion, from whence he was reclaimed by the firmness and clemency of John the Handsome. The errors of Isaac, the father of the emperors of Trebizond, were short and venial; but John, the elder of his sons, renounced for ever his religion. Provoked by a real or imaginary insult of his uncle, he escaped from the Roman to the Turkish camp: his apostacy was rewarded with the Sultan's daughter, the title of Chelebi, or noble, and the inheritance of a princely estate; and in the fifteenth century Mahomet II. boasted of his imperial descent from the Comnenian family. Andronicus, the younger brother of John, son of Isaac, and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, is one of the most conspicuous characters of the age; and his genuine adventures might form the subject of a very singular romance. To justify the choice of three ladies of royal birth, it is incumbent on me to observe, that their fortunate lover was cast in the best proportions of strength and beauty; and that the want of the softer graces was supplied by a manly countenance, a lofty stature, athletic muscles, and the air and deportment of a soldier. The preservation, in his old age, of health and vigour, was the reward of temperance and exercise. A piece of bread and a draught of water was often his sole and evening repast; and if he tasted of a wild boar, or a stag, which he had roasted with his own hands, it was the well-earned fruit of a laborious chase. Dexterous in arms, he was ignorant of fear: his persuasive eloquence could bend to every situation and character of life: his style, though not his practice, was fashioned by the example of

St. Paul; and, in every deed of mischief, he had a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute. In his youth, after the death of the emperor John, he followed the retreat of the Roman army; but in the march through Asia Minor, design or accident tempted him to wander in the mountains; the hunter was encompassed by the Turkish huntsmen, and he remained some time a reluctant or willing captive in the power of the Sultan. His virtues and vices recommended him to the favour of his cousin; he shared the perils and the pleasures of Manuel; and while the emperor lived in public incest with his niece Theodora, the affections of her sister Eudocia were seduced and enjoyed by Andronicus. Above the decencies of her sex and rank, she gloried in the name of his concubine; and both the palace and the camp could witness that she slept or watched in the arms of her lover. She accompanied him to his military command of Cilicia, the first scene of his valour and imprudence. He pressed, with active ardour, the siege of Mopsuestia: the day was employed in the boldest attacks; but the night was wasted in song and dance; and a band of Greek comedians formed the choicest part of his retinue. Andronicus was surprised by the sally of a vigilant foe; but while his troops fled in disorder, his invincible lance transpierced the thickest ranks of the Armenians. On his return to the imperial camp in Macedonia, he was received by Manuel with public smiles and a private reproof; but the duchies of Naissus, Braniseba, and Castoria, were the reward or consolation of the unsuccessful general. Eudocia still attended his motions; at midnight, their tent was suddenly attacked by her angry brothers, impatient to expiate her infamy in his blood; his daring spirit refused her advice, and the disguise of a female habit; and, boldly starting from his couch, he drew his sword, and cut his way through the numerous assassins. It was here that he first betrayed his ingratitude and treachery: he engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary and the German emperor; approached the royal tent at a suspicious hour with a drawn sword, and, under the mask of a Latin soldier, avowed an intention of revenge against a mortal foe; and imprudently praised the fleetness of his horse as an instrument of flight and safety. The monarch dissembled his suspicions; but, after the

close of the campaign, Andronicus was arrested, and strictly confined in a tower of the palace of Constantinople.

In this prison he was left above twelve years: a most painful restraint, from which the thirst of action and pleasure perpetually urged him to escape. Alone and pensive, he perceived some broken bricks in a corner of the chamber, and gradually widened the passage, till he had explored a dark and forgotten recess. Into this hole he conveyed himself and the remains of his provisions, replacing the bricks in their former positions, and erasing with care the footsteps of his retreat. At the hour of the customary visit, his guards were amazed with the silence and solitude of the prison, and reported, with shame and fear, his incomprehensible flight. The gates of the palace and city were instantly shut: the strictest orders were dispatched into the provinces for the recovery of the fugitive; and his wife, on the suspicion of a pious act, was basely imprisoned in the same tower. At the dead of night she beheld a spectre: she recognized her husband; they shared their provisions; and a son was the fruit of the stolen interviews which alleviated the tediousness of their confinement. In the custody of a woman, the vigilance of the keepers was insensibly relaxed; and the captive had accomplished his real escape, when he was discovered, brought back to Constantinople, and loaded with a double chain. At length he found the moment and the means of his deliverance. A boy, his domestic servant, intoxicated the guards, and obtained in wax the impression of the keys. By the diligence of his friends, a similar key, with a bundle of ropes, was introduced into the prison, in the bottom of a hogshead. Andronicus employed, with industry and courage, the instruments of his safety, unlocked the doors, descended from the tower, concealed himself all day among the bushes, and scaled in the night the garden-wall of the palace. A boat was stationed for his reception; he visited his own house, embraced his children, cast away his chain, mounted a fleet horse, and directed his rapid course towards the banks of the Danube. At Anchialus in Thrace, an intrepid friend supplied him with horses and money; he passed the river, traversed with speed the desert of Moldavia and the Carpathian hills, and had almost reached the town of Halicz, in the Polish Russia, when he was inter-

cepted by a party of Walachians, who resolved to convey their important captive to Constantinople. His presence of mind again extricated him from this danger. Under the pretence of sickness, he dismounted in the night, and was allowed to step aside from the troop; he planted in the ground his long staff; clothed it with his cap and upper garment; and, stealing into the wood, left a phantom to amuse, for some time, the eyes of the Walachians. From Halicz he was honourably conducted to Kiow, the residence of the great duke; the subtle Greek soon obtained the esteem and confidence of Ieroslaus; his character could assume the manners of every climate; and the barbarians applauded his strength and courage in the chase of the elks and bears of the forest. In this northern region he deserved the forgiveness of Manuel, who solicited the Russian prince to join his arms in the invasion of Hungary. The influence of Andronicus achieved this important service; his private treaty was signed with a promise of fidelity on one side, and of oblivion on the other; and he marched, at the head of the Russian cavalry, from the Borysthenes to the Danube. In his resentment Manuel had ever sympathized with the martial and dissolute character of his cousin; and his free pardon was sealed in the assault of Zemlin, in which he was second, and second only to the valour of the emperor.

No sooner was the exile restored to freedom and his country, than his ambition revived, at first to his own, and at length to the public, misfortune. A daughter of Manuel was a feeble bar to the succession of the more deserving males of the Comnenian blood; her future marriage with the prince of Hungary was repugnant to the hopes or prejudices of the princes and nobles. But when an oath of allegiance was required to the presumptive heir, Andronicus alone asserted the honour of the Roman name, declined the unlawful engagement, and boldly protested against the adoption of a stranger. His patriotism was offensive to the emperor; but he spoke the sentiments of the people, and was removed from the royal presence by an honourable banishment, a second command of the Cilician frontier, with the absolute disposal of the revenues of Cyprus. In this station, the Armenians again exercised his courage, and exposed his negligence; and the same rebel, who baffled all his operations, was unhorsed and almost slain by the vigour of

his lance. But Andronicus soon discovered a more easy and pleasing conquest, the beautiful Philippa, sister of the empress Maria, and daughter of Raymond of Poitou, the Latin prince of Antioch. For her sake he deserted his station, and wasted the summer in balls and tournaments: to his love she sacrificed her innocence, her reputation, and the offer of an advantageous marriage. But the resentment of Manuel for this domestic affront interrupted his pleasures: Andronicus left the indiscreet princess to weep and repent; and, with a band of desperate adventurers, undertook the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. His birth, his martial renown, and professions of zeal, announced him as the champion of the cross; he soon captivated both the clergy and the king; and the Greek prince was invested with the lordship of Berytus, on the coast of Phœnicia. In his neighbourhood resided a young and handsome queen of his own nation and family, great-granddaughter of the emperor Alexius, and widow of Baldwin III. king of Jerusalem. She visited and loved her kinsman. Theodora was the third victim of his amorous seduction; and her shame was more public and scandalous than that of her predecessors. The emperor still thirsted for revenge; and his subjects and allies of the Syrian frontier were repeatedly pressed to seize the person, and put out the eyes, of the fugitive. In Palestine he was no longer safe; but the tender Theodora revealed his danger and accompanied his flight. The queen of Jerusalem was exposed to the East, his obsequious concubine, and two illegitimate children were the living monuments of her weakness. Damascus was his first refuge; and, in the characters of the great Noureddin and his servant Saladin, the superstitious Greek might learn to revere the virtues of the Mussulmans. As the friend of Noureddin he visited most probably Bagdad, and the courts of Persia; and, after a long circuit round the Caspian sea and the mountains of Georgia, he finally settled among the Turks of Asia Minor, the hereditary enemies of his country. The sultan of Colonia afforded a hospitable retreat to Andronicus, his mistress, and his band of outlaws; the debt of gratitude was paid by frequent inroads in the Roman province of Trebizond; and he seldom returned without an ample harvest of spoil and of Christian captives. In the story of his adventures, he was fond of comparing himself to David, who escaped, by a long

exile, the snares of the wicked. But the royal prophet (he presumed to add) was content to lurk on the borders of Judæa, to slay an Amalekite, and to threaten, in his miserable state, the life of the avaricious Nabal. The excursions of the Comnenian prince had a wider range; and he had spread over the Eastern world the glory of his name and religion. By a sentence of the Greek church the licentious rover had been separated from the faithful; but even this excommunication may prove that he never abjured the profession of Christianity.

His vigilance had eluded or repelled the open and secret persecution of the emperor; but he was at length ensnared by the captivity of his female companion. The governor of Trebizond succeeded in his attempt to surprise the person of Theodora: the queen of Jerusalem and her two children were sent to Constantinople, and their loss embittered the tedious solitude of banishment. The fugitive implored and obtained a final pardon, with leave to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who was satisfied with the submission of this haughty spirit. Prostrate on the ground, he deplored with tears and groans the guilt of his past rebellion; nor would he presume to arise unless some faithful subject would drag him to the foot of the throne by an iron chain with which he had secretly encircled his neck. This extraordinary penance excited the wonder and pity of the assembly; his sins were forgiven by the church and state; but the just suspicion of Manuel fixed his residence at a distance from the court, at Oenoe, a town of Pontus, surrounded with rich vineyards, and situate on the coast of the Euxine. The death of Manuel, and the disorders of the minority, soon opened the fairest field to his ambition. The emperor was a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, without vigour, or wisdom, or experience; his mother, the empress Mary, abandoned her person and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; and his sister, another Mary, whose husband, an Italian, was decorated with the title of Cæsar, excited a conspiracy, and at length an insurrection, against her odious stepmother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overthrown in the vice and weakness of a few months. A civil war was kindled in Constantinople; the two factions fought a

bloody battle in the square of the palace, and the rebels sustained a regular siege in the cathedral of St. Sophia. The patriarch laboured with honest zeal to heal the wounds of the republic, the most respectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger, and every tongue repeated the praise of the talents and even the virtues of Andronicus. In his retirement he affected to revolve the solemn duties of his oath. "If the safety or honour of the imperial family be threatened, I will reveal and oppose the mischief to the utmost of my power." His correspondence with the patriarch and patricians was seasoned with apt quotations from the Psalms of David and the epistles of St. Paul; and he patiently waited till he was called to her deliverance by the voice of his country. In his march from Oenoe to Constantinople, his slender train insensibly swelled to a crowd and an army; his professions of religion and loyalty were mistaken for the language of his heart; and the simplicity of a foreign dress, which showed to advantage his majestic stature, displayed a lively image of his poverty and exile. All opposition sank before him; he reached the straits of the Thracian Bosphorus; the Byzantine navy sailed from the harbour to receive and transport the saviour of the empire; the torrent was loud and irresistible, and the insects who had basked in the sunshine of royal favour disappeared at the blast of the storm. It was the first care of Andronicus to occupy the palace, to salute the emperor, to confine his mother, to punish her minister, and to restore the public order and tranquillity. He then visited the sepulchre of Manuel: the spectators were ordered to stand aloof, but, as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heard, or thought they heard, a murmur of triumph and revenge. "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me a vagabond to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a sevenfold dome, from whence thou canst never arise till the signal of the last trumpet. It is now my turn, and speedily will I trample on thy ashes and thy posterity." From his subsequent tyranny we may impute such feelings to the man and the moment. But it is not extremely probable that he gave an articulate sound to his secret thoughts. In the first months of his administration, his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy

which could delude only the eyes of the multitude: the coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity, and his perfidious guardian, holding in his hands the body and blood of Christ, most fervently declared, that he lived, and was ready to die, for the service of his beloved pupil. But his numerous adherents were instructed to maintain, that the sinking empire must perish in the hands of a child: that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind; and that it was the duty of every citizen, to force the reluctant modesty of Andronicus to undertake the burden of the public care. The young emperor was himself constrained to join his voice to the general acclamation, and to solicit the association of a colleague, who instantly degraded him from the supreme rank, secluded his person, and verified the rash declaration of the patriarch, that Alexius might be considered as dead, so soon as he was committed to the custody of his guardian. But his death was preceded by the imprisonment and execution of his mother. After blackening her reputation, and inflaming against her the passions of the multitude, the tyrant accused and tried the empress for a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary. His own son, a youth of honour and humanity, avowed his abhorrence of this flagitious act, and three of the judges had the merit of preferring their conscience to their safety; but the obsequious tribunal, without requiring any proof, or hearing any defence, condemned the widow of Manuel; and her unfortunate son subscribed the sentence of her death. Maria was strangled, her corpse was buried in the sea, and her memory was wounded by the insult most offensive to female vanity, a false and ugly representation of her beauteous form. The fate of her son was not long deferred: he was strangled with a bowstring, and the tyrant, insensible to pity or remorse, after surveying the body of the innocent youth, struck it rudely with his foot: —"Thy father," he cried, "was a *knave*, thy mother a *whore*, and thyself a *fool!*"

The Roman sceptre, the reward of his crimes, was held by Andronicus about three years and a half, as the guardian or sovereign of the empire. His government exhibited a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he listened to

his passions he was the scourge, when he consulted his reason, the father, of his people. In the exercise of private justice, he was equitable and rigorous: a shameful and pernicious venality was abolished, and the offices were filled with the most deserving candidates by a prince who had sense to choose, and severity to punish. He prohibited the inhuman practice of pillaging the goods and persons of shipwrecked mariners; the provinces, so long the objects of oppression or neglect, revived in prosperity and plenty; and millions applauded the distant blessings of his reign, while he was cursed by the witnesses of his daily cruelties. The ancient proverb, that blood-thirsty is the man who returns from banishment to power, had been applied with too much truth to Marius and Tiberius; and was now verified for the third time in the life of Andronicus. His memory was stored with a black list of the enemies and rivals who had traduced his merit, opposed his greatness, or insulted his misfortunes; and the only comfort of his exile was the sacred hope and promise of revenge. The necessary extinction of the young emperor and his mother imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends, who hated, and might punish, the assassin; and the repetition of murder rendered him less willing, and less able, to forgive. A horrid narrative of the victims whom he sacrificed by poison or the sword, by the sea or the flames, would be less expressive of his cruelty, than the appellation of the halcyon-days, which was applied to a rare and bloodless week of repose; the tyrant strove to transfer, on the laws and the judges, some portion of his guilt; but the mask was fallen, and his subjects could no longer mistake the true author of their calamities. The noblest of the Greeks, more especially those who, by descent or alliance, might dispute the Comnenian inheritance, escaped from the monster's den; Nice or Prusa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge; and as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence by an open revolt, and the imperial title. Yet Andronicus resisted the daggers and swords of his most formidable enemies; Nice and Prusa were reduced and chastised; the Sicilians were content with the sack of Thessalonica; and the distance of Cyprus was not more propitious to the rebel than to the tyrant. His throne was subverted by a rival without

merit, and a people without arms. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, was marked as a victim, by the prudence or superstition of the emperor. In a moment of despair, Angelus defended his life and liberty, slew the executioner, and fled to the church of St. Sophia. The sanctuary was insensibly filled with a curious and mournful crowd, who, in his fate, prognosticated their own. But their lamentations were soon turned to curses, and their curses to threats: they dared to ask, "Why do we fear? why do we obey? we are many, and he is one; our patience is the only bond of our slavery." With the dawn of day the city burst into a general sedition, the prisons were thrown open, the coldest and most servile were roused to the defence of their country, and Isaac, the second of the name, was raised from the sanctuary to the throne. Unconscious of his danger, the tyrant was absent; withdrawn from the toils of state, in the delicious islands of the Propontis. He had contracted an indecent marriage with Alice, or Agnes, daughter of Lewis VII. of France, and relict of the unfortunate Alexius; and his society, more suitable to his temper than to his age, was composed of a young wife and a favourite concubine. On the first alarm he rushed to Constantinople, impatient for the blood of the guilty; but he was astonished by the silence of the palace, the tumult of the city, and the general desertion of mankind. Andronicus proclaimed a free pardon to his subjects; they neither desired nor would grant forgiveness; he offered to resign the crown to his son Manuel; but the virtues of the son could not expiate his father's crimes. The sea was still open for his retreat; but the news of the revolution had flown along the coast; when fear had ceased, obedience was no more; the imperial galley was pursued and taken by an armed brigantine, and the tyrant was dragged to the presence of Isaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain round his neck. His eloquence, and the tears of his female companions, pleaded in vain for his life; but, instead of the decencies of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned the criminal to the numerous sufferers whom he had deprived of a father, a husband, or a friend. His teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, were torn from him, as a poor compensation for their loss; and a short respite was

allowed, that he might feel the bitterness of death. Astride on a camel, without any danger of a rescue, he was carried through the city, and the basest of the populace rejoiced to trample on the fallen majesty of their prince. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet between two pillars that supported the statues of a wolf and a sow; and every hand that could reach the public enemy inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment. In this long and painful agony "Lord have mercy upon me!" and "Why will you bruise a broken reed?" were the only words that escaped from his mouth. Our hatred for the tyrant is lost in pity for the man; nor can we blame his pusillanimous resignation, since a Greek Christian was no longer master of his life.

I have been tempted to expatiate on the extraordinary character and adventures of Andronicus; but I shall here terminate the series of the Greek emperors since the time of Heraclius. The branches that sprang from the Comnenian trunk had insensibly withered; and the male line was continued only in the posterity of Andronicus himself, who, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history, and so famous in romance. A private citizen of Philadelphia, Constantine Angelus, had emerged to wealth and honours by his marriage with a daughter of the emperor Alexius. His son Andronicus is conspicuous only by his cowardice. His grandson Isaac punished and succeeded the tyrant; but he was dethroned by his own vices and the ambition of his brother; and their discord introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire.

If we compute the number and duration of the reigns, it will be found that a period of six hundred years is filled by sixty emperors, including in the Augustan list some female sovereigns; and deducting some usurpers who were never acknowledged in the capital, and some princes who did not live to possess their inheritance. The average proportion will allow ten years for each emperor, far below the chronological rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who, from the experience of more recent and regular monarchies, has

defined about eighteen or twenty years as the term of an ordinary reign. The Byzantine empire was most tranquil and prosperous when it could acquiesce in hereditary succession; five dynasties, the Heraclian, Isaurian, Amorian, Basilian, and Comnenian families, enjoyed and transmitted the royal patrimony during their respective series of five, four, three, six, and four generations; several princes number the years of their reign with those of their infancy; and Constantine VII. and his two grandsons occupy the space of an entire century. But in the intervals of the Byzantine dynasties, the succession is rapid and broken, and the name of a successful candidate is speedily erased by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the summit of royalty; the fabric of rebellion was overthrown by the stroke of conspiracy, or undermined by the silent arts of intrigue; the favourites of the soldiers or people, of the senate or clergy, of the women and eunuchs, were alternately clothed with the purple; the means of their elevation were base, and their end was often contemptible or tragic. A being of the nature of man, endowed with the same faculties, but with a longer measure of existence, would cast down a smile of pity and contempt on the crimes and follies of human ambition, so eager, in a narrow span, to grasp at a precarious and short-lived enjoyment. It is thus that the experience of history exalts and enlarges the horizon of our intellectual view. In a composition of some days, in a perusal of some hours, six hundred years have rolled away, and the duration of a life or reign is contracted to a fleeting moment; the grave is ever beside the throne; the success of a criminal is almost instantly followed by the loss of his prize; and our immortal reason survives and disdains the sixty phantoms of kings who have passed before our eyes, and faintly dwell on our remembrance. The observation, that, in every age and climate, ambition has prevailed with the same commanding energy, may abate the surprise of a philosopher; but while he condemns the vanity, he may search the motive, of this universal desire to obtain and hold the sceptre of dominion. To the greater part of the Byzantine series, we cannot reasonably ascribe the love of fame and of mankind. The virtue of John Comnenus alone was beneficent and pure; the most illustrious of the princes,

who precede or follow that respectable name, have trod with some dexterity and vigour the crooked and bloody paths of a selfish policy; in scrutinizing the imperfect characters of Leo the Isaurian, Basil I., and Alexius Comnenus, of Theophilus, the second Basil, and Manuel Comnenus, our esteem and censure are almost equally balanced; and the remainder of the imperial crowd could only desire and expect to be forgotten by posterity. Was personal happiness the aim and object of their ambition? I shall not descant on the vulgar topics of the misery of kings; but I may surely observe, that their condition, of all others, is the most pregnant with fear, and the least susceptible of hope. For these opposite passions, a larger scope was allowed in the revolutions of antiquity, than in the smooth and solid temper of the modern world, which cannot easily repeat either the triumph of Alexander or the fall of Darius. But the peculiar infelicity of the Byzantine princes exposed them to domestic perils, without affording any lively promise of foreign conquest. From the pinnacle of greatness, Andronicus was precipitated by a death more cruel and shameful than that of the vilest malefactor; but the most glorious of his predecessors had much more to dread from their subjects than to hope from their enemies. The army was licentious without spirit, the nation turbulent without freedom; the Barbarians of the East and West pressed on the monarchy, and the loss of the provinces was terminated by the final servitude of the capital.

The entire series of Roman emperors, from the first of the Cæsars to the last of the Constantines, extends above fifteen hundred years: and the term of dominion, unbroken by foreign conquest, surpasses the measure of the ancient monarchies; the Assyrians, or Medes, the successors of Cyrus, or those of Alexander.

CHAPTER XLIX.—INTRODUCTION, WORSHIP, AND PERSECUTION, OF IMAGES.—REVOLT OF ITALY AND ROME.—TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPES.—CONQUEST OF ITALY BY THE FRANKS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF IMAGES.—CHARACTER AND CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE.—RESTORATION AND DECAY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.—INDEPENDENCE OF ITALY.—CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMANIC BODY.

In the connection of the church and state, I have considered the former as subservient only, and relative, to the latter; a salutary maxim, if in fact, as well as in narrative, it had ever been held sacred. The Oriental philosophy of the Gnostics, the dark abyss of predestination and grace, and the strange transformation of the eucharist from the sign to the substance of Christ's body,* I have purposely abandoned to the curiosity of speculative divines. But I have reviewed, with diligence and pleasure, the objects of ecclesiastical history, by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected, the propagation of Christianity, the constitution of the Catholic church, the ruin of Paganism, and the sects that arose from the mysterious controversies concerning the Trinity and incarnation. At the head of this class, we may justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images, and this aversion may be ascribed to their descent from the Jews, and their enmity to the Greeks. The Mosaic law had severely proscribed all representations of the Deity; and that precept was firmly established in the principles and practice of the chosen people. The wit of the Christian apologists was pointed against the foolish idolaters, who bowed before the workmanship of their own hands, the images of brass and marble, which, had *they* been endowed with sense and motion, should have started rather from the pedestal to adore the creative powers of the artist.† Perhaps some

* The learned Selden has given the history of Transubstantiation in a comprehensive and pithy sentence.—"This opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic." (His Works, vol. iii. p. 2073, in his Table-Talk.)

† Nec intelligunt homines ineptissimi, quôd si sentire simulacra eò

recent and imperfect converts of the Gnostic tribe might crown the statues of Christ and St. Paul with the profane honours which they paid to those of Aristotle and Pythagoras;* but the public religion of the Catholics was uniformly simple and spiritual; and the first notice of the use of pictures is in the censure of the council of Illiberis, three hundred years after the Christian era. Under the successors of Constantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a visible superstition, for the benefit of the multitude; and, after the ruin of Paganism, they were no longer restrained by the apprehension of an odious parallel. The first introduction of a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the cross, and of relics. The saints and martyrs, whose intercession was implored, were seated on the right hand of God; but the gracious and often supernatural favours, which, in the popular belief, were showered round their tomb, conveyed an unquestionable sanction of the devout pilgrims, who visited, and touched, and kissed, these lifeless remains, the memorials of their merits and sufferings.† But a memorial, more interesting than the skull or the sandals of a departed worthy, is the faithful copy of his person and features, delineated by the arts of painting or sculpture. In every age, such copies, so congenial to human feelings, have been cherished by the zeal of private friendship, or public esteem; the images of the Roman emperors were adored with civil

movere possent, adoratura hominem fuissent a quo sunt expolita. (Divin. Institut. l. 2, c. 2.) Lactantius is the last, as well as the most eloquent, of the Latin apologists. Their raillery of idols attacks not only the object, but the form and matter. [Who were "the primitive Christians" here referred to? Even in the time of the apostles, the Greek converts far outnumbered those of Jewish descent. They accepted the Hebrew Scriptures, even before they had their own; and from them, as well as from philosophy, they conceived a repugnance to idolatry and a distaste for images, as the representatives of fable and folly. They had no "enmity" to their countrymen. No traces can be found of such a feeling: but, on the contrary, a cordial goodwill is shown, to recommend their new religion. The first symptoms of hostility were between them and Jews.—ED.]

* See Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Augustin. (Basnage, Hist. des Eglises Reformées, tom. ii. p. 1313.) This Gnostic practice has a singular affinity with the private worship of Alexander Severus. (Lampridius, c. 29. Lardner, Heathen Testimonies, vol. iii. p. 34.)

† See this History, vol. ii. p. 351—533; vol. iii. p. 302—306.

and almost religious honours; a reverence less ostentatious, but more sincere, was applied to the statues of sages and patriots; and these profane virtues, these splendid sins, disappeared in the presence of the holy men, who had died for their celestial and everlasting country. At first the experiment was made with caution and scruple; and the venerable pictures were discreetly allowed to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proselytes. By a slow though inevitable progression, the honours of the original were transferred to the copy; the devout Christian prayed before the image of a saint; and the Pagan rites of genuflexion, luminaries, and incense, again stole into the Catholic church. The scruples of reason or piety, were silenced by the strong evidence of visions and miracles; and the pictures which speak, and move, and bleed, must be endowed with a divine energy, and may be considered as the proper objects of religious adoration. The most audacious pencil might tremble in the rash attempt of defining, by forms and colours, the infinite Spirit, the eternal Father, who pervades and sustains the universe.* But the superstitious mind was more easily reconciled to paint and to worship the angels, and, above all, the Son of God, under the human shape, which, on earth, they have condescended to assume. The second person of the Trinity had been clothed with a real and mortal body; but that body had ascended into heaven, and, had not some similitude been presented to the eyes of his disciples, the spiritual worship of Christ might have been obliterated by the visible relics and representations of the saints. A similar indulgence was requisite, and propitious, for the Virgin Mary: the place of her burial was unknown; and the assumption of her soul and body into heaven was adopted by the credulity of the Greeks and Latins. The use, and even the worship, of images, was firmly established before the end of the sixth century; they were fondly cherished by the warm imagina-

* Οὐ γὰρ τὸ Θεῖον ἁπλοῦν ὕπαρχον καὶ ἄληπτον μορφαῖς τισι καὶ σχήμασιν ἀπεικάζομεν, ὄντε κηρῳ καὶ ξύλοις τὴν ὑπερούσιον καὶ προάναρχον οὐσίαν τιμᾶν ἡμεις ὑιεγνώκαμεν. (Concilium Nicenum, 2. in Collect. Labb. tom. viii. p. 1025, edit. Venet.) Il seroit peut-être à-propos de ne point souffrir d'images de la Trinité ou de la Divinité; les defenseurs les plus zelés des images ayant condamné celles-ci, et le concile de Trente ne parlant que des images de Jesus Christ et des Saints. (Dupin, Bibliot. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 154.)

tion of the Greeks and Asiatics; the Pantheon and Vatican were adorned with the emblems of a new superstition; but this semblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude barbarians and the Arian clergy of the West. The bolder forms of sculpture, in brass or marble, which peopled the temples of antiquity, were offensive to the fancy or conscience of the Christian Greeks; and a smooth surface of colours has ever been esteemed a more decent and harmless mode of imitation.*

The merit and effect of a copy depends on its resemblance with the original; but the primitive Christians were ignorant of the genuine features of the Son of God, his mother, and his apostles; the statue of Christ at Paneas in Palestine† was, more probably, that of some temporal saviour; the Gnostics and their profane monuments were reprobated; and the fancy of the Christian artists could only be guided by the clandestine imitation of some heathen model. In this distress, a bold and dexterous invention assured at once the likeness of the image and the innocence of the worship. A new superstructure of fable was raised on the popular basis of a Syrian legend, on the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus, so famous in the days of Eusebius, so reluctantly deserted by our modern advocates. The bishop of Cæsarea‡ records the epistle,§ but he most strangely forgets

* This general history of images is drawn from the twenty-second book of the Hist. des Eglises Reformées of Basnage, tom. ii. p. 1310—1337. He was a Protestant, but of a manly spirit; and on this head the Protestants are so notoriously in the right, that they can venture to be impartial. See the perplexity of poor friar Pagi, Critica, tom. i. p. 42.

† After removing some rubbish of miracle and inconsistency, it may be allowed, that as late as the year 300, Paneas in Palestine was decorated with a bronze statue, representing a grave personage wrapt in a cloak, with a grateful or suppliant female kneeling before him; and that an inscription—τῷ Σωτῆρι, τῷ εὐεργέτῃ—was perhaps inscribed on the pedestal. By the Christians, this group was foolishly explained of their founder and the *poor* woman whom he had cured of the bloody flux. (Euseb. 7. 18. Philostorg. 7. 3, &c.) M. de Beausobre more reasonably conjectures the philosopher Apollonius, or the emperor Vespasian: in the latter supposition, the female is a city, a province, or perhaps the queen Berenice. (Bibliothèque Germanique, tom. xiii. p. 1—92.)

‡ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 1, c. 13. The learned Assemannus has brought up the collateral aid of three Syrians, St. Ephrem, Josua Stylites, and James, bishop of Sarug; but I do not find any notice of the Syriac original, or the archives of Edessa (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 318. 420. 554); their vague belief is probably derived from the Greeks.

§ The evidence

the picture of Christ;* the perfect impression of his face on a linen, with which he gratified the faith of the royal stranger, who had invoked his healing power, and offered the strong city of Edessa to protect him against the malice of the Jews. The ignorance of the primitive church is explained by the long imprisonment of the image in a niche of the wall, from whence, after an oblivion of five hundred years, it was released by some prudent bishop, and seasonably presented to the devotion of the times. Its first and most glorious exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of Chosroes Nushirvan; and it was soon revered as a pledge of the divine promise, that Edessa should never be taken by a foreign enemy. It is true, indeed, that the text of Procopius ascribes the double deliverance of Edessa to the wealth and valour of her citizens, who purchased the absence, and repelled the assaults, of the Persian monarch. He was ignorant, the profane historian, of the testimony which he is compelled to deliver in the ecclesiastical page of Evagrius, that the Palladium was exposed on the rampart; and that the water, which had been sprinkled on the holy face, instead of quenching, added new fuel to the flames of the besieged. After this important service, the image of Edessa was preserved with respect and gratitude; and if the Armenians rejected the legend, the more credulous Greeks adored the similitude, which was not the work of any mortal pencil, but the immediate creation of the divine original. The style and sentiments of a Byzantine hymn will declare how far their worship was removed from the

for these epistles is stated and rejected by the candid Lardner. (Heathen Testimonies, vol. i. p. 297—309.) Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient, but untenable, post, I am ashamed, with the Grabes, Caves, Tillemonts, &c., to discover Mr. Addison, an English gentleman (his Works, vol. i. p. 528. Baskerville's edition); but his superficial tract on the Christian religion owes its credit to his name, his style, and the interested applause of our clergy.

* From the silence of James of Sarug (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. p. 289. 318), and the testimony of Evagrius (Hist. Eccles. l. 4, c. 27), I conclude that this fable was invented between the years 521 and 594, most probably after the siege of Edessa in 540. (Asseman. tom. i. p. 416. Procopius, de Bell. Persic. l. 2.) It is the sword and buckler of Gregory II. (in Epist. 1. ad Leon. Isaur. Concil. tom. viii. p. 656, 657), of John Damascenus (Opera, tom. i. p. 281, edit. Lequien), and of the second Nicene council. (Actio, 5, p. 1030.) The most perfect edition may be found in Cedrenus. (Compend. p. 175—178.)

grossest idolatry. "How can we with mortal eyes contemplate this image, whose celestial splendour the host of heaven presumes not to behold? *He*, who dwells in heaven, condescends this day to visit us by his venerable image; *He*, who is seated on the cherubim, visits us this day by a picture, which the Father has delineated with his immaculate hand, which he has formed in an ineffable manner, and which we sanctify by adoring it with fear and love." Before the end of the sixth century, these images, *made without hands* (in Greek it is a single word),* were propagated in the camps and cities of the Eastern empire;† they were the objects of worship, and the instruments of miracles; and, in the hour of danger or tumult, their venerable presence could revive the hope, rekindle the courage, or repress the fury, of the Roman legions. Of these pictures, the far greater part, the transcripts of a human pencil, could only pretend to a secondary likeness and improper title; but there were some of higher descent, which derived their resemblance from an immediate contact with the original, endowed for that purpose with a miraculous and prolific virtue. The most ambitious aspired from a filial to a fraternal relation with the image of Edessa; and such is the *veronica* of Rome, or Spain, or Jerusalem, which Christ in his agony and bloody sweat applied to his face, and delivered to a holy matron. The fruitful precedent was speedily transferred to the Virgin Mary, and the saints and martyrs. In the church of Diospolis, in Palestine, the features of the mother of God‡ were deeply inscribed in a marble column; the East and West

* Ἀχειροποίητος. See Ducange, in Gloss. Græc. et Lat. The subject is treated with equal learning and bigotry by the Jesuit Gretser, (Syntagma de Imaginibus non Manû factis, ad calcem Codini de Officiis, p. 289—330,) the ass, or rather the fox, of Ingoldstadt (see the Scaligerana); with equal reason and wit by the Protestant Beausobre, in the ironical controversy which he has spread through many volumes of the Bibliothèque Germanique (tom. xviii, p. 1—50; xx, p. 27—68; xxv. p. 1—36; xxvii. p. 85—118; xxviii. p. 1—33; xxxi. p. 111—148; xxxii. p. 75—107; xxxiv. p. 67—96).

† Theophylact Simocatta (l. 2, c. 3, p. 34; l. 3, c. 1, p. 63,) celebrates the θεάνδρικον εἴκασμα, which he styles ἀχειροποίητον; yet it was no more than a copy, since he adds ἀρχέτυπον τὸ ἐκεινον οἱ Ῥώμαιοι (of Edessa) θρησκεύουσί τι ἄῤῥητον. See Pagi, tom. ii. A.D. 586, No. 11.

‡ See in the genuine or supposed works of John Damascenus, two passages on the Virgin and St. Luke, which have not been noticed by Gretser, nor consequently by Beausobre. (Opera Joh. Damascen.

have been decorated by the pencil of St. Luke; and the evangelist, who was perhaps a physician, has been forced to exercise the occupation of a painter, so profane and odious in the eyes of the primitive Christians. The Olympian Jove, created by the muse of Homer and the chisel of Phidias, might inspire a philosophic mind with momentary devotion; but these Catholic images were faintly and flatly delineated by monkish artists, in the last degeneracy of taste and genius.*

The worship of images had stolen into the church by insensible degrees, and each petty step was pleasing to the superstitious mind, as productive of comfort and innocent of sin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehension, that, under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers; they heard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolaters; the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans,† who derived from the law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all relative worship. The servitude of the Jews might curb their zeal and depreciate their authority; but the triumphant Mussulmans, who reigned at

tom. i. p. 618. 631.)

* "Your scandalous figures stand quite out from the canvas: they are as bad as a group of statues!" It was thus that the ignorance and bigotry of a Greek priest applauded the pictures of Titian, which he had ordered, and refused to accept.

† By Cedrenus, Zonaras, Glycas, and Manasses, the origin of the Iconoclasts is imputed to the caliph Yezid and two Jews, who promised the empire to Leo; and the reproaches of these hostile sectaries are turned into an absurd conspiracy for restoring the purity of the Christian worship. (See Spanheim, Hist. Imag. c. 2.) [Yezid was the ninth caliph of the race of the Ommiades. About the year 719, he ordered all images in Syria to be destroyed. The orthodox availed themselves of this, to upbraid the Iconoclasts for following the examples of Saracens and Jews. Fragm. Mon. Johan. Jerosolymit. Script. Byz. tom. xvi. p. 235. Sismondi, Repub. tom. i. 126.—GUIZOT.] [Neander (Hist. of Chris. 3. 400—418) has learnedly and carefully traced the introduction of image-worship. It began, not by setting up the cross in churches, but by wearing the sign of it on the person, especially *on the forehead.* "Portare crucem in fronte," ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τὸν σταυρὸν περιφέρειν, was an early custom among Christians. This was, no doubt, derived from the Tephillin, or prayer-signs, of the Jews, so incorrectly rendered in the Greek *phylacteria*, which they wore on the forehead and the arm. Hence followed, by degrees, the embroidery of garments, the embellishment of houses and

Damascus, and threatened Constantinople, cast into the scale of reproach the accumulated weight of truth and victory. The cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the images of Christ, his mother and his saints; and each city presumed on the hope or promise of miraculous defence. In a rapid conquest of ten years, the Arabs subdued those cities and these images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of Hosts pronounced a decisive judgment between the adoration and contempt of these mute and inanimate idols. For awhile Edessa had braved the Persian assaults: but the chosen city, the spouse of Christ, was involved in the common ruin; and his divine resemblance became the slave and trophy of the infidels. After a servitude of three hundred years, the Palladium was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred Mussulmans, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edessa.* In this season of distress and dismay, the eloquence of the monks was exercised in the defence of images; and they attempted to prove, that the sin and schism of the greatest part of the Orientals had forfeited the favour, and annihilated the virtue, of these precious symbols. But they were now opposed by the murmurs of many simple or rational Christians, who appealed to the evidence of texts, of facts, and of the primitive times, and secretly desired the reformation of the church. As the worship of images had never been established by any general or positive law, its progress in the Eastern empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherished by the levity of the capital, and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy, while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnostics and Arians maintained, after their conversion, the simple worship which had preceded their

the decoration of churches.—ED.]

* See Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 267), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 201), and Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 264), and the Criticisms of Pagi (tom. iii. A.D. 944). The prudent Franciscan refuses to determine whether the image of Edessa now reposes at Rome or Genoa; but its repose is inglorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fashionable.

separation; and the Armenians, the most warlike subjects of Rome, were not reconciled, in the twelfth century, to the sight of images.* These various denominations of men afforded a fund of prejudice and aversion, of small account in the villages of Anatolia or Thrace, but which, in the fortune of a soldier, a prelate, or a eunuch, might be often connected with the powers of the church and state.

Of such adventurers, the most fortunate was the emperor Leo III.† who, from the mountains of Isauria, ascended the throne of the East. He was ignorant of sacred and profane letters; but his education, his reason, perhaps his intercourse with the Jews and Arabs, had inspired the martial peasant with a natred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince, to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience. But in the outset of an unsettled reign, during ten years of toil and danger, Leo submitted to the meanness of hypocrisy, bowed before the idols which he despised, and satisfied the Roman pontiff with the annual professions of his orthodoxy and zeal. In the reformation of religion, his first steps were moderate and cautious; he assembled a great council of senators and bishops, and enacted with their consent, that all the images should be removed from the sanctuary and altar to a proper height in the churches, where they might be visible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the superstition, of the people. But it was impossible on either side to check the rapid though adverse impulse of veneration and abhorrence: in their lofty position, the sacred images still edified their votaries and reproached the tyrant. He was himself provoked by resistance

* Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Ἀλαμανοῖς ἐπίσης ἡ ἁγίων εἰκόνων προσκύνησις ἀπηγόρευται. (Nicetas, l. 2, p. 258.) The Armenian churches are still content with the cross (Missions du Levant, tom. iii. p. 148); but surely the superstitious Greek is unjust to the superstition of the Germans of the twelfth century.

† Our original, but not impartial, monuments of the Iconoclasts must be drawn from the Acts of the Councils (tom. viii. and ix.). Collect. Labbé, edit. Venet. and the historical writings of Theophanes, Nicephorus, Manasses, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. Of the modern Catholics, Baronius, Pagi, Natalis Alexander (Hist. Eccles. seculum viii. and ix.), and Maimbourg (Hist. des Iconoclastes) have treated the subject with learning, passion, and credulity. The Protestant labours of Frederick Spanheim (Historia Imaginum Restituta) and James Basnage (Hist. des Eglises Réformées, tom. ii. l. 23, p. 1339—1385,) are cast into the Iconoclast scale. With this mutual aid, and opposite tendency, it is easy for us to poise the

and invective; and his own party accused him of an imperfect discharge of his duty, and urged for his imitation the example of the Jewish king, who had broken without scruple the brazen serpent of the temple. By a second edict, he proscribed the existence as well as the use of religious pictures; the churches of Constantinople and the provinces were cleansed from idolatry; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, were demolished, or a smooth surface of plaster was spread over the walls of the edifice. The sect of the Iconoclasts was supported by the zeal and despotism of six emperors, and the East and West were involved in a noisy conflict of one hundred and twenty years. It was the design of Leo the Isaurian to pronounce the condemnation of images, as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council: but the convocation of such an assembly was reserved for his son Constantine;* and though it is stigmatized by triumphant bigotry as a meeting of fools and atheists, their own partial and mutilated acts betray many symptoms of reason and piety. The debates and decrees of many provincial synods introduced the summons of the general council which met in the suburbs of Constantinople, and was composed of the respectable number of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops of Europe and Anatolia; for the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were the slaves of the caliph, and the Roman pontiff had withdrawn the churches of Italy and the West from the communion of the Greeks. This Byzantine synod assumed the rank and powers of the seventh general council; yet even this title was a recognition of the six preceding assemblies which had laboriously built the structure of the Catholic faith. After a serious deliberation of six months the three hundred and thirty-eight bishops pronounced and subscribed a unanimous decree that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image worship

balance with philosophic indifference.

* Some flowers of rhetoric are Σύνοδον παράνομον καὶ ἄθεον, and the bishops τοῖς ματαιόφροσιν. By Damascenus it is styled ἄκυρος καὶ ἄδεκτος. (Opera, tom. i. p. 623.) Spanheim's Apology for the Synod of Constantinople (p. 171, &c.,) is worked up with truth and ingenuity, from such materials as he could find in the Nicene Acts (p. 1046, &c.). The witty John of Damascus converts ἐπισκόπους into ἐπισκότους, makes them κοιλιοδούλους, slaves of their belly, &c. Opera, tom. i. p. 306.

was a corruption of Christianity and a renewal of Paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased; and that those who should refuse to deliver the objects of their private superstition, were guilty of disobedience to the authority of the church and of the emperor. In their loud and loyal acclamations, they celebrated the merits of their temporal redeemer; and to his zeal and justice they intrusted the execution of their spiritual censures. At Constantinople, as in the former councils, the will of the prince was the rule of episcopal faith; but, on this occasion, I am inclined to suspect that a large majority of the prelates sacrificed their secret conscience to the temptations of hope and fear. In the long night of superstition, the Christians had wandered far away from the simplicity of the gospel: nor was it easy for them to discern the clue, and tread back the mazes, of the labyrinth. The worship of images was inseparably blended, at least to a pious fancy, with the cross, the Virgin, the saints, and their relics; the holy ground was involved in a cloud of miracles and visions; and the nerves of the mind, curiosity and scepticism, were benumbed by the habits of obedience and belief. Constantine himself is accused of indulging a royal licence to doubt, or deny, or deride, the mysteries of the Catholics;* but they were deeply inscribed in the public and private creed of his bishops; and the boldest Iconoclast might assault with a secret horror the monuments of popular devotion, which were consecrated to the honour of his celestial patrons. In the reformation of the sixteenth century, freedom and knowledge had expanded all the faculties of man; the thirst of innovation superseded the reverence of antiquity, and the vigour of Europe could disdain those phantoms which terrified the sickly and servile weakness of the Greeks.

The scandal of an abstract heresy can be only proclaimed to the people by the blast of the ecclesiastical trumpet; but the most ignorant can perceive, the most torpid must feel, the profanation and downfall of their visible deities. The first hostilities of Leo were directed against a lofty Christ on

* He is accused of proscribing the title of saint; styling the Virgin, mother of *Christ*; comparing her after her delivery to an empty purse; of Arianism, Nestorianism, &c. In his defence, Spanheim (c. 4, p. 207,) is somewhat embarrassed between the interest of a Protestant, and the duty of an orthodox, divine.

the vestibule, and above the gate, of the palace. A ladder had been planted for the assault, but it was furiously shaken by a crowd of zealots and women; they beheld, with pious transport, the ministers of sacrilege tumbling from on high, and dashed against the pavement; and the honours of the ancient martyrs were prostituted to these criminals, who justly suffered for murder and rebellion.* The execution of the imperial edicts was resisted by frequent tumults in Constantinople and the provinces; the person of Leo was endangered, his officers were massacred, and the popular enthusiasm was quelled by the strongest efforts of the civil and military power. Of the Archipelago, or Holy sea, the numerous islands were filled with images and monks; their votaries abjured without scruple, the enemy of Christ, his mother, and the saints; they armed a fleet of boats and galleys, displayed their consecrated banners, and boldly steered for the harbour of Constantinople, to place on the throne a new favourite of God and the people. They depended on the succour of a miracle; but their miracles were inefficient against the *Greek fire;* and, after the defeat and conflagration of their fleet, the naked islands were abandoned to the clemency or justice of the conqueror. The son of Leo, in the first year of his reign, had undertaken an expedition against the Saracens; during his absence, the capital, the palace, and the purple, were occupied by his kinsman Artavasdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith. The worship of images was triumphantly restored; the patriarch renounced his dissimulation, or dissembled his sentiments; and the righteous claim of the usurper was acknowledged, both in the new and in ancient Rome. Constantine flew for refuge to his paternal mountains; but he descended at the head of the bold and affectionate Isaurians; and his final victory confounded the arms and the predictions of the fanatics. His long reign was distracted with clamour, sedition, conspiracy, mutual hatred, and sanguinary revenge; the persecution of images was the motive, or pretence, of his adversaries; and if they missed a temporal diadem, they were rewarded by the Greeks with the crown

* The holy confessor Theophanes approves the principle of their rebellion, *θείῳ κινούμενοι ζήλῳ* (p. 339). Gregory II. (in Epist. 1, ad Imp. Leon. Concil. tom. viii. p. 661. 664,) applauds the zeal of the Byzantine women who killed the imperial officers.

of martyrdom. In every act of open and clandestine treason, the emperor felt the unforgiving enmity of the monks, the faithful slaves of the superstition to which they owed their riches and influence. They prayed, they preached, they absolved, they inflamed, they conspired; the solitude of Palestine poured forth a torrent of invective; and the pen of St. John Damascenus,* the last of the Greek fathers, devoted the tyrant's head, both in this world and the next.† I am not at leisure to examine how far the monks provoked, nor how much they have exaggerated, their real and pretended sufferings, nor how many lost their lives or limbs, their eyes or their beards, by the cruelty of the emperor. From the chastisement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order; and, as it was wealthy and useless, his resentment might be stimulated by avarice and justified by patriotism. The formidable name and mission of the *Dragon*,‡ his visitor-general, excited the terror and abhorrence of the *black* nation; the religious communities were dissolved, the buildings were converted into magazines, or barracks; the lands, moveables, and cattle, were confiscated; and our modern precedents will support the charge, that much wanton or malicious havoc was exercised against the relics, and even the books, of the monasteries. With the habit and profession of monks, the public and private wor-

* John, or Mansur, was a noble Christian of Damascus, who held a considerable office in the service of the caliph. His zeal in the cause of images exposed him to the resentment and treachery of the Greek emperor; and on the suspicion of a treasonable correspondence, he was deprived of his right hand, which was miraculously restored by the Virgin. After this deliverance, he resigned his office, distributed his wealth, and buried himself in the monastery of St. Sabas, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The legend is famous; but his learned editor, father Lequien, has unluckily proved that St. John Damascenus was already a monk before the Iconoclast dispute. (Opera, tom. i. Vit. St. Joan. Damascen. p. 10—13, et Notas ad loc.)

† After sending Leo to the devil, he introduces his heir—*τὸ μιαρὸν αὐτοῦ γέννημα, καὶ τῆς κακίας αὐτοῦ κληρονόμος ἐν διπλῷ γενόμενος.* (Opera Damascen. tom. i. p. 625.) If the authenticity of this piece be suspicious, we are sure that in other works, no longer extant, Damascenus bestowed on Constantine the titles of *νέον Μωαμὲθ, Χριστομάχον, μισάγιον.* (tom. i, p. 306.)

‡ In the narrative of this persecution from Theophanes and Cedrenus, Spanheim (p. 235—238,) is happy to compare the *Draco* of Leo with the dragoons (*Dracones*) of Louis XIV, and highly solaces himself with this controversial pun.

ship of images was rigorously proscribed; and it should seem, that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the subjects, or at least from the clergy, of the Eastern empire.*

The patient East abjured, with reluctance, her sacred images; they were fondly cherished, and vigorously defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians. In ecclesiastical rank and jurisdiction, the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope of Rome were nearly equal. But the Greek prelate was a domestic slave under the eye of his master, at whose nod he alternately passed from the convent to the throne, and from the throne to the convent. A distant and dangerous station amidst the barbarians of the West, excited the spirit and freedom of the Latin bishops. Their popular election endeared them to the Romans; the public and private indigence was relieved by their ample revenue; and the weakness or neglect of the emperors compelled them to consult, both in peace and war, the temporal safety of the city. In the school of adversity the priest insensibly imbibed the virtues and the ambition of a prince; the same character was assumed, the same policy was adopted, by the Italian, the Greek, or the Syrian, who ascended the chair of St. Peter; and, after the loss of her legions and provinces, the genius and fortune of the popes again restored the supremacy of Rome. It is agreed, that in the eighth century their dominion was founded on rebellion, and that the rebellion was produced and justified, by the heresy of the Iconoclasts; but the conduct of the second and third Gregory, in this memorable contest, is variously interpreted by the wishes of their friends and enemies. The Byzantine writers unanimously declare, that, after a fruitless admonition, they pronounced the separation of the East and West, and deprived the sacrilegious tyrant of the revenue and sovereignty of Italy. Their excommunication is still more clearly expressed by the Greeks who beheld the accomplishment of the papal triumphs; and as they are more strongly attached to their religion than to their country, they praise, instead

* Πρόγραμμα γὰρ ἐξεπέμψε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐξαρχίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, πάντας ὑπογράψαι καὶ ὁμνύναι τοῦ ἀθετῆσαι τὴν προσκύνησιν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων. (Damascen. Op. tom. i. p. 625.) This oath and subscription I do not remember to have seen in any modern

of blaming, the zeal and orthodoxy of these apostolical men.* The modern champions of Rome are eager to accept the praise and the precedent; this great and glorious example of the deposition of royal heretics is celebrated by the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine;† and if they are asked, why the same thunders were not hurled against the Neros and Julians of antiquity, they reply, that the weakness of the primitive church was the sole cause of her patient loyalty.‡ On this occasion, the effects of love and hatred are the same; and the zealous Protestants, who seek to kindle the indignation, and to alarm the fears, of princes and magistrates, expatiate on the insolence and treason of the two Gregories against their lawful sovereign.§ They are defended only by the moderate Catholics, for the most part, of the Gallican church,¶ who respect the saint, without approving the sin. These common advocates of the crown and the mitre circumscribe the truth of facts by the rule of equity, Scripture, and tradition; and appeal to the

compilation.

* Καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν πᾶσῃ Ἰταλίᾳ τῆς βασιλειας αὐτοῦ ἀπεστησε, says Theophanes. (Chronograph. p. 343.) For this, Gregory is styled by Cedrenus ἀνηρ ἀποστόλικος (p. 450). Zonaras specifies the thunder ἀναθήματι συνοδικῷ (tom. ii. l. 15, p. 104, 105.) It may be observed, that the Greeks are apt to confound the times and actions of two Gregories.

† See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 730, No. 4, 5, dignum exemplum! Bellarmin. de Romano Pontifice, l. 5, c. 8; mulctavit eum parte imperii. Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. 3, Opera, tom. ii. p. 169. Yet such is the change of Italy, that Sigonius is corrected by the editor of Milan, Philippus Argelatus, a Bolognese, and subject of the pope.

‡ Quod si Christiani olim non deposuerunt Neronem aut Julianum, id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Christianis. (Honest Bellarmine! de Rom. Pont. l. 5, c. 7.) Cardinal Perron adds a distinction more honourable to the first Christians, but not more satisfactory to modern princes—the *treason* of heretics and apostates, who break their oath, belie their coin, and renounce their allegiance to Christ and his vicar. (Perroniana, p. 89.)

§ Take, as a specimen, the cautious Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, p. 1350, 1351,) and the vehement Spanheim (Hist. Imaginum), who, with a hundred more, tread in the footsteps of the centuriators of Magdeburgh.

¶ See Launoy, (Opera, tom. v. pars 2, epist. 7. 7. p. 456—474), Natalis Alexander (Hist. Nov. Testamenti, secul. 8, dissert. 1, p. 92—96). Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 215, 216), and Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. p. 317—320) a disciple of the Gallican school. In the field of controversy I always pity the moderate party, who stand on the open middle ground, exposed to the fire on both sides.

evidence of the Latins,* and the lives† and epistles of the popes themselves.

Two original epistles from Gregory II. to the emperor Leo are still extant;‡ and if they cannot be praised as the most perfect models of eloquence and logic, they exhibit the portrait, or at least the mask, of the founder of the Papal monarchy. "During ten pure and fortunate years," says Gregory to the emperor, "we have tasted the annual comfort of your royal letters, subscribed in purple ink with your own hand, the sacred pledges of your attachment to the orthodox creed of our fathers. How deplorable is the change! how tremendous the scandal! You now accuse the Catholics of idolatry; and, by the accusation, you betray your own impiety and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to adapt the grossness of our style and arguments; the first elements of holy letters are sufficient for your confusion; and were you to enter a grammar-school, and avow yourself the enemy of our worship, the simple and pious children would be provoked to cast their horn-books at your head." After this decent salutation, the pope attempts the usual distinction between the idols of antiquity and the Christian images. The former were the

* They appeal to Paul Warnefrid, or Diaconus, (de Gestis Langobard. l. 6, c. 49, p. 506, 507, in Script. Ital. Muratori, tom. i. pars. 1,) and the nominal Anastasius (de Vit. Pont. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars. 1); Gregorius II. p. 154; Gregorius III. p. 158; Zacharias, p. 161; Stephanus III. p. 165; Paulus, p. 172; Stephanus IV. p. 174; Hadrianus, p. 179; Leo III. p. 195). Yet I may remark, that the true Anastasius (Hist. Eccles. p. 134, edit. Reg.), and the Historia Miscella. (l. 21, p. 151, in tom. i. Script. Ital.) both of the ninth century, translate and approve the Greek text of Theophanes.

† With some minute difference, the most learned critics, Lucas Holstenius, Schelestrate, Ciampini, Bianchini, Muratori (Prolegomena ad tom. iii. pars 1), are agreed that the Liber Pontificalis was composed and continued by the apostolical librarians and notaries of the eighth and ninth centuries; and that the last and smallest part is the work of Anastasius, whose name it bears. The style is barbarous, the narrative partial, the details are trifling—yet it must be read as a curious and authentic record of the times. The epistles of the popes are dispersed in the volumes of Councils.

‡ The two epistles of Gregory II. have been preserved in the Acts of the Nicene Council, (tom. viii. p. 651—674). They are without a date, which is variously fixed, by Baronius in the year 726, by Muratori (Annali D'Italia, tom. vi. p. 120,) in 729, and by Pagi in 730. Such is the force of prejudice, that some papists have praised the good sense and moderation of these letters.

fanciful representations of phantoms or demons, at a time when the true God had not manifested his person in any visible likeness. The latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mother, and his saints, who had approved, by a crowd of miracles, the innocence and merit of this relative worship. He must indeed have trusted to the ignorance of Leo, since he could assert the perpetual use of images, from the apostolic age, and their venerable presence in the six synods of the Catholic church. A more specious argument is drawn from present possession and recent practice: the harmony of the Christian world supersedes the demand of a general council; and Gregory frankly confesses, that such assemblies can only be useful under the reign of an orthodox prince. To the impudent and inhuman Leo, more guilty than a heretic, he recommends peace, silence, and implicit obedience to his spiritual guides of Constantinople and Rome. The limits of civil and ecclesiastical powers are defined by the pontiff. To the former he appropriates the body; to the latter the soul; the sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrate; the more formidable weapon of excommunication is intrusted to the clergy; and in the exercise of their divine commission, a zealous son will not spare his offending father; the successor of St. Peter may lawfully chastise the kings of the earth. "You assault us, O tyrant! with a carnal and military hand; unharmed and naked, we can only implore the Christ, the prince of the heavenly host, that he will send unto you a devil, for the destruction of your body and the salvation of your soul. You declare, with foolish arrogance, I will dispatch my orders to Rome; I will break in pieces the image of St. Peter; and Gregory, like his predecessor Martin, shall be transported in chains, and in exile, to the foot of the imperial throne. Would to God, that I might be permitted to tread in the footsteps of the holy Martin! but may the fate of Constans serve as a warning to the persecutors of the church! After his just condemnation by the bishops of Sicily, the tyrant was cut off, in the fulness of his sins, by a domestic servant; the saint is still adored by the nations of Scythia, among whom he ended his banishment and his life. But it is our duty to live for the edification and support of the faithful people; nor are we reduced to risk our safety on the event of a combat. Incapable as you are

of defending your Roman subjects, the maritime situation of the city may perhaps expose it to your depredation; but we can remove to the distance of four-and-twenty *stadia** to the first fortress of the Lombards, and then———you may pursue the winds. Are you ignorant that the popes are the bond of union, the mediators of peace between the East and West? The eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility; and they revere, as a God upon earth, the apostle St. Peter, whose image you threaten to destroy.† The remote and interior kingdoms of the West present their homage to Christ and his vicegerent; and we now prepare to visit one of their most powerful monarchs, who desires to receive from our hands the sacrament of baptism.‡ The Barbarians have submitted to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the shepherd. These pious Barbarians are kindled into rage; they thirst to

* Εἴκοσι τέσσαρα στάδια ὑποχωρήσει ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν χώραν της Καμπανιας, καὶ ὕπαγε δίωξον τοὺς ἀνέμους. (Epist. 1 p. 664.) This proximity of the Lombards is hard of digestion. Camillo Pellegrini (Dissert. 4, de Ducatû Beneventi, in the Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 172, 173), forcibly reckons the twenty-fourth stadia, not from Rome, but from the limits of the Roman duchy, to the first fortress, perhaps Sora, of the Lombards. I rather believe that Gregory, with the pedantry of the age, employs *stadia* for miles, without much inquiry into the genuine measure.

† Ὃν αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλείαι τῆς δύσεως ὡς Θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι.

‡ Ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσωτέρου δύσεως τοῦ λεγομένου Σεπτετοῦ (p. 665.) The pope appears to have imposed on the ignorance of the Greeks; he lived and died in the Lateran; and in his time all the kingdoms of the West had embraced Christianity. May not this unknown *Septetus* have some reference to the chief of the Saxon *heptarchy*, to Ina, king of Wessex, who, in the pontificate of Gregory II., visited Rome for the purpose, not of baptism, but of pilgrimage? (Pagi, A.D. 689, No. 2; A.D. 726, No. 15.) [Many of our early Anglo-Saxon kings abdicated and retired to Rome, where they ended their days in monastic seclusion. (Bede. Ecc. Hist. v. 19, p. 268, edit. Bohn.) Ina's journey, for that purpose, is fixed by the Saxon Chronicle in the year 728. This date, though questioned by some, appears to accord with that of Gregory's above-quoted letter, which Muratori (Annali d'Italia. x. 33) alters from 726 to 729. For the school, said to have been founded by Ina at Rome, see Turner's Anglo-Saxons (1. 399). But the credibility of Matthew of Westminster, on whose authority this rests, is questioned by Lappenberg (Hist. of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, by Thorpe, vol. i. p. 205), who attributes to Offa, king of Mercia (Ib. 236) the "Romescote," or payment of a penny imposed on every family, for the support of this school, a tax, which afterwards became the

avenge the persecution of the East. Abandon your rash and fatal enterprise; reflect, tremble, and repent. If you persist, we are innocent of the blood that will be spilt in the contest; may it fall on your own head."

The first assault of Leo against the images of Constantinople had been witnessed by a crowd of strangers from Italy and the West, who related with grief and indignation the sacrilege of the emperor. But on the reception of his proscriptive edict, they trembled for their domestic deities; the images of Christ and the Virgin, of the angels, martyrs, and saints, were abolished in all the churches of Italy; and a strong alternative was proposed to the Roman pontiff, the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to hesitate; and the haughty strain in which Gregory addressed the emperor displays his confidence in the truth of his doctrine or the powers of resistance. Without depending on prayers or miracles, he boldly armed against the public enemy, and his pastoral letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty.* At this signal, Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the exarchate and Pentapolis, adhered to the cause of religion; their military force by sea and land consisted, for the most part, of the natives; and the spirit of patriotism and zeal was transfused into the mercenary strangers. The Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the pope and the holy images; the Roman people were devoted to their father, and even the Lombards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of this holy war. The most treasonable act, but the most obvious revenge, was the destruction of the statues of Leo himself: the most effectual and pleasing measure of rebellion, was the withholding the tribute of Italy, and depriving him of a power which he had recently abused by the imposition of a new capitation.† A form of administration was preserved

national grievance of "Peter's Pence."—ED.]

* I shall transcribe the important and decisive passage of the Liber Pontificalis. Respiciens ergo pius vir profanam principis jussionem, jam contra Imperatorem quasi contra *hostem* se armavit, renuens hæresim ejus, scribens ubique se cavere Christianos, eo quod orta fuisset impietas talis. *Igitur* permoti omnes Pentapolenses, atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris jussionem restiterunt; dicentes se nunquam in ejusdem pontificis condescendere necem, sed pro ejus magis defensensione viriliter decertare. (p 156.)

† A *census*, or

by the election of magistrates and governors; and so high was the public indignation, that the Italians were prepared to create an orthodox emperor, and to conduct him with a fleet and army to the palace of Constantinople. In that palace, the Roman bishops, the second and third Gregory, were condemned as the authors of the revolt, and every attempt was made, either by fraud or force, to seize their persons, and to strike at their lives. The city was repeatedly visited or assaulted by captains of the guards, and dukes and exarchs of high dignity or secret trust; they landed with foreign troops, they obtained some domestic aid, and the superstition of Naples may blush that her fathers were attached to the cause of heresy. But these clandestine or open attacks were repelled by the courage and vigilance of the Romans; the Greeks were overthrown and massacred, their leaders suffered an ignominious death, and the popes, however inclined to mercy, refused to intercede for these guilty victims. At Ravenna,* the several quarters of the city had long exercised a bloody and hereditary feud; in religious controversy they found a new aliment of faction; but the votaries of images were superior in numbers or spirit, and the exarch, who attempted to stem the torrent, lost his life in a popular sedition. To punish this flagitious deed, and restore his dominion in Italy, the emperor sent a fleet and army into the Adriatic gulf. After suffering from the winds and waves much loss and delay, the Greeks made their descent in the neighbourhood of Ravenna; they threatened to depopulate the guilty capital, and to imitate, perhaps to surpass, the example of Justinian II., who had chastised a former rebellion by the choice and execution of fifty of the principal inhabitants.

capitation, says Anastasius (p. 156): a most cruel tax, unknown to the Saracens themselves, exclaims the zealous Maimbourg (Hist. des Iconoclastes, l. 1), and Theophanes (p. 344), who talks of Pharaoh's numbering the male children of Israel. This mode of taxation was familiar to the Saracens; and, most unluckily for the historian, it was imposed a few years afterwards in France by his patron Louis XIV.

* See the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus (in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori, tom. ii. pars 1,) whose deeper shade of barbarism marks the difference between Rome and Ravenna. Yet we are indebted to him for some curious and domestic facts—the quarters and factions of Ravenna (p. 154), the revenge of Justinian II. (p. 160, 161), the defeat of the Greeks (p. 170, 171), &c.

The women and clergy, in sackcloth and ashes, lay prostrate in prayer; the men were in arms for the defence of their country; the common danger had united the factions, and the event of a battle was preferred to the slow miseries of a siege. In a hard-fought day, as the two armies alternately yielded and advanced, a phantom was seen, a voice was heard, and Ravenna was victorious by the assurance of victory. The strangers retreated to their ships, but the populous sea-coast poured forth a multitude of boats; the waters of the Po were so deeply infected with blood, that during six years, the public prejudice abstained from the fish of the river; and the institution of an annual feast perpetuated the worship of images, and the abhorrence of the Greek tyrant. Amidst the triumph of the Catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts. With their consent he pronounced a general excommunication against all who by word or deed should attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints; in this sentence the emperor was tacitly involved;* but the vote of a last and hopeless remonstrance may seem to imply that the anathema was yet suspended over his guilty head. No sooner had they confirmed their own safety, the worship of images, and the freedom of Rome and Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed of their severity, and to have spared the relics of the Byzantine dominion. Their moderate counsels delayed and prevented the election of a new emperor, and they exhorted the Italians not to separate from the body of the Roman monarchy. The exarch was permitted to reside within the walls of Ravenna, a captive rather than a master; and till the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine.†

* Yet Leo was undoubtedly comprised in the si quis imaginum sacrarum destructor extiterit sit extorris a corpore D. N. Jesu Christi vel totius ecclesiæ unitate. The canonists may decide whether the guilt or the name constitutes the excommunication; and the decision is of the last importance to their safety, since, according to the oracle (Gratian. Caus. 23. p. 5, c. 47, apud Spanheim, Hist. Imag. p. 112), homicidas non esse qui excommunicatos trucidant.

† Compescuit tale consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem principis (Anastas. p. 156). Sed ne desisterent ab amore et fide R. J. admonebat (p. 157). The popes style Leo and Constantine Copronymus,

The liberty of Rome, which had been oppressed by the arms and arts of Augustus, was rescued, after seven hundred and fifty years of servitude, from the persecution of Leo the Isaurian. By the Cæsars, the triumphs of the consuls had been annihilated: in the decline and fall of the empire, the god Terminus, the sacred boundary, had insensibly receded from the ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates: and Rome was reduced to her ancient territory from Viterbo to Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber.* When the kings were banished, the republic reposed on the firm basis which had been founded by their wisdom and virtue. Their perpetual jurisdiction was divided between two annual magistrates; the senate continued to exercise the powers of administration and counsel; and the legislative authority was distributed in the assemblies of the people, by a well-proportioned scale of property and service. Ignorant of the arts of luxury, the primitive Romans had improved the science of government and war: the will of the community was absolute: the rights of individuals were sacred: one hundred and thirty thousand citizens were armed for defence or conquest; and a band of robbers and outlaws was moulded into a nation, deserving of freedom, and ambitious of glory.† When the sovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguished, the ruins of Rome presented the sad image of depopulation and decay; her slavery was a habit, her liberty an accident; the effect of superstition, and the object of her own amazement and terror. The last vestige of the substance, or even the forms, of the constitution, was obliterated from the practice and memory of the Romans; and they were devoid of knowledge, or virtue,

Imperatores et Domini, with the strange epithet of *Piissimi*. A famous mosaic of the Lateran (A.D. 798,) represents Christ, who delivers the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine V. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 337.)

* I have traced the Roman duchy according to the maps, and the maps according to the excellent dissertation of father Baretti (de Chorographia Italiæ Medii Ævi, sect. 20, p. 216—232). Yet I must nicely observe, that Viterbo is of Lombard foundation (p. 211,) and that Terracina was usurped by the Greeks.

† On the extent, population, &c. of the Roman kingdom, the reader may peruse, with pleasure, the *Discours Préliminaire* to the République Romaine of M. de Beaufort (tom. i.) who will not be accused of too much credulity for the early ages of Rome.

again to build the fabric of a commonwealth. Their scanty remnant, the offspring of slaves and strangers, was despicable in the eyes of the victorious barbarians. As often as the Franks or Lombards expressed their most bitter contempt of a foe, they called him a Roman; "and in this name (says the bishop Liutprand) we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious, the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature."* By the necessity of their situation, the inhabitants of Rome were cast into the rough model of a republican government; they were compelled to elect some judges in peace, and some leaders in war; the nobles assembled to deliberate, and their resolves could not be executed without the union and consent of the multitude. The style of the Roman senate and people was revived,† but the spirit was fled; and their new independence was disgraced by the tumultuous conflict of licentiousness and oppression. The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the West, his recent services, their gratitude, and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate or prince of the city. The Christian humility of the popes was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord; and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins.‡ Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the

* Quos (*Romanos*) nos, Langobardi scilicet, Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bajoari, Suevi, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur ut inimicos nostros commoti, nil aliud contumeliarum nisi Romane, dicamus: hoc solo, id est Romanorum nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo quicquid vitiorum est comprehendentes. (Liutprand. in Legat. Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars 1, p. 481.) For the sins of Cato or Tully, Minos might have imposed, as a fit penance, the daily perusal of this barbarous passage. † Pipino regi Francorum, omnis senatus atque universa populi generalitas a Deo servatæ Romanæ urbis. (Codex Carolin. epist. 36, in Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars 2, p. 160.) The names of senatus and senator were never totally extinct (Dissert. Chorograph. p. 216, 217); but in the middle ages they signified little more than nobiles, optimates, &c. (Ducange, Gloss. Latin.)

‡ See Muratori Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. dissertat. 27, p. 548. On one of these coins we read Hadrianus Papa (A.D. 772); on

reverence of a thousand years; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people, whom they had redeemed from slavery.

In the quarrels of ancient Greece, the holy people of Elis enjoyed a perpetual peace, under the protection of Jupiter, and in the exercise of the Olympic games.* Happy would it have been for the Romans if a similar privilege had guarded the patrimony of St. Peter from the calamities of war; if the Christians who visited the holy threshold, would have sheathed their swords in the presence of the apostle and his successor. But this mystic circle could have been traced only by the wand of a legislator and a sage; this pacific system was incompatible with the zeal and ambition of the popes; the Romans were not addicted, like the inhabitants of Elis, to the innocent and placid labours of agriculture; and the Barbarians of Italy, though softened by the climate, were far below the Grecian states in the institutions of public and private life. A memorable example of repentance and piety was exhibited by Liutprand, king of the Lombards. In arms, at the gate of the Vatican, the conqueror listened to the voice of Gregory II.,† withdrew his troops, resigned his conquests, respectfully visited the church of St. Peter, and after performing his devotions, offered his sword and dagger, his cuirass and mantle, his silver cross and his crown of gold, on the tomb of the apostle. But this religous fervour was the illusion, perhaps the artifice, of the moment; the sense

the reverse, Vict. DDNN. with the word *CONOB*, which the Père Joubert (Science des Medailles, tom. ii. p. 42) explains by *CON*-stantinopoli *O*fficina β' (*secunda*). [Seldom, in the history of the world, do we find a people, "redeemed from slavery," but to be mastered by some sterner tyrant. Where secular and ecclesiastical power are divided, they may at times check each other. United in one hand, they fabricated for the Romans a heavier yoke, than any, which kings, patricians, triumvirs or emperors, had in succession imposed. Their submission must not be called free choice; if no other title had maintained the popes, their throne would long ago have been subverted. To fit the many for freedom is a slow work, in which must be combined various elements, that are seldom found together.—ED.]

* See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games (Pindar, vol. ii. p. 32—36, edition in duodecimo), and the judicious reflections of Polybius (tom. i. l. 4, p. 466, edit. Gronov).

† The speech of Gregory to the Lombard is finely composed by Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. 3. Opera, tom. ii. p. 173), who imitates the

of interest is strong and lasting; the love of arms and rapine was congenial to the Lombards; and both the prince and people were irresistibly tempted by the disorders of Italy, the nakedness of Rome, and the unwarlike profession of her new chief. On the first edicts of the emperor, they declared themselves the champions of the holy images; Liutprand invaded the province of Romagna, which had already assumed that distinctive appellation; the Catholics of the exarchate yielded without reluctance to his civil and military power; and a foreign enemy was introduced for the first time into the impregnable fortress of Ravenna. That city and fortress were speedily recovered by the active diligence and maritime forces of the Venetians; and those faithful subjects obeyed the exhortations of Gregory himself in separating the personal guilt of Leo from the general cause of the Roman empire.* The Greeks were less mindful of the service, than the Lombards of the injury; the two nations, hostile in their faith, were reconciled in a dangerous and unnatural alliance; the king and the exarch marched to the conquest of Spoleto and Rome; the storm evaporated without effect, but the policy of Liutprand alarmed Italy with a vexatious alternative of hostility and truce. His successor Astolphus declared himself the equal enemy of the emperor and the pope; Ravenna was subdued by force or treachery,† and this final conquest extinguished the series of the exarchs, who had reigned with a subordinate power since the time of Justinian and the ruin of the Gothic kingdom. Rome was summoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful sovereign: the annual tribute of a piece of gold was fixed as the ransom of each citizen, and the sword of destruction was unsheathed to exact the penalty of her disobedience. The Romans hesitated; they entreated; they complained; and the

licence and the spirit of Sallust or Livy.

* The Venetian historians, John Sagorninus (Chron. Venet. p. 13,) and the doge Andrew Dandolo (Scriptores Rer. Ital. tom. xii. p. 135,) have preserved this epistle of Gregory. The loss and recovery of Ravenna are mentioned by Paulus Diaconus (De Gest. Langobard. l. 6, c. 49. 54, in Script. Ital. tom. i. pars 1, p. 506. 508); but our chronologists, Pagi, Muratori, &c. cannot ascertain the date or circumstances.

† The option will depend on the various readings of the MSS. of Anastasius—*deceperat*, or *decerpserat*. (Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars 1, p. 17.)

threatening Barbarians were checked by arms and negotiations, till the popes had engaged the friendship of an ally and avenger beyond the Alps.*

In his distress, the first Gregory had implored the aid of the hero of the age, of Charles Martel, who governed the French monarchy with the humble title of mayor or duke; and who, by his signal victory over the Saracens, had saved his country, and perhaps Europe, from the Mahometan yoke. The ambassadors of the pope were received by Charles with decent reverence; but the greatness of his occupations, and the shortness of his life, prevented his interference in the affairs of Italy, except by a friendly and ineffectual mediation. His son Pepin, the heir of his power and virtues, assumed the office of champion of the Roman church; and the zeal of the French prince appears to have been prompted by the love of glory and religion. But the danger was on the banks of the Tiber, the succour on those of the Seine; and our sympathy is cold to the relation of distant misery. Amidst the tears of the city, Stephen III. embraced the generous resolution of visiting in person the courts of Lombardy and France, to deprecate the injustice of his enemy, or to excite the pity and indignation of his friend. After soothing the public despair by litanies and orations, he undertook this laborious journey with the ambassadors of the French monarch and the Greek emperor. The king of the Lombards was inexorable; but his threats could not silence the complaints, nor retard the speed, of the Roman pontiff, who traversed the Pennine Alps, reposed in the abbey of St. Maurice, and hastened to grasp the right hand of his protector, a hand which was never lifted in vain, either in war or friendship. Stephen was entertained as the visible successor of the apostle; at the next assembly, the field of March or of May, his injuries were exposed to a devout and warlike nation, and he repassed the Alps, not as a suppliant, but as a conqueror, at

* The Codex Carolinus is a collection of the epistles of the popes to Charles Martel (whom they style *Subregulus*), Pepin, and Charlemagne, as far as the year 791, when it was formed by the last of these princes. His original and authentic MS. (Bibliothecæ Cubicularis) is now in the imperial library of Vienna, and has been published by Lambecius and Muratori. (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. pars 2, p. 75, &c.)

the head of a French army, which was led by the king in person. The Lombards, after a weak resistance, obtained an ignominious peace, and swore to restore the possessions, and to respect the sanctity, of the Roman church. But no sooner was Astolphus delivered from the presence of the French arms, than he forgot his promise and resented his disgrace. Rome was again encompassed by his arms; and Stephen, apprehensive of fatiguing the zeal of his Transalpine allies, enforced his complaint and request by an eloquent letter in the name and person of St. Peter himself.* The apostle assures his adopted sons, the king, the clergy, and the nobles of France, that dead in the flesh, he is still alive in the spirit; that they now hear, and must obey, the voice of the founder and guardian of the Roman church; that the Virgin, the angels, the saints, and the martyrs, and all the host of heaven, unanimously urge the request, and will confess the obligation; that riches, victory, and paradise, will crown their pious enterprise, and that eternal damnation will be the penalty of their neglect, if they suffer his tomb, his temple, and his people, to fall into the hands of the perfidious Lombards. The second expedition of Pepin was not less rapid and fortunate than the first: St. Peter was satisfied, Rome was again saved, and Astolphus was taught the lessons of justice and sincerity by the scourge of a foreign master. After this double chastisement, the Lombards languished about twenty years in a state of languor and decay. But their minds were not yet humbled to their condition; and instead of affecting the pacific virtues of the feeble, they peevishly harassed the Romans with a repetition of claims, evasions, and inroads, which they undertook without reflection, and terminated without glory. On either side, their expiring monarchy was pressed by the zeal and prudence of Pope Adrian I., the genius, the fortune, and greatness, of Charlemagne the son of Pepin; these heroes of the church and state were united in public and domestic friendship, and while they trampled on the prostrate, they varnished their proceedings

* See this most extraordinary letter in the Codex Carolinus, epist. 3, p. 92. The enemies of the popes have charged them with fraud and blasphemy; yet they surely meant to persuade rather than deceive. This introduction of the dead, or of immortals, was familiar to the ancient orators, though it is executed on this occasion in the rude

with the fairest colours of equity and moderation.* The passes of the Alps, and the walls of Pavia, were the only defence of the Lombards; the former were surprised, the latter were invested, by the son of Pepin; and after a blockade of two years, Desiderius, the last of their native princes, surrendered his sceptre and his capital. Under the dominion of a foreign king, but in the possession of their national laws, the Lombards became the brethren rather than the subjects of the Franks; who derived their blood, and manners, and language, from the same Germanic origin.†

The mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family, form the important link of ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical, history. In the conquest of Italy, the champions of the Roman church obtained a favourable occasion, a specious title, the wishes of the people, the prayers and intrigues of the clergy. But the most essential gifts of the popes to the Carlovingian race were the dignities of king of France,‡ and of patrician of Rome. I. Under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate. The

fashion of the age. * Except in the divorce of the daughter of Desiderius, whom Charlemagne repudiated sine aliquo crimine. Pope Stephen IV. had most furiously opposed the alliance of a noble Frank—cum perfidâ, horridâ, nec dicendâ, fœtentissimâ natione Langobardorum—to whom he imputes the first stain of leprosy. (Cod. Carolin. epist. 45, p. 178, 179.) Another reason against the marriage was the existence of a first wife. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 232, 233. 236, 237.) But Charlemagne indulged himself in the freedom of polygamy or concubinage. † See the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, tom. vi. and the three first dissertations of his Antiquitates Italiæ Medii Ævii, tom. i. [The Lombard duchy of Beneventum was not conquered by Charlemagne, but long maintained its independence. See Hallam's Middle Ages and his authorities, vol. i. pp. 11 and 326. The subsequent fortunes of Beneventum and its dukes, fill many pages of Muratori's Annals.—Ed.]

‡ Besides the common historians, three French critics, Launoy (Opera, tom. v. pars 2. l. 7, epist. 9, p. 477—487), Pagi (Critica. A.D. 751, No. 1—6; A.D. 752, No. 1—10), and Natalis Alexander (Hist. Novi Testamenti, dissertat. 2, p. 96—107,) have treated this subject of the deposition of Childeric with learning and attention, but with a strong bias to save the independence of the crown. Yet they are hard pressed by the text which they produce of Eginhard, Theophanes, and the old annals, Laureshamenses, Fuldenses, Loisielani.

Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government. All the powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace; and nothing, except the regal title, was wanting to his ambition. His enemies were crushed by his valour; his friends were multiplied by his liberality; his father had been the saviour of Christendom; and the claims of personal merit were repeated and ennobled in a descent of four generations. The name and image of royalty were still preserved in the last descendant of Clovis, the feeble Childeric; but his obsolete right could only be used as an instrument of sedition; the nation was desirous of restoring the simplicity of the constitution; and Pepin, a subject and a prince, was ambitious to ascertain his own rank and the fortune of his family. The mayor and the nobles were bound, by an oath of fidelity, to the royal phantom; the blood of Clovis was pure and sacred in their eyes; and their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff, to dispel their scruples, or to absolve their promise. The interest of pope Zachary, the successor of the two Gregories, prompted him to decide, and to decide in their favour: he pronounced that the nation might lawfully unite, in the same person, the title and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childeric, a victim of the public safety, should be degraded, shaved, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. An answer so agreeable to their wishes was accepted by the Franks, as the opinion of a casuist, the sentence of a judge, or the oracle of a prophet: the Merovingian race disappeared from the earth; and Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the suffrage of a free people, accustomed to obey his laws and to march under his standard. His coronation was twice performed, with the sanction of the popes, by their most faithful servant St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and by the grateful hands of Stephen III., who, in the monastery of St. Denis, placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor. The royal unction of the kings of Israel was dexterously applied,* the successor of St. Peter

* Not absolutely for the first time. On a less conspicuous theatre it had been used, in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the provincial bishops of Britain and Spain. The royal unction of Constantinople was borrowed from the Latins in the last age of the empire. Constantine Manasses mentions that of Charlemagne as a foreign, Jewish,

assumed the character of a divine ambassador; a German chieftain was transformed into the Lord's anointed; and this Jewish rite has been diffused and maintained by the superstition and vanity of modern Europe. The Franks were absolved from their ancient oath; but a dire anathema was thundered against them and their posterity, if they should dare to renew the same freedom of choice, or to elect a king, except in the holy and meritorious race of the Carlovingian princes. Without apprehending the future danger, these princes gloried in their present security; the secretary of Charlemagne affirms, that the French sceptre was transferred by the authority of the popes;* and in their boldest enterprises, they insist, with confidence, on this signal and successful act of temporal jurisdiction.

II. In the change of manners and language, the patricians of Rome † were far removed from the senate of Romulus, or the palace of Constantine, from the free nobles of the republic, or the fictitious parents of the emperor. After the recovery of Italy and Africa by the arms of Justinian, the importance and danger of those remote provinces re-

incomprehensible ceremony. See Selden's Titles of Honour, in his Works, vol. iii. part 1, p. 234—249. * See Eginhard, in Vitâ Caroli Magni, c. 1, p. 9, &c.; c. 3, p. 24. Childeric was deposed—*juste*, the Carlovingians were established—*auctoritate*, Pontificis Romani. Launoy, &c. pretend that these strong words are susceptible of a very soft interpretation. Be it so; yet Eginhard understood the world, the court, and the Latin language. [On this passage in Eginhard, Mr. Hallam remarks (vol. ii. p. 234), that "*per auctoritatem* is an ambiguous word, which may rise to *command* or sink to *advice*, according to the disposition of the interpreter." The deposition of Childeric was surely not, as it is represented in the same page, "the first instance in which the popes had interfered, unless by mere admonition, with the temporal magistrate." It had been preceded by the excommunication of the emperor Leo, and the revolt of Italy, at the instigation of Gregory II. which was *deposition*, as far as there was power to carry it into effect. The same judicious writer observes truly, "the Franks, who raised the king of their choice upon their shields, certainly never dreamed that a foreign prince had conferred on him the right of governing. Yet it was easy for succeeding advocates of Rome to construe this transaction very favourably for its usurpation over the thrones of the earth."—ED.]

† For the title and powers of patrician of Rome, see Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. v. p. 149—151), Pagi (Critica, A.D. 740, No. 6—11), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 308—329), and St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique d'Italie, tom. i. p. 379—382). Of these the Franciscan Pagi is the most disposed to make the patrician a lieutenant of the

quired the presence of a supreme magistrate; he was indifferently styled the exarch or the patrician; and these governors of Ravenna, who fill their place in the chronology of princes, extended their jurisdiction over the Roman city. Since the revolt of Italy and the loss of the exarchate, the distress of the Romans had exacted some sacrifice of their independence. Yet even in this act, they exercised the right of disposing of themselves; and the decrees of the senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with the honours of patrician of Rome. The leaders of a powerful nation would have disdained a servile title and subordinate office; but the reign of the Greek emperors was suspended; and, in the vacancy of the empire, they derived a more glorious commission from the pope and the republic. The Roman ambassadors presented these patricians with the keys of the shrine of St. Peter, as a pledge and symbol of sovereignty; with a holy banner, which it was their right and duty to unfurl in the defence of the church and city.* In the time of Charles Martel and of Pepin, the interposition of the Lombard kingdom covered the freedom, while it threatened the safety, of Rome; and the *patriciate* represented only the title, the service, the alliance, of these distant protectors. The power and policy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy, and imposed a master. In his first visit to the capital, he was received with all the honours which had formerly been paid to the exarch, the representative of the emperor: and these honours obtained some new decorations from the joy and gratitude of Pope Adrian I.† No sooner was he

church, rather than of the empire. * The papal advocates can soften the symbolic meaning of the banner and the keys; but the style of ad *regnum* dimisimus, or direximus (Codex. Carolin. epist. 1, tom. iii. pars 2, p. 76,) seems to allow no palliation or escape. In the MS. of the Vienna library, they read, instead of *regnum, rogum*, prayer or request (see Ducange); and the royalty of Charles Martel is subverted by this important correction. (Catalani, in his Critical Prefaces, Annali d'Italia, tom. xvii. p. 95—99.) † In the authentic narrative of this reception, the Liber Pontificalis observes—obviam illi ejus sanctitas dirigens venerabiles cruces, id est signa; sicut mos est ad exarchum, aut patricium suscipiendum, eum cum ingenti honore suscipi fecit (tom. iii. pars 1, p. 185). [The *schools*, drawn up in honour of Charlemagne, must not be mistaken for a display of young learners. Curious students may mark in the Thesaurus Stephani, 8982, and the Glossary of Ducange (6. 220) the transitions, by which

informed of the sudden approach of the monarch, than he dispatched the magistrates and nobles of Rome to meet him, with the banner, about thirty miles from the city. At the distance of one mile, the Flaminian way was lined with the *schools* or national communities, of Greeks, Lombards, Saxons, &c.: the Roman youth were under arms; and the children of a more tender age, with palms and olive branches in their hands, chanted the praises of their great deliverer. At the aspect of the hôly crosses, and ensigns of the saints, he dismounted from his horse, led the procession of his nobles to the Vatican, and, as he ascended the stairs, devoutly kissed each step of the threshold of the apostles. In the portico, Adrian expected him at the head of his clergy: they embraced, as friends and equals; but in their march to the altar, the king or patrician assumed the right hand of the pope. Nor was the Frank content with these vain and empty demonstrations of respect. In the twenty-six years that elapsed, between the conquest of Lombardy and his imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject, as his own, to the sceptre of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family: in his name money was coined, and justice was administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. Except an original and self-inherent claim of sovereignty, there was not any prerogative remaining, which the title of emperor could add to the patrician of Rome.*

The gratitude of the Carlovingians was adequate to these obligations, and their names are consecrated as the saviours and benefactors of the Roman church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into the temporal dominion of cities and provinces; and

the Greek word, σχολὴ, that denoted *leisure*, has come in our days to express the labour of acquiring knowledge. In the time of Charlemagne, the *schools* were the military staffs, the establishments of clerks in the various departments of the State, and the collective functionaries of public offices.—ED.]

* Paulus Diaconus, who wrote before the *empire* of Charlemagne, describes Rome as his subject city—vestræ civitates (ad Pompeium Festum), suis addidit sceptris (de Metensis Ecclesiæ Episcopis). Some Carlovingian medals struck at Rome, have engaged Le Blanc to write an elaborate, though partial, dissertation on their authority at Rome, both as patricians and emperors. (Amsterdam, 1692, in quarto.)

the donation of the Exarchate was the first fruits of the conquest of Pepin.* Astolphus with a sigh relinquished his prey; the keys and the hostages of the principal cities were delivered to the French ambassador; and, in his master's name, he presented them before the tomb of St. Peter. The ample measure of the Exarchate† might comprise all the provinces of Italy which had obeyed the emperor and his vicegerent; but its strict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara; its inseparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Apennine. In this transaction, the ambition and avarice of the popes has been severely condemned. Perhaps the humility of a Christian priest should have rejected an earthly kingdom, which it was not easy for him to govern without renouncing the virtues of his profession. Perhaps a faithful subject, or even a generous enemy, would have been less impatient to divide the spoils of the Barbarian; and if the emperor had intrusted Stephen to solicit in his name the restitution of the Exarchate, I will not absolve the pope from the reproach of treachery and falsehood. But in the rigid interpretation of the laws, every one may accept, without injury, whatver his benefactor can bestow without injustice. The Greek emperor had abdicated or forfeited his right to the Exarchate; and the sword of Astolphus was broken by the stronger sword of the Carlovingian. It was not in the cause of the Iconoclast that Pepin had exposed his person and army in a double expedition beyond the Alps; he possessed, and might lawfully alienate, his conquests; and to the importunities of the Greeks, he piously replied, that no human consideration should tempt him to resume the gift which he had conferred on the

* Mosheim (Institution. Hist. Eccles. p. 263,) weighs this donation with fair and deliberate prudence. The original act has never been produced; but the Liber Pontificalis represents (p. 171,) and the Codex Carolinus supposes, this ample gift. Both are contemporary records; and the latter is the more authentic, since it has been preserved, not in the Papal, but the Imperial, library.

† Between the exorbitant claims, and narrow concessions, of interest and prejudice, from which even Muratori (Antiquitat. tom. i. p. 63—68,) is not exempt, I have been guided, in the limits of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, by the Dissertatio Chorographica Italiæ Medii Ævi.

Roman pontiff for the remission of his sins, and the salvation of his soul. The splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion, and the world beheld for the first time a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince; the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom, the inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto * sought a refuge from the storm, shaved their heads after the Roman fashion, declared themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter, and completed, by this voluntary surrender, the present circle of the ecclesiastical state. That mysterious circle was enlarged to an indefinite extent, by the verbal or written donation of Charlemagne,† who, in the first transports of his victory, despoiled himself and the Greek emperor of the cities and islands which had formerly been annexed to the Exarchate. But in the cooler moments of absence and reflection, he viewed, with an eye of jealousy and envy, the recent greatness of his ecclesiastical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promises was respectfully eluded: the king of the Franks and Lombards asserted the inalienable rights of the empire; and, in his life and death, Ravenna,‡ as well as Rome, was numbered in the list of his metropolitan cities. The sove-

tom. x. p. 160—180.

* Spoletini deprecati sunt, ut eos in servitio B. Petri reciperet et more Romanorum tonsurari faceret. (Anastasius, p. 185.) Yet it may be a question whether they gave their own persons or their country.

† The policy and donations of Charlemagne are carefully examined by St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. i. p. 390—408,) who has well studied the Codex Carolinus. I believe, with him, that they were only verbal. The most ancient act of donation that pretends to be extant, is that of the emperor Louis the Pious (Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. 4. Opera, tom. 2, p. 267—270); its authenticity, or at least its integrity, are much questioned (Pagi A.D. 817, No. 7, &c., Muratori, Annali, tom. vi. p. 432, &c., Dissertat. Chorographica, p. 33, 34); but I see no reasonable objection to these princes so freely disposing of what was not their own.

‡ Charlemagne solicited and obtained from the proprietor, Hadrian I. the mosaics of the palace of Ravenna, for the decoration of Aix-la-Chapelle. (Cod. Carolin. epist. 67, p. 223.) [The Mosaics of Ravenna were noticed by Paulinus, early in the fifth century, "Ravennæ civitatis *Musiva* atque marmora" (Epist. 67); and in the middle of the sixth, Cassiodorus (Var. 7. 5) includes the *Musivarius*, among the artists of the palace. The art was brought into Italy from Constantinople; but neither its origin, nor the derivation of its name, can

reignty of the Exarchate melted away in the hands of the popes; they found in the archbishops of Ravenna a dangerous and domestic rival;* the nobles and people disdained the yoke of a priest; and, in the disorders of the times, they could only retain the memory of an ancient claim, which, in a more prosperous age, they have revived and realized.

Fraud is the resource of weakness and cunning; and the strong, though ignorant Barbarian, was often entangled in the net of sacerdotal policy. The Vatican and Lateran were an arsenal and manufacture, which, according to the occasion, have produced or concealed a various collection of false or genuine, of corrupt or suspicious, acts, as they tended to promote the interest of the Roman church. Before the end of the eighth century, some apostolical scribe, perhaps the notorious Isidore, composed the decretals, and the donation of Constantine, the two magic pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the popes. This memorable donation was introduced to the world by an epistle of Adrian I., who exhorts Charlemagne to imitate the liberality, and revive the name, of the great Constantine.† According to the legend, the first of the Christian emperors was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St. Silvester, the Roman bishop; and never was physician more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from the seat and patrimony of St. Peter; declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the East; and resigned to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West.‡ This fiction was

be satisfactorily ascertained.—ED.]

* The popes often complain of the usurpation of Leo of Ravenna (Codex Carolin. epist. 51—53, p. 200—205). Si corpus St. Andreæ fratris germani St. Petri hic humasset, nequaquam nos Romani pontifices sic subjugassent. (Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis, in Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. ii. pars 1, p. 107.)

† Piissimo Constantino magno, per ejus largitatem S. R. Ecclesia elevata et exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hesperiæ partibus largiri dignatus est Quia ecce novus Constantinus his temporibus, &c. (Codex. Carolin. epist. 49, in tom. iii. pars 2, p. 195.) Pagi (Critica, A.D. 324, No. 16) ascribes them to an impostor of the eighth century, who borrowed the name of St. Isidore: his humble title of *Peccator* was ignorantly, but aptly, turned into *Mercator:* his merchandise was indeed profitable, and a few sheets of paper were sold for much wealth and power.

‡ Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 4—7)

productive of the most beneficial effects. The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of usurpation; and the revolt of Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude; and the nominal gifts of the Carlovingians were no more than the just and irrevocable restitution of a scanty portion of the ecclesiastical State. The sovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that this most absurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law.* The emperors, and the Romans, were incapable of discerning a forgery, that subverted their rights and freedom; and the only opposition proceeded from a Sabine monastery, which, in the beginning of the twelfth century, disputed the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine.† In the revival of letters and liberty this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot.‡ His contemporaries of the fifteenth

has enumerated the several editions of this Act, in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes, appears to be taken either from the spurious Acts of St. Silvester or from Gratian's Decree, to which, according to him and others, it has been surreptitiously tacked.

* In the year 1059, it was believed (was it believed?) by pope Leo IX., cardinal Peter Damianus, &c. Muratori places (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix, p. 23, 24,) the fictitious donations of Lewis the Pious, the Othos, &c., de Donatione Constantini. See a Dissertation of Natalis Alexander, seculum 4, diss. 25, p. 335—350.

† See a large account of the controversy (A.D. 1105,) which arose from a private lawsuit, in the Chronicon Farsense (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars 2, p. 637, &c.), a copious extract from the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly accessible to curious foreigners (Le Blanc and Mabillon), and would have enriched the first volume of the Historia Monastica Italiæ of Quirini. But they are now imprisoned (Muratori, Scriptores R. I. tom. ii. pars 2, p. 269,) by the timid policy of the court of Rome; and the future cardinal yielded to the voice of authority and the whispers of ambition. (Quirini, Comment. pars 2, p. 123—136).

‡ I have read in the collection of Schardius (de Potestate Imperiali Ecclesiasticâ, p. 734—780,) this animated discourse, which was composed by the author, A.D. 1440, six years after the flight of Pope Eugenius IV. It is a most vehement party pamphlet: Valla justifies and animates the revolt of

century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians* and poets,† and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Roman church.‡ The popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar,§ but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign; and, by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined.

While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored in the Eastern empire.¶ Under the reign of Con-

the Romans, and would even approve the use of a dagger against their sacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the persecution of the clergy; yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran. (Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, VALLA; Vossius, de Historicis Latinis, p. 580).

* See Guicciardini, a servant of the popes, in that long and valuable digression, which has resumed its place in the last edition, correctly published from the author's MS. and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775. (Istoria d'Italia, tom. i. p. 385—395.)

† The Paladin Astolpho found it in the moon, among the things that were lost upon earth. (Orlando Furioso, 34. 80.)

> Di vari fiori ad un gran monte passa,
> Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte:
> Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)
> Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bull of Leo X.

‡ See Baronius, A.D. 324, No. 117—123; A.D. 1191, No. 51, &c. The cardinal wishes to suppose that Rome was offered by Constantine, and *refused* by Silvester. The act of donation he considers, strangely enough, as a forgery of the Greeks.

§ Baronius n'en dit guères contre; encore en a-t'il trop dit, et l'on vouloit, sans moi (*Cardinal du Perron*) qui l'empêchai, censurer cette partie de son histoire. J'en devisai un jour avec le Pape, et il ne me répondit autre chose "Che volete? i Canonici la leggono," il le disoit *en riant*. (Perroniana, p. 77.)

¶ The remaining history of images, from Irene to Theodora, is collected, for the Catholics, by Baronius and Pagi (A.D. 780—840); Natalis Alexander (Hist. N. T. seculum 8; Panoplia adversus Hæreticos, p. 118—178; and Dupin (Bibliot. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 136—154); for the Protestants, by Spanheim (Hist. Imag. p. 305—639); Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 556—572; tom. ii. p. 1362—1385); and Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. secul. viii. et ix.). The Protestants, except Mosheim, are soured with controversy; but the Catholics, except Dupin, are inflamed by the fury and superstition of the monks; and even Le Beau (Hist. du

stantine V., the union of civil and ecclesiastical power had overthrown the tree, without extirpating the root, of superstition. The idols, for such they were now held, were secretly cherished by the order and the sex most prone to devotion; and the fond alliance of the monks and females, obtained a final victory over the reason and authority of man. Leo IV. maintained with less rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philosophy, of their ancestors. During the life of her husband, these sentiments were inflamed by danger and dissimulation, and she could only labour to protect and promote some favourite monks whom she drew from their caverns, and seated on the metropolitan thrones of the East. But as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts; and the first step of her future persecution was a general edict for liberty of conscience. In the restoration of the monks, a thousand images were exposed to the public veneration; a thousand legends were invented of their sufferings and miracles. By the opportunities of death or removal, the episcopal seats were judiciously filled; the most eager competitors for earthly or celestial favour anticipated and flattered the judgment of their sovereign; and the promotion of her secretary Tarasius gave Irene the patriarch of Constantinople, and the command of the Oriental church. But the decrees of a general council could only be repealed by a similar assembly;* the Iconoclasts whom she convened were bold in possession, and averse to debate; and the feeble voice of the bishops was re-echoed by the more formidable clamour of the soldiers and people of Constantinople. The delay and intrigues of a year, the separation of the disaffected troops, and the choice of Nice for a second orthodox synod, removed these obstacles; and the episcopal conscience was again, after the Greek fashion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the consummation

Bas Empire), a gentleman and a scholar, is infected by the odious contagion.

* See the Acts, in Greek and Latin, of the second council of Nice, with a number of relative pieces, in the eighth volume of the councils, p. 645—1600. A faithful version, with some critical notes, would provoke, in different readers, a sigh or a smile.

of this important work: the Iconoclasts appeared, not as judges, but as criminals or penitents; the scene was decorated by the legates of pope Adrian and the Eastern patriarchs;* the decrees were framed by the president Tarasius, and ratified by the acclamations and subscriptions of three hundred and fifty bishops. They unanimously pronounced, that the worship of images is agreeable to Scripture and reason, to the fathers and councils of the church: but they hesitate whether that worship be relative or direct; whether the godhead, and the figure of Christ, be entitled to the same mode of adoration. Of this second Nicene council, the acts are still extant; a curious monument of superstition and ignorance, of falsehood and folly. I shall only notice the judgment of the bishops, on the comparative merit of image-worship and morality. A monk had concluded a truce with the demon of fornication, on condition of interrupting his daily prayers to a picture that hung in his cell. His scruples prompted him to consult the abbot. "Rather than abstain from adoring Christ and his mother in their holy images, it would be better for you," replied the casuist, "to enter every brothel, and visit every prostitute, in the city."†

For the honour of orthodoxy, at least the orthodoxy of the Roman church, it is somewhat unfortunate, that the two princes who convened the two councils of Nice, are both stained with the blood of their sons. The second of these assemblies was approved and rigorously executed by the despotism of Irene; and she refused her adversaries the toleration which at first she had granted to her friends. During the five succeeding reigns, a period of thirty-eight years, the contest was maintained, with unabated rage and various success, between the worshippers and the breakers of the images; but I am not inclined to pursue with minute

* The pope's legates were casual messengers, two priests without any special commission, and who were disavowed on their return. Some vagabond monks were persuaded by the Catholics to represent the Oriental patriarchs. This curious anecdote is revealed by Theodore Studites (epist. 1. 38, in Sirmond. Opp. tom. v. p. 1319,) one of the warmest Iconoclasts of the age.

† Συμφέρει δέ σοι μὴ καταλίπειν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πορνείον εἰς ὁ μὴ εἰσέλθῃς, ἢ ἵνα ἀρνήσῃ τὸ προσκύνειν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ θεον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ μήτρος ἐν εἰκονι. These visits could not be innocent, since the Δαίμων πορνείας (the demon of fornication) ἐπολεμεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν . . . ἐν μίᾳ οὖν ὡς ἐπέκειτο αὐτῷ σφόδρα, &c. Actio 4, p. 901;

diligence the repetition of the same events. Nicephorus allowed a general liberty of speech and practice; and the only virtue of his reign is accused by the monks as the cause of his temporal and eternal perdition. Superstition and weakness formed the character of Michael I., but the saints and images were incapable of supporting their votary on the throne. In the purple, Leo V. asserted the name and religion of an Armenian; and the idols, with their seditious adherents, were condemned to a second exile. Their applause would have sanctified the murder of an impious tyrant; but his assassin and successor, the second Michael, was tainted from his birth with the Phrygian heresies; he attempted to mediate between the contending parties; and the intractable spirit of the Catholics insensibly cast him into the opposite scale. His moderation was guarded by timidity; but his son Theophilus, alike ignorant of fear and pity, was the last and most cruel of the Iconoclasts. The enthusiasm of the times ran strongly against them: and the emperors who stemmed the torrent were exasperated and punished by the public hatred. After the death of Theophilus the final victory of the images was achieved by a second female, his widow Theodora, whom he left the guardian of the empire. Her measures were bold and decisive. The fiction of a tardy repentance absolved the fame and the soul of her deceased husband; the sentence of the Iconoclast patriarch was commuted from the loss of his eyes to a whipping of two hundred lashes; the bishops trembled, the monks shouted, and the festival of orthodoxy preserves the annual memory of the triumph of the images. A single question yet remained, whether they are endowed with any proper and inherent sanctity; it was agitated by the Greeks of the eleventh century;* and as this opinion has the strongest recommendation of absurdity, I am surprised that it was not more explicitly decided in the affirmative. In the West, pope Adrian I. accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene assembly, which is now revered by the Catholics as the seventh in rank of the general councils. Rome and Italy were docile to the voice of their father; but the greatest part of the Latin Christians were far behind in

Actio 5, 1031. * See an account of this controversy in the Alexias of Anna Comnena (l. 5, p. 129), and Mosheim (Institut. Hist.

the race of superstition. The churches of France, Germany, England, and Spain, steered a middle course between the adoration and the destruction of images, which they admitted into their temples, not as objects of worship, but as lively and useful memorials of faith and history. An angry book of controversy was composed and published in the name of Charlemagne;* under his authority a synod of three hundred bishops was assembled at Frankfort;† they blamed the fury of the Iconoclasts, but they pronounced a more severe censure against the superstition of the Greeks, and the decrees of their pretended council, which was long despised by the Barbarians of the West.‡ Among them the worship of images advanced with a silent and insensible progress; but a large atonement is made for their hesitation and delay, by the gross idolatry of the ages which precede the Reformation, and of the countries, both in Europe and America, which are still immersed in the gloom of superstition.

It was after the Nicene synod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that the popes consummated the separation of Rome and Italy, by the translation of the empire to the less orthodox Charlemagne. They were compelled to choose between the rival nations; religion was not the sole motive of their choice; and while they dissembled the failings of their friends, they beheld, with reluctance and suspicion, the Catholic virtues of their foes. The difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the hostile oppo-

Eccles. p. 371, 372).

* The Libri Carolini (Spanheim, p. 443—529), composed in the palace or winter-quarters of Charlemagne, at Worms, A.D. 790, and sent by Engebert to pope Hadrian I. who answered them by a grandis et verbosa epistola. (Concil. tom. viii. p. 1553.) The Carolines propose one hundred and twenty objections against the Nicene synod, and such words as these are the flowers of their rhetoric—dementiam priscæ Gentilitatis obsoletum errorem argumenta insanissima et absurdissima derisione dignas næenias, &c. &c.

† The assemblies of Charlemagne were political as well as ecclesiastical; and the three hundred members (Nat. Alexander, sec. 8, p. 53), who sat and voted at Frankfort, must include not only the bishops, but the abbots, and even the principal laymen.

‡ Qui supra sanctissima patres nostri (episcopi et sacerdotes) *omnimodis* servitium et adorationem imaginum renuentes contempserunt, atque consentientes condemnaverunt (Concil. tom. ix. p. 101, canon 2, Frankfurd.). A polemic must be hard-hearted indeed, who does not pity the efforts of Baronius, Pagi, Alexander, Maim-

sition of seventy years. In that schism the Romans had tasted of freedom, and the popes of sovereignty; their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny, of the Byzantine court. The Greek emperors had restored the images, but they had not restored the Calabrian estates* and the Illyrian diocese,† which the Iconoclasts had torn away from the successors of St. Peter; and Pope Adrian threatens them with a sentence of excommunication unless they speedily abjure this practical heresy.‡ The Greeks were now orthodox, but their religion might be tainted by the breath of the reigning monarch; the Franks were now contumacious; but a discerning eye might discern their approaching conversion from the use, to the adoration, of images. The name of Charlemagne was stained by the polemic acrimony of his scribes; but the conqueror himself conformed, with the temper of a statesman, to the various practice of France and Italy. In his four pilgrimages or visits to the Vatican, he embraced the popes in the communion of friendship and piety; knelt before the tomb, and consequently before the image, of the apostle; and joined, without scruple, in all the prayers and processions of the Roman liturgy. Would

bourg, &c. to elude this unlucky sentence. * Theophanes (p. 343) specifies those of Sicily and Calabria, which yielded an annual rent of three talents and a half of gold (perhaps seven thousand pounds sterling). Liutprand more pompously enumerates the patrimonies of the Roman church in Greece, Judæa, Persia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Libya, which were detained by the injustice of the Greek emperor. (Legat. ad Nicephorum, in Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars. 1, p. 481.) † The great diocese of the eastern Illyricum, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily (Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 145), by the confession of the Greeks, the patriarch of Constantinople had detached from Rome the metropolitans of Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Nicopolis, and Patræ. (Luc. Holsten. Geograph. Sacra (p. 22); and his spiritual conquest extended to Naples and Amalphi (Giannone, Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 517—524. Pagi, A.D. 730, No. 11). ‡ In hoc ostenditur, quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reversis, in aliis duobus, in *eodem* (was it the same?) permaneant errore de diocesi S. R. E. seu de patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut si ea restituere noluerit hereticum eum pro hujusmodi errore perseverantiâ decernemus (Epist. Hadrian. Papæ ad Carolum Magnum, in Concil. tom. viii. p. 1598); to which he adds a reason, most directly opposite to his conduct, that he preferred the salvation of souls and rule of faith to

prudence or gratitude allow the pontiffs to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate his gift of the Exarchate? Had they power to abolish his government of Rome? The title of patrician was below the merit and greatness of Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving the Western empire that they could pay their obligations or secure their establishment. By this decisive measure they would finally eradicate the claims of the Greeks: from the debasement of a provincial town, the majesty of Rome would be restored: the Latin Christians would be united under a supreme head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the West would receive their crown from the successors of St. Peter. The Roman church would acquire a zealous and respectable advocate; and, under the shadow of the Carlovingian power, the bishop might exercise, with honour and safety, the government of the city.*

Before the ruin of Paganism in Rome, the competition for a wealthy bishopric had often been productive of tumult and bloodshed. The people was less numerous, but the times were more savage, the prize more important, and the chair of St. Peter was fiercely disputed by the leading ecclesiastics who aspired to the rank of sovereign. The reign of Adrian I.† surpasses the measure of past or succeeding ages;‡ the walls of Rome, the sacred patrimony, the ruin of the Lombards, and the friendship of Charlemagne, were

the goods of this transitory world. * Fontanini considers the emperors as no more than the advocates of the church (advocatus et defensor S. R. E. See Ducange, Gloss. Lat. tom. i. p. 297). His antagonist Muratori reduces the popes to be no more than the exarchs of the emperor. In the more equitable view of Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 264, 265,) they held Rome under the empire as the most honourable species of fief or benefice—premuntur nocte caliginosâ!

† His merits and hopes are summed up in an epitaph of thirty-eight verses, of which Charlemagne declares himself the author. (Concil. tom. viii. p. 520).

Post patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina scripsi.
Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango pater . . .
Nomina jungo simul titulis, clarissime, nostra
Adrianus, Carolus, rex ego, tuque pater.

The poetry might be supplied by Alcuin; but the tears, the most glorious tribute, can only belong to Charlemagne.

‡ Every new pope is admonished—"Sancte Pater, non videbis annos Petri,"—twenty-five years. On the whole series the average is about eight years—a short hope for an ambitious cardinal.

the trophies of his fame; he secretly edified the throne of his successors, and displayed in a narrow space the virtues of a great prince. His memory was revered; but in the next election, a priest of the Lateran, Leo III. was preferred to the nephew and the favourite of Adrian, whom he had promoted to the first dignities of the church. Their acquiescence or repentance disguised, above four years, the blackest intention of revenge, till the day of a procession, when a furious band of conspirators dispersed the unarmed multitude, and assaulted with blows and wounds the sacred person of the pope. But their enterprise on his life or liberty was disappointed, perhaps by their own confusion and remorse. Leo was left for dead on the ground: on his revival from the swoon, the effect of his loss of blood, he recovered his speech and sight; and this natural event was improved to the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which he had been deprived, twice deprived, by the knife of the assassins.* From his prison, he escaped to the Vatican; the duke of Spoleto hastened to his rescue, Charlemagne sympathized in his injury, and in his camp of Paderborn in Westphalia accepted or solicited a visit from the Roman pontiff. Leo repassed the Alps with a commission of counts and bishops, the guards of his safety and the judges of his innocence; and it was not without reluctance, that the conqueror of the Saxons delayed till the ensuing year the personal discharge of this pious office. In his fourth and last pilgrimage, he was received at Rome with the due honours of king and patrician; Leo was permitted to purge himself by oath of the crimes imputed to his charge; his enemies were silenced, and the sacrilegious attempt against his life was punished by the mild and insufficient penalty of exile. On the festival of Christmas, the last year of the eighth century, Charlemagne appeared in

* The assurance of Anastasius (tom. iii. pars 1, p. 197, 198,) is supported by the credulity of some French annalists; but Eginhard, and other writers of the same age, are more natural and sincere. "Unus ei oculus paullulum est læsus," says John the deacon of Naples. (Vit. Episcop. Napol. in Scriptores Muratori, tom. i. pars 2, p. 312.) Theodolphus, a contemporary bishop of Orleans, observes with prudence (l. 3, carm. 3.)

Reddita sunt? mirum est: mirum est auferre nequisse.
Est tamen in dubio, hinc mirer an inde magis.

the church of St. Peter; and, to gratify the vanity of Rome, he had exchanged the simple dress of his country for the habit of a patrician.* After the celebration of the holy mysteries, Leo suddenly placed a precious crown on his head,† and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people,—"Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!" The head and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by the royal unction: after the example of the Cæsars he was saluted or adored by the pontiff; his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and privileges of the church; and the first-fruits were paid in his rich offerings to the shrine of the apostle. In his familiar conversation, the emperor protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, which he would have disappointed by his absence on that memorable day. But the preparations of the ceremony must have disclosed the secret; and the journey of Charlemagne reveals his knowledge and expectation; he had acknowledged that the imperial title was the object of his ambition, and a Roman synod had pronounced, that it was the only adequate reward of his merit and services.‡

The appellation of *great* has been often bestowed and sometimes deserved, but *Charlemagne* is the only prince in whose favour the title has been indissolubly blended with the name. That name, with the addition of *saint*, is inserted

* Twice, at the request of Hadrian and Leo, he appeared at Rome—longâ tunicâ et chlamyde amictus, et calceamentis quoque Romano more formatis. Eginhard (c. 23. p. 109—113) describes, like Suetonius, the simplicity of his dress, so popular in the nation, that when Charles the Bald returned to France in a foreign habit, the patriotic dogs barked at the apostate. (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. iv. p. 109.)

† See Anastasius (p. 199), and Eginhard (c. 28, p. 124—128). The unction is mentioned by Theophanes (p. 399), the oath by Sigonius (from the Ordo Romanus), and the pope's adoration, more antiquorum principum, by the Annales Bertiniani. (Script. Murator. tom. ii. pars 2, p. 505).

‡ This great event of the translation or restoration of the empire is related and discussed by Natalis Alexander (secul. 9, dissert. 1, p. 390—397); Pagi (tom. iii. p. 418); Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 339—352); Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. 4. Opp. tom. ii. p. 247—251); Spanheim (de fictâ Translatione Imperii), Giannone (tom. i. p. 395—405); St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 438—450); Gaillard (Hist. de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 386—446). Almost all these moderns have some religious or

in the Roman calendar; and the saint, by a rare félicity, is crowned with the praises of the historians and philosophers of an enlightened age.* His *real* merit is doubtless enhanced by the barbarism of the nation and the times from which he emerged; but the *apparent* magnitude of an object is likewise enlarged by an unequal comparison; and the ruins of Palmyra derive a casual splendour from the nakedness of the surrounding desert. Without injustice to his fame, I may discern some blemishes in the sanctity and greatness of the restorer of the Western empire. Of his moral virtues, chastity is not the most conspicuous,† but the public happiness could not be materially injured by his nine wives or concubines, the various indulgence of meaner or more transient amours, the multitude of his bastards whom he bestowed on the church, and the long celibacy and licentious manners of his daughters,‡ whom the father was suspected of loving with too fond a passion. I shall be scarcely permitted to accuse the ambition of a conqueror; but in a day of equal retribution, the sons of his brother Carloman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitain, and the four thousand five hundred Saxons who were beheaded on the same spot, would have something to allege against the justice and humanity of Charlemagne. His treatment of the vanquished Saxons§ was an abuse of the right of con-

national bias. * By Mably (Observations sur l'Histoire de France); Voltaire (Histoire Générale); Robertson (History of Charles V.); and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 31, c. 18). In the year 1782, M. Gaillard published his Histoire de Charlemagne in four vols. duodecimo), which I have freely and profitably used. The author is a man of sense and humanity, and his work is laboured with industry and elegance. But I have likewise examined the original monuments of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, in the fifth volume of the historians of France. † The vision of Weltin, composed by a monk, eleven years after the death of Charlemagne, shews him in purgatory, with a vulture who is perpetually gnawing the guilty member, while the rest of his body, the emblem of his virtues, is sound and perfect. (See Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 317—360.)

‡ The marriage of Eginhard with Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, is, in my opinion, sufficiently refuted by the *probrum* and *suspicio* that sullied these fair damsels, without excepting his own wife (c. 19, p. 98—100, cum Notis Schmincke). The husband must have been too strong for the historian. § Besides the massacres and transmigrations, the pain of death was pronounced against the following crimes.—1. The refusal of baptism. 2. The false pretence of bap-

quest; his laws were not less sanguinary than his arms, and in the discussion of his motives, whatever is substracted from bigotry must be imputed to temper. The sedentary reader is amazed by his incessant activity of mind and body: and his subjects and enemies were not less astonished at his sudden presence, at the moment when they believed him at the most distant extremity of the empire; neither peace nor war, nor summer nor winter, were a season of repose; and our fancy cannot easily reconcile the annals of his reign with the geography of his expeditions. But this activity was a national rather than a personal virtue; the vagrant life of a Frank was spent in the chase, in pilgrimage, in military adventures; and the journeys of Charlemagne were distinguished only by a more numerous train and a more important purpose. His military renown must be tried by the scrutiny of his troops, his enemies, and his actions. Alexander conquered with the arms of Philip, but the *two* heroes who preceded Charlemagne, bequeathed him their name, their examples, and the companions of their victories. At the head of his veteran and superior armies, he oppressed the savage or degenerate nations, who were incapable of confederating for their common safety; nor did he ever encounter an equal antagonist in numbers, in discipline, or in arms. The science of war has been lost and revived with the arts of peace; but his campaigns are not illustrated by any siege or battle of singular difficulty and success; and he might behold, with envy, the Saracen trophies of his grandfather. After his Spanish expedition, his rear-guard was defeated in the Pyrenean mountains; and the soldiers, whose situation was irretrievable, and whose valour was useless, might accuse, with their last breath, the want of skill or caution of their general.* I touch with reverence the laws

tism. 3. A relapse to idolatry. 4. The murder of a priest or bishop. 5. Human sacrifices. 6. Eating meat in Lent. But every crime might be expatiated by baptism or penance (Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 241—247); and the Christian Saxons became the friends and equals of the Franks. (Struv. Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 133.)

* In this action the famous Rutland, Rolando, Orlando, was slain—cum pluribus aliis. See the truth in Eginhard, (c. 9, p. 51—56), and the fable in an ingenious Supplement of M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 474). The Spaniards are too proud of a victory which history ascribes to the Gascons, and romance to the Saracens. [The Arabian writers make very slight mention of this battle, A.H. 162 (A.D. 778). Forty

of Charlemagne, so highly applauded by a respectable judge. They compose not a system, but a series, of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs. He wished to improve the laws and the character of the Franks; and his attempts, however feeble and imperfect, are deserving of praise; the inveterate evils of the times were suspended or mollified by his government;* but in his institutions I can seldom discover the general views and the immortal spirit of a legislator, who survives himself for the benefit of posterity. The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man; he imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms among his sons; and, after his numerous diets, the whole constitution was left to fluctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism. His esteem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him to intrust that aspiring order with temporal dominion and civil jurisdiction; and his son Lewis, when he was stripped and degraded by the bishops, might accuse, in some measure, the imprudence of his father. His laws enforced the imposition of tithes, because the demons had proclaimed in the air that the default of payment had been the cause of the last scarcity.† The literary merits of Charlemagne are attested

six years afterwards, in the eleventh year of Charlemagne's successor, A.H. 209 (A.D. 624), they record a more serious defeat of the Franks in the Pass of Roncesvalles, which they name Bort Xezar, the Crooked Gateway. (Condé, Arabs in Spain, p. 214, 273, edit. Bohn.)—ED.]

* Yet Schmidt, from the best authorities, represents the interior disorders and oppression of his reign. (Hist. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 45—49.) [Study the character of Charlemagne, as it is drawn by Hallam (Middle Ages, i. 16), and by Schmidt (Geschichte der Deutschen, i. 471—473). The former says, that "perhaps his greatest eulogy is written in the disgraces of succeeding times and the miseries of Europe." But these are shown by the latter to have been the effects of his ambitious scheme of conquest and oppressive system of government. That he did not prepare for his subjects a better future, is the stern fact which darkens his fame. The just enthusiasm of Lappenberg places "the Frankish Charles" far below our unrivalled Alfred, "the hero of European civilization." (See his History, ii. 43. 83.)—ED.]

† Omnis homo ex suâ proprietate legitimam decimam ad ecclesiam conferat Experimento enim didicimus, in anno, quo illa valida fames irrepsit, ebullire vacuas annonas a dæmonibus devoratas, et voces exprobationis auditas. Such is the decree and assertion of the great council of Frankfort (canon 25, tom. ix. p. 105). Both Selden (Hist. of

by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, the works which were published in his name, and his familiar connection with the subjects and strangers whom he invited to his court to educate both the prince and people. His own studies were tardy, laborious, and imperfect; if he spoke Latin, and understood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from conversation, rather than from books; and, in his mature age, the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy.* The grammar and logic, the music and astronomy, of the times, were only cultivated as the handmaids of superstition; but the curiosity of the human mind must ultimately tend to its improvement, and the encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on the character of Charlemagne.† The dignity of his person,‡ the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new era from his restoration of the Western empire.

That empire was not unworthy of its title,§ and some of the fairest kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince, who reigned at the same time in

Tithes; Works, vol. iii. part 2, p. 1146); and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 31, c. 12), represent Charlemagne as the first *legal* author of tithes. Such obligations have country gentlemen to his memory!

* Eginhard (c. 25, p. 119) clearly affirms, tentabat et scribere . . . sed parum prospere successit labor præposterus et sero inchoatus. The moderns have perverted and corrected this obvious meaning, and the title of M. Gaillard's Dissertation (tom. iii. p. 247—260,) betrays his partiality. † See Gaillard, tom. iii. p. 138—176, and Schmidt, tom. ii. p. 121—129. ‡ M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 372,) fixes the true stature of Charlemagne (see a Dissertation of Marquard Freher ad calcem Eginhart. p. 220, &c.,) at five feet nine inches of French, about six feet one inch and a fourth English, measure. The romance writers have increased it to eight feet, and the giant was endowed with matchless strength and appetite: at a single stroke of his good sword *Joyeuse*, he cut asunder a horseman and his horse; at a single repast he devoured a goose, two fowls, a quarter of mutton, &c. § See the concise, but correct and original, work of D'Anville (Etats formés en Europe après la Chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident, Paris, 1771, in 4to), whose map includes the empire of Charlemagne; the different parts are illustrated, by Valesius (Notitia Galliarum) for France; Beretti (Dissertatio Chorographica) for Italy; de Marca (Marca Hispanica) for Spain. For the middle geography of Germany, I confess myself poor and destitute.

France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary.* I. The Roman province of Gaul had been transformed into the name and monarchy of FRANCE; but, in the decay of the Merovingian line, its limits were contracted by the independence of the *Bretons* and the revolt of *Aquitain*. Charlemagne pursued, and confined, the Bretons on the shores of the ocean; and that ferocious tribe, whose origin and language are so different from the French, was chastised by the imposition of tribute, hostages, and peace.† After a long and evasive contest, the rebellion of the dukes of Aquitain was punished by the forfeiture of their province, their liberty, and their lives. Harsh and rigorous would have been such treatment of ambitious governors who had too faithfully copied the mayors of the palace. But a recent discovery‡ has proved that these unhappy princes were the last and lawful heirs of the blood and sceptre of Clovis, a younger branch, from the brother of Dagobert, of the Merovingian house. Their ancient kingdom was reduced to the duchy of Gascogne, to the counties of Fesenzac and Armagnac, at the foot of the Pyrenees; their race was propagated till the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, after surviving their Carlovingian tyrants, they were reserved to feel the injustice, or the favours, of a third dynasty. By the reunion of Aquitain, France was enlarged to its present boundaries, with the additions of the Netherlands and Spain, as far as the Rhine. II. The Saracens had been expelled from France by the grandfather and father of Charlemagne; but they still possessed the greatest part of SPAIN, from the rock of Gibraltar to the

* After a brief relation of his wars and conquests, (Vit. Carol. c. 5—14,) Eginhard recapitulates, in a few words (c. 15,) the countries subject to his empire. Struvius (Corpus Hist. German. p. 118—149,) has inserted in his Notes the texts of the old Chronicles. † [They bore the same relation to the Franks, as the Welsh to the Anglo-Saxons. Gibbon wrote their name *Britons;* they ought to be distinguished as *Bretons*.—ED.] ‡ Of a charter granted to the monastery of Alaon (A.D. 845,) by Charles the Bald, which deduces this royal pedigree. I doubt whether some subsequent links of the ninth and tenth centuries are equally firm; yet the whole is approved and defended by M. Gaillard (tom. ii. p. 60—81. 203—206), who affirms that the family of Montesquiou (not of the president de Montesquieu) is descended in the female line from Clotaire and Clovis—an innocent pretension!

Pyrenees. Amidst their civil divisions, an Arabian emir of Saragossa implored his protection in the diet of Paderborn. Charlemagne undertook the expedition, restored the emir, and, without distinction of faith, impartially crushed the resistance of the Christians, and rewarded the obedience and service of the Mahometans. In his absence he instituted the *Spanish march*,* which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro: Barcelona was the residence of the French governor: he possessed the counties of *Rousillon* and *Catalonia;* and the infant kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were subject to his jurisdiction. III. As king of the Lombards, and patrician of Rome, he reigned over the greatest part of ITALY,† a tract of a thousand miles from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. The duchy of *Beneventum*, a Lombard fief, had spread, at the expense of the Greeks, over the modern kingdom of Naples. But Arrechis, the reigning duke, refused to be included in the slavery of his country; assumed the independent title of prince; and opposed his sword to the Carlovingian monarchy. His defence was firm, his submission was not inglorious, and the emperor was content with an easy tribute, the demolition of his fortresses, and the acknowledgment, on his coins, of a supreme lord. The artful flattery of his son Grimoald added the appellation of father, but he asserted

* The governors or counts of the Spanish march revolted from Charles the Simple about the year 900; and a poor pittance, the Rousillon, has been recovered in 1642 by the kings of France. (Longuerue, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 220—222.) Yet the Rousillon contains one hundred and eighty-eight thousand nine hundred subjects, and annually pays two millions six hundred thousand livres (Necker, Administration des Finances, tom. i. p. 278, 279); more people perhaps, and doubtless more money, than the march of Charlemagne. [The *Spanish march*, if not a doubtful, was at least a very fluctuating, appendage to the empire of Charlemagne. Occupied in succession, either partly or wholly, by Franks, by Saracens, and by rebel chiefs, it yielded no permanent resources to any of the contending powers. See Condé's History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain (vol. i. p. 234—259, edit. Bohn), a work in which much new and valuable information, on a most interesting series of events, is collected from original Arabian authorities. On their own side, these writers furnish ample and instructive, though no doubt partial, details; but so little did they know of their adversaries, that the name of Charlemagne is not to be found in their pages.—ED.]

† Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 200, &c.

his dignity with prudence, and Beneventum insensibly escaped from the French yoke.* IV. Charlemagne was the first who united GERMANY under the same sceptre. The name of *Oriental France* is preserved in the circle of *Franconia;* and the people of *Hesse* and *Thuringia* were recently incorporated with the victors, by the conformity of religion and government. The *Allemanni*, so formidable to the Romans, were the faithful vassals and confederates of the Franks; and their country was inscribed within the modern limits of *Alsace*, *Swabia*, and *Switzerland*. The *Bavarians*, with a similar indulgence of their laws and manners, were less patient of a master; the repeated treasons of Tasillo justified the abolition of their hereditary dukes; and their power was shared among the counts, who judged and guarded that important frontier. But the north of Germany, from the Rhine, and beyond the Elbe, was still hostile and Pagan; nor was it till after a war of thirty-three years that the Saxons bowed under the yoke of Christ and of Charlemagne. The idols and their votaries were extirpated; the foundation of eight bishoprics, of Munster, Osnaburgh, Paderborn, and Minden, of Bremen, Verden, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt, define, on either side of the Weser, the bounds of ancient Saxony; these episcopal seats were the first schools and cities of that savage land; and the religion and humanity of the children atoned, in some degree, for the massacre of the parents. Beyond the Elbe, the *Slavi*, or Sclavonians, of similar manners and various denominations, overspread the modern dominions of Prussia, Poland, and Bohemia, and some transient marks of obedience have tempted the French historian to extend the empire to the Baltic and the Vistula. The conquest or conversion of those countries is of a more recent age; but the first union of *Bohemia* with the Germanic body may be justly ascribed to the arms of Charlemagne. V. He retaliated on the Avars, or Huns, of Pannonia, the same calamities which they had inflicted on the nations. Their rings, the wooden fortifications which encircled their districts and villages, were broken down by the triple effort of a French army that was poured into their country by land and water, through the Carpathian mountains, and along

* See Giannone, tom. i. p. 374, 375, and the Annals of Muratori.

the plain of the Danube. After a bloody conflict of eight years, the loss of some French generals was avenged by the slaughter of the most noble Huns; the relics of the nation submitted; the royal residence of the chagan was left desolate and unknown; and the treasures, the rapine of two hundred and fifty years, encircled the victorious troops, or decorated the churches of Italy and Gaul.* After the reduction of Pannonia the empire of Charlemagne was bounded only by the conflux of the Danube with the Teyss and the Save; the provinces of Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, were an easy, though unprofitable, accession; and it was an effect of his moderation, that he left the maritime cities under the real or nominal sovereignty of the Greeks. But these distant possessions added more to the reputation than to the power of the Latin emperor; nor did he risk any ecclesiastical foundations to reclaim the Barbarians from their vagrant life and idolatrous worship. Some canals of communication between the rivers Saône and the Meuse, the Rhine and the Danube, were faintly attempted.† Their execution would have vivified the empire; and more cost and labour were often wasted in the structure of a cathedral.

If we retrace the outlines of this geographical picture, it will be seen that the empire of the Franks extended between east and west, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula; between the north and south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The personal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnified by the distress and

* Quot prælia in eo gesta! quantum sanguinis effusum sit! Testatur vacua omni habitatione Pannonia, et locus in quo regia Cagani fuit ita desertus, ut ne vestigium quidem humanæ habitationis appareat. Tota in hoc bello Hunnorum nobilitas periit, tota gloria decidit, omnis pecunia et congesti ex longo tempore thesauri direpti sunt. Eginhard, 113.

† The junction of the Rhine and Danube was undertaken only for the service of the Pannonian war. (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 312—315.) The canal, which would have been only two leagues in length, and of which some traces are still extant in Swabia, was interrupted by excessive rains, military avocations, and superstitious fears. (Schœpflin. Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xviii. p. 256. Molimina fluviorum, &c. jungendorum, p. 59—62. [Muratori says, that it was intended to facilitate commerce. He regrets, without accounting for, the failure of the undertaking. (Annali d'Italia, x. 334.)—Ed.]

division of the rest of Europe. The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were disputed by a crowd of princes of Saxon or Scottish origin; and after the loss of Spain, the Christian and Gothic kingdom of Alphonso the Chaste was confined to the narrow range of the Asturian mountains. These petty sovereigns revered the power or virtue of the Carlovingian monarch, implored the honour and support of his alliance, and styled him their common parent, the sole and supreme emperor of the West.* He maintained a more equal intercourse with the caliph Harun al Rashid,† whose dominion stretched from Africa to India, and accepted from his ambassadors a tent, a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the holy sepulchre. It is not easy to conceive the private friendship of a Frank and an Arab, who were strangers to each other's person, and language, and religion; but their public correspondence was founded on vanity, and their remote situation left no room for a competition of interest. Two-thirds of the Western empire of Rome were subject to Charlemagne, and the deficiency was amply supplied by his command of the inaccessible or invincible nations of Germany. But in the choice of his enemies, we may be reasonably surprised that he so often preferred the poverty of the north to the riches of the south. The three-and-thirty campaigns laboriously consumed in the woods and morasses of Germany would have sufficed to assert the amplitude of his title by the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy and the Saracens from Spain. The weakness of the Greeks would have ensured an easy victory; and the holy crusade against the Saracens would

* See Eginhard, c. 16, and Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—385, who mentions, with a loose reference, the intercourse of Charlemagne and Egbert, the emperor's gift of his own sword, and the modest answer of his Saxon disciple. The anecdote, if genuine, would have adorned our English histories. [Egbert's residence in France for three years, before he was called to the throne of Wessex, is noticed by the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 836, p. 347, edit. Bohn), which is copied by subsequent chroniclers. William of Malmesbury (ii. 1) adds other particulars. Lappenberg (Hist. Ang.-Sax. ii. 1) extends the term to thirteen years, and styles Charlemagne Egbert's "powerful friend." (Ib. p. 5.)—ED.]

† The correspondence is mentioned only in the French annals, and the Orientals are ignorant of the caliph's friendship for the *Christian dog*—a polite appellation, which Harun bestows on the emperor of the Greeks.

have been prompted by glory and revenge, and loudly justified by religion and policy. Perhaps, in his expeditions beyond the Rhine and Elbe, he aspired to save his monarchy from the fate of the Roman empire, to disarm the enemies of civilized society, and to eradicate the seed of future emigrations. But it has been wisely observed, that in a light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual, unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility.* The subjugation of Germany withdrew the veil which had so long concealed the continent or islands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe, and awakened the torpid courage of their barbarous natives.† The fiercest of the Saxon idolaters escaped from the Christian tyrant to their brethren of the north; the ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their piratical fleets; and Charlemagne beheld with a sigh the destructive progress of the Normans, who, in less than seventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.

Had the pope and the Romans revived the primitive constitution, the titles of emperor and Augustus were conferred on Charlemagne for the term of his life, and his successors, on each vacancy, must have ascended the throne by a formal or tacit election. But the association of his son Lewis the Pious asserts the independent right of monarchy and conquest, and the emperor seems on this occasion to have foreseen and prevented the latent claims of the clergy. The royal youth was commanded to take the crown from the altar, and with his own hands to place it on his head, as a gift which he held from God, his father, and the nation.‡

* Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—365. 471—476. 492. I have borrowed his judicious remarks on Charlemagne's plan of conquest, and the judicious distinction of his enemies of the first and the second *enceinte* (tom. ii. p. 184. 509, &c.).

† [Here, too, is dispelled the mist of fable, through which Jornandes and his followers taught early historians to view the northern "hive of nations;" and for the first time Scandinavia is clearly discerned.—ED.]

‡ Thegan, the biographer of Lewis, relates this coronation; and Baronius has honestly transcribed it (A.D. 813, No. 13, &c. see Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 506—508), howsoever adverse to the claims of the popes. For the series of the Carlovingians, see the historians of France, Italy, and Germany; Pfeffel, Schmidt, Velly, Muratori, and even Voltaire, whose pictures are sometimes just, and always pleasing.

The same ceremony was repeated, though with less energy, in the subsequent associations of Lothaire and Lewis II.; the Carlovingian sceptre was transmitted from father to son in a lineal descent of four generations; and the ambition of the popes was reduced to the empty honour of crowning and anointing these hereditary princes who were already invested with their power and dominions. The pious Lewis survived his brothers, and embraced the whole empire of Charlemagne; but the nations and the nobles, his bishops and his children, quickly discerned that this mighty mass was no longer inspired by the same soul; and the foundations were undermined to the centre, while the external surface was yet fair and entire. After a war, or battle, which consumed one hundred thousand Franks, the empire was divided by treaty between his three sons, who had violated every filial and fraternal duty. The kingdoms of Germany and France were for ever separated; the provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, were assigned, with Italy, to the imperial dignity of Lothaire. In the partition of his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger children; and Lewis II. his eldest son, was content with the realm of Italy, the proper and sufficient patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death without any male issue, the vacant throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins, and the popes most dexterously seized the occasion of judging the claims and merits of the candidates, and of bestowing on the most obsequious, or most liberal, the imperial office of advocate of the Roman church. The dregs of the Carlovingian race no longer exhibited any symptoms of virtue or power, and the ridiculous epithets of the *bald*, the *stammerer*, the *fat*, and the *simple*, distinguished the tame and uniform features of a crowd of kings alike deserving of oblivion. By the failure of the collateral branches, the whole inheritance devolved to Charles the Fat, the last emperor of his family; his insanity authorized the desertion of Germany, Italy, and France; he was deposed in a diet, and solicited his daily bread from the rebels by whose contempt his life and liberty had been spared. According to the measure of their force, the governors, the bishops, and the lords, usurped the fragments of the falling empire; and some preference was shewn to the female or illegitimate blood of Charlemagne. Of the

greater part, the title and possession were alike doubtful, and the merit was adequate to the contracted scale of their dominions. Those who could appear with an army at the gates of Rome were crowned emperors in the Vatican, but their modesty was more frequently satisfied with the appellation of kings of Italy; and the whole term of seventy-four years may be deemed a vacancy, from the abdication of Charles the Fat to the establishment of Otho I.

Otho* was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony; and if he truly descended from Witikind, the adversary and proselyte of Charlemagne, the posterity of a vanquished people was exalted to reign over their conquerors. His father, Henry the Fowler, was elected, by the suffrage of the nation, to save and institute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits† were enlarged on every side by his son, the first and greatest of the Othos. A portion of Gaul, to the west of the Rhine, along the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, was assigned to the Germans, by whose blood and language it has been tinged since the time of Cæsar and Tacitus. Between the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Alps, the successors of Otho acquired a vain supremacy over the broken kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles. In the north, Christianity was propagated by the sword of Otho, the conqueror and apostle of the Slavic nations of the Elbe and Oder; the marches of Brandenburg and Sleswick were fortified with German colonies; and the king of Denmark, the dukes of Poland and Bohemia, confessed themselves his tributary vassals. At the head of a victorious army, he passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable era, two maxims of public

* He was the son of Otho, the son of Ludolph, in whose favour the duchy of Saxony had been instituted, A.D. 858. Ruotgerus, the biographer of a St. Bruno (Bibliot. Bunavianæ Catalog. tom. iii. vol. ii. p. 679), gives a splendid character of his family. Atavorum atavi usque ad hominum memoriam omnes nobilissimi; nullus in eorum stirpe ignotus, nullus degener facile reperitur (apud Struvium, Corp. Hist. German. p. 216). Yet Gundling (in Henrico Aucupe) is not satisfied of his descent from Witikind.

† See the treatise of Coringius (de Finibus Imperii Germanici, Francofurt. 1680, in quarto): he rejects the extravagant and improper scale of the Roman and Carlovingian empires, and discusses with moderation the rights of Germany, her vassals, and her neighbours.

jurisprudence were introduced by force and ratified by time. I. *That* the prince who was elected in the German diet, acquired from that instant the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. II. But that he might not legally assume the titles of emperor and Augustus, till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff.*

The imperial dignity of Charlemagne was announced to the East by the alteration of his style; and instead of saluting his fathers, the Greek emperors, he presumed to adopt the more equal and familiar appellation of brother.† Perhaps in his connection with Irene he aspired to the name of husband; his embassy to Constantinople spoke the language of peace and friendship, and might conceal a treaty of marriage with that ambitious princess, who had renounced the most sacred duties of a mother. The nature, the duration, the probable consequences, of such a union between two distant and dissonant empires, it is impossible to conjecture; but the unanimous silence of the Latins may teach us to suspect, that the report was invented by the enemies of Irene, to charge her with the guilt of betraying the church and state to the strangers of the West.‡ The French ambassadors were the spectators, and had nearly been the victims, of the conspiracy of Nicephorus, and the national hatred. Constantinople was exasperated by the treason and sacrilege of ancient Rome; a proverb, "that the Franks were good friends and bad neighbours," was in every one's mouth; but it was dangerous to provoke a neighbour who might be tempted to reiterate, in the church of St. Sophia, the ceremony of his imperial coronation. After a tedious

* The power of custom forces me to number Conrad I. and Henry I. the Fowler, in the list of emperors, a title which was never assumed by those kings of Germany. The Italians, Muratori, for instance, are more scrupulous and correct, and only reckon the princes who have been crowned at Rome.

† Invidiam tamen suscepti nominis (C. P. imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus) magnâ tulit patientiâ, vicitque eorum contumaciam mittendo ad eos crebras legationes, et in epistolis fratres eos appellando (Eginhard, c. 28, p. 128). Perhaps it was on their account that, like Augustus, he affected some reluctance to receive the empire.

‡ Theophanes speaks of the coronation and unction of Charles, Καρουλλος (Chronograph. p. 399), and of his treaty of marriage with Irene (p. 402), which is unknown to the Latins. Gaillard relates his transactions with the Greek empire (tom. ii. p. 446—468).

journey of circuit and delay, the ambassadors of Nicephorus found him in his camp, on the banks of the river Sala; and Charlemagne affected to confound their vanity by displaying, in a Franconian village, the pomp, or at least the pride, of the Byzantine palace.* The Greeks were successively led through four halls of audience: in the first, they were ready to fall prostrate before a splendid personage in a chair of state, till he informed them that he was only a servant, the constable, or master of the horse of the emperor. The same mistake, and the same answer, were repeated in the apartments of the count palatine, the steward, and the chamberlain; and their impatience was gradually heightened, till the doors of the presence-chamber were thrown open, and they beheld the genuine monarch, on his throne, enriched with the foreign luxury which he despised, and encircled with the love and reverence of his victorious chiefs. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the two empires, and the limits of the East and West were defined by the right of present possession. But the Greeks† soon forgot this humiliating equality, or remembered it only to hate the Barbarians by whom it was extorted. During the short union of virtue and power, they respectfully saluted the *august* Charlemagne with the acclamations of *basileus*, and emperor of the Romans. As soon as these qualities were separated in the person of his pious son, the Byzantine letters were inscribed, "To the king, or, as he styles himself, the emperor of the Franks and Lombards." When both power and virtue were extinct, they despoiled Lewis II. of his hereditary title, and, with the barbarous appellation of rex or *rega*, degraded him among the crowd of Latin princes. His reply‡ is expressive of his weakness: he proves, with

* Gaillard very properly observes, that this pageant was a farce suitable to children only; but that it was indeed represented in the presence, and for the benefit, of children of a larger growth.

† Compare, in the original texts collected by Pagi (tom. iii. A.D. 812, No. 7; A.D. 824, No. 10, &c.), the contrast of Charlemagne and his son: to the former the ambassadors of Michael (who were indeed disavowed), more suo, id est linguâ Græcâ laudes dixerunt, imperatorem eum et Βασιλεα appellantes; to the latter, *Vocato* imperatori *Francorum*, &c.

‡ See the epistle in Paralipomena, of the anonymous writer of Salerno (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars 2, p. 243—254, c. 93—107), whom Baronius (A.D. 871, No. 51—71) mistook for Erchempert, when he transcribed it in his Annals.

some learning, that both in sacred and profane history, the name of king is synonymous with the Greek word *basileus*: if, at Constantinople, it were assumed in a more exclusive and imperial sense, he claims from his ancestors, and from the pope, a just participation of the honours of the Roman purple. The same controversy was revived in the reign of the Othos; and their ambassador describes, in lively colours, the insolence of the Byzantine court.* The Greeks affected to despise the poverty and ignorance of the Franks and Saxons; and in their last decline refused to prostitute to the kings of Germany the title of Roman emperors.

These emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exercise the powers which had been assumed by the Gothic and Grecian princes; and the importance of this prerogative increased with the temporal estate and spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman church. In the Christian aristocracy, the principal members of the clergy still formed a senate to assist the administration, and to supply the vacancy, of the bishop. Rome was divided into twenty-eight parishes, and each parish was governed by a cardinal-priest, or presbyter, a title which, however common and modest in its origin, has aspired to emulate the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the association of the seven deacons of the most considerable hospitals, the seven palatine judges of the Lateran, and some dignitaries of the church. This ecclesiastical senate was directed by the seven cardinal-bishops of the Roman province, who were less occupied in the suburb dioceses of Ostia, Porto, Velitræ, Tusculum, Prænestе, Tibur, and the Sabines, than by their weekly service in the Lateran, and their superior share in the honours and authority of the apostolic see. On the death of the pope, these bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of the college of cardinals,† and

* Ipse enim vos, non *imperatorem* id est Βασιλεα suâ linguâ, sed ob indignationem Ρήγα, id est *regem* nostrâ vocabat. Liutprand (in Legat. in Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars 1, p. 479). The pope had exhorted Nicephorus, emperor of the *Greeks*, to make peace with Otho, the august emperor of the *Romans*—quæ inscriptio secundum Græcos peccatoria et temeraria imperatorem inquiunt, *universalem*, *Romanorum*, *Augustum*, *magnum*, *solum*, Nicephorum (p. 486).

† The origin and progress of the title of cardinal may be found in Thomassin (Discipline d'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1261—1298), Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. vi. dissert. 61, p. 159—182), and

their choice was ratified or rejected by the applause or clamour of the Roman people. But the election was imperfect; nor could the pontiff be legally consecrated till the emperor, the advocate of the church, had graciously signified his approbation and consent. The royal commissioner examined, on the spot, the form and freedom of the proceedings: nor was it, till after a previous scrutiny into the qualifications of the candidates, that he accepted an oath of fidelity, and confirmed the donations which had successively enriched the patrimony of St. Peter. In the frequent schisms, the rival claims were submitted to the sentence of the emperor; and in a synod of bishops he presumed to judge, to condemn, and to punish, the crimes of a guilty pontiff. Otho I. imposed a treaty on the senate and people, who engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to his majesty;* his successors anticipated or prevented their choice: they bestowed the Roman benefice, like the bishoprics of Cologne or Bamberg, on their chancellors or preceptors; and whatever might be the merit of a Frank or Saxon, his name sufficiently attests the interposition of foreign power. These acts of prerogative were most speciously excused by the vices of a popular election. The competitor who had been excluded by the cardinals appealed to the passions or avarice of the multitude; the Vatican and the Lateran were stained with blood; and the most powerful senators, the marquises of Tuscany and the counts of Tusculum, held the apostolic see in a long and disgraceful servitude. The Roman pontiffs, of the ninth and tenth centuries, were insulted, imprisoned, and murdered, by their tyrants; and such was their indigence after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, that they could neither support the state of a prince, nor

Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 345—347), who accurately remarks the forms and changes of the election. The cardinal-bishops, so highly exalted by Peter Damianus, are sunk to a level with the rest of the sacred college. * Firmiter jurantes, nunquam se papam electuros aut ordinaturos, præter consensum et electionem Othonis et filii sui (Liutprand, l. 6, c. 6, p. 472). This important concession may either supply or confirm the decree of the clergy and people of Rome, so fiercely rejected by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori (A.D. 964), and so well defended and explained by St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. ii. p. 808—816; tom. iv. p. 1167—1185). Consult that historical critic, and the annals of Muratori, for the election and confirmation of each pope.

exercise the charity of a priest.* The influence of two sister prostitutes, Marozia and Theodora, was founded on their wealth and beauty, their political and amorous intrigues; the most strenuous of their lovers were rewarded with the Roman mitre; and their reign† may have suggested to the darker ages‡ the fable§ of a female pope.¶ The bastard son,** the grandson, and the great grandson,

* The oppression and vices of the Roman church in the tenth century are strongly painted in the history and legation of Liutprand (see p. 440. 450. 471—476. 479, &c.); and it is whimsical enough to observe Muratori tempering the invectives of Baronius against the popes. But these popes had been chosen, not by the cardinals, but by lay-patrons.

† The time of pope Joan (*papissa Joanna*) is placed somewhat earlier than Theodora or Marozia; and the two years of her imaginary reign are forcibly inserted between Leo IV. and Benedict III. But the contemporary Anastasius indissolubly links the death of Leo and the elevation of Benedict (illico, mox, p. 247): and the accurate chronology of Pagi, Muratori, and Leibnitz, fixes both events in the year 857.

‡ The advocates for pope Joan produce one hundred and fifty witnesses, or rather echoes, of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. They bear testimony against themselves and the legend, by multiplying the proof that so curious a story *must* have been repeated by writers of every description to whom it was known. On those of the ninth and tenth centuries, the recent event would have flashed with a double force. Would Photius have spared such a reproach? Could Liutprand have missed such scandal? It is scarcely worth while to discuss the various readings of Martinus Polonus, Sigebert of Gemblours, or even Marianus Scots; but a most palpable forgery is the passage of pope Joan, which has been foisted into some MSS. and editions of the Roman Anastasius.

§ As *false*, it deserves that name; but I would not pronounce it incredible. Suppose a famous French chevalier of our own times to have been born in Italy, and educated in the church, instead of the army: *her* merit or fortune *might* have raised her to St. Peter's chair; her amours would have been natural; her delivery in the streets unlucky, but not improbable. [Gibbon here alludes to the Chevalier D'Eon, whose sex at that period was so much a matter of doubt as to cause him to be deprived of a public office, which he had held for many years in France. After his death in England, all doubts as to his sex were removed by medical examination.—ED.]

¶ Till the Reformation, the tale was repeated and believed without offence; and Joan's female statue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sienna. (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 624—626.) She has been annihilated by two learned Protestants, Blondel and Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, PAPESSE, POLONUS, BLONDEL); but their brethren were scandalized by this equitable and generous criticism. Spanheim and Lenfant attempt to save this poor engine of controversy; and even Mosheim condescends to cherish some doubt and suspicion (p. 289).

** [Muratori confesses the "vita disonesta" of

of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of St. Peter, and it was at the age of nineteen years that the second of these became the head of the Latin church. His youth and manhood were of a suitable complexion; and the nations of pilgrims could bear testimony to the charges that were urged against him in a Roman synod, and in the presence of Otho the great. As John XII. had renounced the dress and decencies of his profession, the *soldier* may not perhaps be dishonoured by the wine which he drank, the blood that he spilt, the flames that he kindled, or the licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting. His open simony might be the consequence of distress; and his blasphemous invocation of Jupiter and Venus, if it be true, could not possibly be serious. But we read with some surprise, that the worthy grandson of Marozia lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome; that the Lateran palace was turned into a school for prostitution, and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from visiting the tomb of St. Peter, lest, in the devout act, they should be violated by his successor.* The Protestants have dwelt with malicious pleasure on these characters of antichrist; but to a philosophic eye, the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues. After a long series of scandal, the apostolic see was reformed and exalted by the austerity and zeal of Gregory VII. That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election, and for ever to abolish the right or usurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief or benefice† of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion

Maria or Marozia; but contends that John XI. was her legitimate son by her husband Alberico, marquis of Camerino, and discredits the "slander of Liutprand," who asserted that this pontiff was the offspring of her adultery with pope Sergius III. Cardinal Baronius, however, believed these "calumniators," and called John XI. "pseudo-pontifex." (Annali d'Italia, xii. 273. 277. 380.)—Ed.]

* Lateranense palatium prostibulum meretricum . . . Testis omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent visere, cum non nullas ante dies paucos, hunc audierint conjugatas, viduas, virgines, vi oppressisse. (Liutprand, Hist. l. 6, c. 6, p. 471. See the whole affair of John XII. p. 471—476.)

† A new example of the mischief of equivocation is the *beneficium* (Ducange, tom. i. p. 617, &c.) which the pope conferred on the emperor Frederic I. since the Latin

over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of fifty years, the first of these designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order, whose liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the second attempt, though it was crowned with some partial and apparent success, has been vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of human reason.

In the revival of the empire of Rome, neither the bishop nor the people could bestow on Charlemagne or Otho the provinces which were lost, as they had been won, by the chance of arms. But the Romans were free to choose a master for themselves; and the powers which had been delegated to the patrician, were irrevocably granted to the French and Saxon emperors of the West. The broken records of the times* preserve some remembrance of their palace, their mint, their tribunal, their edicts, and the sword of justice, which, as late as the thirteenth century, was derived from Cæsar to the prefect of the city.† Between the arts of the popes and the violence of the people, this supremacy was crushed and annihilated. Content with the titles of emperor and Augustus, the successors of Charlemagne neglected to assert this local jurisdiction. In the hour of prosperity, their ambition was diverted by more alluring objects; and in the decay and division of the empire, they were oppressed by the defence of their hereditary provinces. Amidst the ruins of Italy, the famous Marozia invited one of the usurpers to assume the character of her third husband; and Hugh, king of Burgundy, was introduced by her faction into the mole of Hadrian, or castle of St. Angelo, which commands the principal bridge and entrance of Rome. Her son by the first marriage, Alberic, was compelled to attend at the nuptial banquet;

word may signify either a legal fief, or a simple favour, an obligation (we want the word *bienfait*). See Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 393—408. Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 229. 296. 317. 324. 420. 430. 500. 505. 509, &c.

* For the history of the emperors in Rome and Italy, see Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, Opp. tom. ii. with the notes of Saxius, and the Annals of Muratori, who might refer more distinctly to the authors of his great collection.

† See the Dissertation of Le Blanc at the end of his Treatise des Monnoyes de France, in which he produces some Roman coins of the French emperors.

but his reluctant and ungraceful service was chastised with a blow by his new father. The blow was productive of a revolution. "Romans (exclaimed the youth), once you were the masters of the world, and these Burgundians the most abject of your slaves. They now reign, these voracious and brutal savages, and my injury is the commencement of your servitude."* The alarum-bell rang to arms in every quarter of the city; the Burgundians retreated with haste and shame; Marozia was imprisoned by her victorious son; and his brother, pope John XI., was reduced to the exercise of his spiritual functions. With the title of prince, Alberic possessed above twenty years the government of Rome, and he is said to have gratified the popular prejudice, by restoring the office, or at least the title, of consuls and tribunes. His son and heir Octavian assumed, with the pontificate, the name of John XII.; like his predecessor, he was provoked by the Lombard princes to seek a deliverer for the church and republic; and the services of Otho were rewarded with the imperial dignity. But the Saxon was imperious, the Romans were impatient, the festival of the coronation was disturbed by the secret conflict of prerogative and freedom, and Otho commanded his sword-bearer not to stir from his person, lest he should be assaulted and murdered at the foot of the altar.† Before he repassed the Alps, the emperor chastised the revolt of the people, and the ingratitude of John XII. The pope was degraded in a synod; the prefect was mounted on an ass, whipped through the city, and cast into a dungeon; thirteen of the most guilty were hanged, others were mutilated or banished; and this severe process was justified by the ancient laws of Theodosius and Justinian. The voice of fame has accused the second Otho of a perfidious and bloody act, the massacre of the senators, whom he had invited to his table under the fair semblance of hospitality and friendship.‡ In the minority of his son Otho III.,

* Romanorum aliquando servi, scilicet Burgundiones, Romanis imperent? . . . Romanæ urbis dignitas ad tantam est stultitiam ducta, ut meretricum etiam imperio pareat? (Liutprand, l. 3, c. 12, p. 450.) Sigonius (l. 6, p. 400) positively affirms the renovation of the consulship; but in the old writers Albericus is more frequently styled princeps Romanorum.

† Ditmar, p. 354. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 439.

‡ This bloody feast is described in Leonine

Rome made a bold attempt to shake off the Saxon yoke, and the consul Crescentius was the Brutus of the republic. From the condition of a subject and an exile, he twice rose to the command of the city, oppressed, expelled, and created the popes, and formed a conspiracy for restoring the authority of the Greek emperors. In the fortress of St. Angelo, he maintained an obstinate siege, till the unfortunate consul was betrayed by a promise of safety: his body was suspended on a gibbet, and his head was exposed on the battlements of the castle. By a reverse of fortune, Otho, after separating his troops, was besieged three days, without food, in his palace; and a disgraceful escape saved him from the justice or fury of the Romans. The senator Ptolemy was the leader of the people, and the widow of Crescentius enjoyed the pleasure or the fame of revenging her husband by a poison which she administered to her imperial lover. It was the design of Otho III. to abandon the ruder countries of the north, to erect his throne in Italy, and to revive the institutions of the Roman monarchy. But his successors only once in their lives appeared on the banks of the Tiber, to receive their crown in the Vatican.* Their absence was contemptible, their presence odious and formidable. They descended from the Alps, at the head of their barbarians, who were strangers and enemies to the country; and their transient visit was a scene of tumult and bloodshed.† A faint remembrance of their ancestors

verse in the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo (Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 436, 437), who flourished towards the end of the twelfth century (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimi Ævi, tom. iii. p. 69, edit. Mansi), but his evidence, which imposed on Sigonius, is reasonably suspected by Muratori. (Annali, tom. viii. p. 177.) [Muratori does more than suspect; he says "queste son tutte fandonie" (these are all lies). Yet the story, having once found its way into Chronologies, is repeated by them even to the present time. In that of Blair, republished in 1844, under the respectable sanction of Sir Henry Ellis, we find at A.D. 981, "Otho II. massacres his chief nobility at an entertainment to which he had invited them."—ED.]

* The coronation of the emperor, and some original ceremonies of the tenth century, are preserved in the Panegyric on Berengarius (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars 1. 405—414), illustrated by the notes of Hadrian Valesius, and Leibnitz. Sigonius has related the whole process of the Roman expedition in good Latin, but with some errors of time and fact (l. 7, p. 441—446). † In a quarrel at the coronation of Conrad II. Muratori takes leave to observe—doveano

still tormented the Romans; and they beheld with pious indignation the succession of Saxons, Franks, Swabians, and Bohemians, who usurped the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars.

There is nothing perhaps more adverse to nature and reason, than to hold in obedience remote countries and foreign nations, in opposition to their inclination and interest. A torrent of barbarians may pass over the earth, but an extensive empire must be supported by a refined system of policy and oppression: in the centre, an absolute power, prompt in action, and rich in resources: a swift and easy communication with the extreme parts: fortifications to check the first effort of rebellion: a regular administration to protect and punish: and a well-disciplined army to inspire fear, without provoking discontent and despair. Far different was the situation of the German Cæsars, who were ambitious to enslave the kingdom of Italy. Their patrimonial estates were stretched along the Rhine, or scattered in the provinces; but this ample domain was alienated by the imprudence or distress of successive princes; and their revenue, from minute and vexatious prerogative, was scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of their household. Their troops were formed by the legal or voluntary service of their feudal vassals, who passed the Alps with reluctance, assumed the licence of rapine and disorder, and capriciously deserted before the end of the campaign. Whole armies were swept away by the pestilential influence of the climate; the survivors brought back the bones of their princes and nobles,* and the effects of their own intemperance were

ben essere allora, indisciplinati, Barbari, e *bestiali* i Tedeschi. Annal. tom. viii. p. 368. [The different Gothic States had arrived at such a point of civilization, that the term *barbarians* can no longer be correctly applied to them.—ED.]

* After boiling away the flesh. The caldrons for that purpose were a necessary piece of travelling furniture; and a German who was using it for his brother, promised it to a friend, after it should have been employed for himself. (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 423, 424.) The same author observes that the whole Saxon line was extinguished in Italy (tom. ii. p. 440). [It does not appear that these caldrons were actually part of their camp-equipage; they could be obtained in Italy, and it was needless to encumber a long march with them. It is certain that the ranks of the German armies were much thinned by disease in the southern climes, which they invaded, and that several emperors died

often imputed to the treachery and malice of the Italians, who rejoiced at least in the calamities of the Barbarians. This irregular tyranny might contend on equal terms with the petty tyrants of Italy; nor can the people, or the reader, be much interested in the event of the quarrel. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Lombards rekindled the flame of industry and freedom; and the generous example was at length imitated by the republics of Tuscany. In the Italian cities a municipal government had never been totally abolished; and their first privileges were granted by the favour and policy of the emperors, who were desirous of erecting a plebeian barrier against the independence of the nobles. But their rapid progress, the daily extension of their power and pretensions, were founded on the numbers and spirit of these rising communities.* Each city filled the measure of her diocese or district; the jurisdiction of the counts and bishops, of the marquises and counts, was banished from the land; and the proudest nobles were persuaded or compelled to desert their solitary castles, and to embrace the more honourable character of freemen and magistrates. The legislative authority was inherent in the general assembly; but the executive powers were intrusted

there. Yet these disasters were much exaggerated by the papal party to make the warfare unpopular, and equally by the imperial retainers, who engaged unwillingly in such expeditions. The vassals who carried back the bones of their lords for interment in their native land, related such fearful tales of the hardships and calamities which they had endured, that all Germany was overwhelmed with consternation. Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, 2. 625.—ED.]

* Otho, bishop of Freisingen, has left an important passage on the Italian cities (l. 2, c. 13, in Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 707—710); and the rise, progress, and government, of these republics are perfectly illustrated by Muratori (Antiquitat. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iv. dissert. 45—52, p. 1—675. Annal. tom. viii.—x.). [Without any specific records of their origin, Mr. Hallam has well considered the first establishment of these small republics (Middle Ages, 1. 337—346). But he has not adverted to the fact that none scarcely are to be found beyond the limits of Northern Italy, into which the Lombards had transplanted the largest and most enduring portion of Gothic spirit. Even that of Amalphi, in the south, was surrounded by, and no doubt largely peopled from, their duchy of Beneventum. Similar assertions of independence in other branches of the same race, and the prosperity which followed, may be seen in the imperial cities of Germany, in the towns of the Netherlands, and in the incorporated municipalities which Henry I. and his successors chartered in England.—ED.]

to three consuls, annually chosen from the three orders of *captains, valvassors,** and commons, into which the republic was divided. Under the protection of equal law, the labours of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived; but the martial spirit of the Lombards was nourished by the presence of danger; and as often as the bell was rung, or the standard † erected, the gates of the city poured forth a numerous and intrepid band, whose zeal in their own cause was soon guided by the use and discipline of arms. At the foot of these popular ramparts the pride of the Cæsars was overthrown; and the invincible genius of liberty prevailed over the two Frederics, the greatest princes of the middle age: the first, superior perhaps in military prowess; the second, who undoubtedly excelled in the softer accomplishments of peace and learning.

Ambitious of restoring the splendour of the purple, Frederic I. invaded the republics of Lombardy, with the arts of a statesman, the valour of a soldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant. The recent discovery of the Pandects had renewed a science most favourable to despotism; and his venal advocates proclaimed the emperor the absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects. His royal prerogatives, in a less odious sense, were acknowledged in the diet of Roncaglia; and the revenue of Italy was fixed at thirty thousand pounds of silver,‡ which were multiplied to

* For these titles, see Selden (Titles of Honour, vol. iii. part 1, p. 488), Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. ii. p. 140; tom. vi. p. 776), and St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 719). [Among the feudal terms of difficult interpretation, that of *valvassores* is the least understood. Ducange (6. 1439) gives them only the general and indefinite signification of "Vassalli feudales," and divides them into three classes, the majores or regii, the minores, and the minimi. German writers on feudal tenures have suggested various derivations of the word, which may be seen in Zedler's Lexicon (46. 457). The most probable is that of *wallvasters*, those to whose guardianship places of defence were intrusted, or to whom license was given to fortify their own dwellings. This distinguishes them from the holders of common fiefs, without castles, and they carried the distinction with them when they settled in walled cities. Mr. Hallam (1. 339) calls them "the lesser gentry." This might apply to the inferior orders, but not to the first class; they probably gave up the name for higher titles.—ED.]

† The Lombards invented and used the *carocium*, a standard planted on a car or wagon, drawn by a team of oxen. (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 194, 195. Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. ii. dis. 26, p. 489—493.)

‡ Gunther Ligurinus, l. 8, 584, et seq. apud

an indefinite demand by the rapine of the fiscal officers. The obstinate cities were reduced by the terror or the force of his arms; his captives were delivered to the executioner, or shot from his military engines; and, after the siege and surrender of Milan, the buildings of that stately capital were rased to the ground; three hundred hostages were sent into Germany, and the inhabitants were dispersed in four villages, under the yoke of the inflexible conqueror.* But Milan soon rose from her ashes; and the league of Lombardy was cemented by distress: their cause was espoused by Venice, Pope Alexander III., and the Greek emperor: the fabric of oppression was overturned in a day; and in the treaty of Constance, Frederic subscribed, with some reservations, the freedom of four-and-twenty cities. His grandson contended with their vigour and maturity; but Frederic II.† was endowed with some personal and peculiar advantages. His birth and education recommended him to the Italians; and in the implacable discord of the two factions, the Ghibelins were attached to the emperor, while the Guelfs displayed the banner of liberty and the church.‡ The court of Rome had slumbered, when his father Henry VI. was permitted to unite with the empire the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and from these here-

Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 399. [For Frederic's legal advocates at the diet of Roncaglia, see ch. 44, Note, p. 2.—ED.]

* Solus imperator faciem suam firmavit ut petram. (Burcard. de Excidio Mediolani, Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 917.) This volume of Muratori contains the originals of the history of Frederic I., which must be compared with due regard to the circumstances and prejudices of each German or Lombard writer.

† For the history of Frederic II. and the house of Swabia at Naples, see Giannone, Istoria Civile, tom. ii. l. 14—19.

‡ [For the origin of these party-names, see Hallam (2. 101). In that of Guelph we have a national interest. The Italian origin of the family is shown by Muratori. But the first who bore the German name, was the eldest son of Isenbard of Altdorf, near Ravensburg in Suabia, and Irmentrud, the sister of Charlemagne. To account for it many fables are related. The most consistent and rational story is, that Isenbard was in attendance on Charlemagne, when a messenger informed him of the birth of his son. He requested permission to go and greet his first-born. "Why in such haste to see the *wölpe?*" (whelp) asked the emperor. This jocosely used epithet, the imperial godfather was requested solemnly to repeat at the font, where it was indelibly stamped on the infant and his descendants. *Welfus* became the ancestor of some of the most distinguished families in Europe. (Zedler's Lexicon, 14. 1344.)—ED.]

ditary realms, the son derived an ample and ready supply of troops and treasure. Yet Frederic II. was finally oppressed by the arms of the Lombards and the thunders of the Vatican; his kingdom was given to a stranger, and the last of his family was beheaded at Naples on a public scaffold. During sixty years, no emperor appeared in Italy, and the name was remembered only by the ignominious sale of the last relics of sovereignty.

The Barbarian conquerors of the West were pleased to decorate their chief with the title of emperor; but it was not their design to invest him with the despotism of Constantine and Justinian. The persons of the Germans were free, their conquests were their own, and their national character was animated by a spirit which scorned the servile jurisprudence of the new or the ancient Rome. It would have been a vain and dangerous attempt to impose a monarch on the armed freemen, who were impatient of a magistrate; on the bold, who refused to obey; on the powerful, who aspired to command. The empire of Charlemagne and Otho was distributed among the dukes of the nations or provinces, the counts of the smaller districts, and the margraves of the marches or frontiers, who all united the civil and military authority as it had been delegated to the lieutenants of the first Cæsars. The Roman governors, who, for the most part, were soldiers of fortune, seduced their mercenary legions, assumed the imperial purple, and either failed or succeeded in their revolt, without wounding the power and unity of government. If the dukes, margraves, and counts of Germany were less audacious in their claims, the consequences of their success were more lasting and pernicious to the State. Instead of aiming at the supreme rank, they silently laboured to establish and appropriate their provincial independence. Their ambition was seconded by the weight of their estates and vassals, their mutual example and support, the common interest of the subordinate nobility, the change of princes and families, the minorities of Otho III. and Henry IV., the ambition of the popes, and the vain pursuit of the fugitive crowns of Italy and Rome. All the attributes of regal and territorial jurisdiction were gradually usurped by the commanders of the provinces: the right of peace and war, of life and death, of coinage and

taxation, of foreign alliance and domestic economy. Whatever had been seized by violence, was ratified by favour or distress, was granted as the price of a doubtful vote or a voluntary service; whatever had been granted to one, could not, without injury, be denied to his successor or equal; and every act of local or temporary possession was insensibly moulded into the constitution of the Germanic kingdom. In every province, the visible presence of the duke or count was interposed between the throne and the nobles; the subjects of the law became the vassals of a private chief; and the standard, which *he* received from his sovereign, was often raised against him in the field. The temporal power of the clergy was cherished and exalted by the superstition or policy of the Carlovingian and Saxon dynasties, who blindly depended on their moderation and fidelity; and the bishoprics of Germany were made equal in extent and privilege, superior in wealth and population, to the most ample states of the military order. As long as the emperors retained the prerogative of bestowing, on every vacancy, these ecclesiastic and secular benefices, their cause was maintained by the gratitude or ambition of their friends and favourites. But in the quarrel of the investitures, they were deprived of their influence over the episcopal chapters; the freedom of election was restored, and the sovereign was reduced, by a solemn mockery, to his *first prayers*, the recommendation, once in his reign, to a single prebend in each church. The secular governors, instead of being recalled at the will of a superior, could be degraded only by the sentence of their peers. In the first age of the monarchy, the appointment of the son to the duchy or county of his father, was solicited as a favour; it was gradually obtained as a custom, and extorted as a right: the lineal succession was often extended to the collateral or female branches; the States of the empire (their popular, and at length their legal appellation) were divided and alienated by testament and sale; and all idea of a public trust was lost in that of a private and perpetual inheritance. The emperor could not even be enriched by the casualties of forfeiture and extinction: within the term of a year, he was obliged to dispose of the vacant fief, and in the choice of the candidate it was his duty to consult either the general or the provincial diet.

After the death of Frederic II. Germany was left a monster with a hundred heads. A crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the empire; the lords of innumerable castles were less prone to obey, than to imitate, their superiors; and according to the measure of their strength, their incessant hostilities received the names of conquest or robbery. Such anarchy was the inevitable consequence of the laws and manners of Europe; and the kingdoms of France and Italy were shivered into fragments by the violence of the same tempest. But the Italian cities and the French vassals were divided and destroyed, while the union of the Germans has produced, under the name of an empire, a great system of a federative republic. In the frequent, and at last the perpetual, institution of diets, a national spirit was kept alive, and the powers of a common legislature are still exercised by the three branches or colleges of the electors, the princes, and the free and imperial cities of Germany. I. Seven of the most powerful feudatories were permitted to assume, with a distinguished name and rank, the exclusive privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; and these electors were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburgh, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates purged themselves of a promiscuous multitude: they reduced to four representative votes, the long series of independent counts, and excluded the nobles or equestrian order, sixty thousand of whom, as in the Polish diets, had appeared on horseback in the field of election. III. The pride of birth and dominion, of the sword and the mitre, wisely adopted the commons as the third branch of the legislature, and, in the progress of society, they were introduced about the same era into the national assemblies of France, England and Germany. The Hanseatic league commanded the trade and navigation of the north; the confederates of the Rhine secured the peace and intercourse of the inland country; the influence of the cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy, and their negative still invalidates the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes.*

* In the immense labyrinth of the *jus publicum* of Germany, I must either quote one writer or a thousand; and I had rather trust to one

It is in the fourteenth century, that we may view in the strongest light the state and contrast of the Roman empire of Germany, which no longer held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a single province of Trajan or Constantine. Their unworthy successors were the counts of Hapsburg, of Nassau, of Luxemburgh, and of Schwartzenburg; the emperor Henry VII. procured for his son the crown of Bohemia, and his grandson Charles IV. was born among a people, strange and barbarous in the estimation of the Germans themselves.* After the excommunication of Lewis of Bavaria, he received the gift or promise of the vacant empire from the Roman pontiffs, who, in the exile and captivity of Avignon, affected the dominion of the earth. The death of his competitors united the electoral college, and Charles was unanimously saluted king of the Romans, and future emperor: a title which in the same age was prostituted to the Cæsars of Germany and Greece. The German emperor was no more than the elective and impotent magistrate of an aristocracy of princes, who had not left him a village that he might call his own.† His best prerogative was the right of presiding and proposing

faithful guide, than transcribe, on credit, a multitude of names and passages. That guide is M. Pfeffel, the author of the best legal and constitutional history that I know of any country. (Nouvel Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire et du Droit Public d'Allemagne. Paris, 1776, 2 vols. in 4to.) His learning and judgment have discerned the most interesting facts; his simple brevity comprises them in a narrow space; his chronological order distributes them under the proper dates; and an elaborate index collects them under their respective heads. To this work, in a less perfect state, Dr. Robertson was gratefully indebted for that masterly sketch which traces even the modern changes of the Germanic body. The Corpus Historiæ Germanicæ of Struvius has been likewise consulted, the more usefully, as that huge compilation is fortified in every page with the original texts.

* Yet *personally*, Charles IV. must not be considered as a Barbarian. After his education at Paris, he recovered the use of the Bohemian, his native idiom; and the emperor conversed and wrote with equal facility in French, Latin, Italian, and German. (Struvius, p. 615, 616.) Petrarch always represents him as a polite and learned prince.

† [*As emperor*, he had not "a village that he might call his own," for no territory was attached to the title. But the preponderating influence of large possessions generally decided the choice of the electors. Mr. Hallam has enumerated (vol. ii. p. 100) the extensive dominions which were expected to secure the dignity to Henry, son of Lothaire of Saxony, and again (p. 115), those by which it was actually obtained

in the national senate, which was convened at his summons; and his native kingdom of Bohemia, less opulent than the adjacent city of Nuremberg, was the firmest seat of his power and the richest source of his revenue. The army with which he passed the Alps consisted of three hundred horse. In the cathedral of St. Ambrose, Charles was crowned with the *iron* crown, which tradition ascribed to the Lombard monarchy; but he was admitted only with a peaceful train; the gates of the city were shut upon him; and the king of Italy was held a captive by the arms of the Visconti, whom he confirmed in the sovereignty of Milan. In the Vatican he was again crowned with the *golden* crown of the empire; but, in obedience to a secret treaty, the Roman emperor immediately withdrew, without reposing a single night within the walls of Rome. The eloquent Petrarch,* whose fancy revived the visionary glories of the Capitol, deplores and upbraids the ignominious flight of the Bohemian; and even his contemporaries could observe, that the sole exercise of his authority was in the lucrative sale of privileges and titles. The gold of Italy secured the election of his son; but such was the shameful poverty of the Roman emperor, that his person was arrested by a butcher in the streets of Worms, and was detained in the public inn, as a pledge or hostage for the payment of his expenses.

From this humiliating scene, let us turn to the apparent majesty of the same Charles in the diets of the empire. The golden bull, which fixes the Germanic constitution, is promulgated in the style of a sovereign and legislator. A hundred princes bowed before his throne, and exalted their own dignity by the voluntary honours which they yielded to their chief or minister. At the royal banquet, the hereditary great officers, the seven electors, who in rank and title were equal to kings, performed their solemn and domestic service of the palace. The seals of the triple kingdom were borne in state by the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the perpetual arch-chancellors of Germany, Italy, and Arles. The great marshal, on horse-

for Rudolph of Hapsburg.—Ed.]

* Besides the German and Italian historians, the expedition of Charles IV. is painted in lively and original colours in the curious Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 376—430, by the Abbé de Sade, whose prolixity has never been blamed by any reader of taste and curiosity.

back, exercised his function with a silver measure of oats, which he emptied on the ground, and immediately dismounted to regulate the order of the guests. The great steward, the count palatine of the Rhine, placed the dishes on the table. The great chamberlain, the margrave of Brandenburg, presented, after the repast, the golden ewer and basin, to wash. The king of Bohemia, as great cupbearer, was represented by the emperor's brother, the duke of Luxemburgh and Brabant; and the procession was closed by the great huntsman, who introduced a boar and a stag, with a loud chorus of horns and hounds.* Nor was the supremacy of the emperor confined to Germany alone; the hereditary monarchs of Europe confessed the pre-eminence of his rank and dignity; he was the first of the Christian princes, the temporal head of the great republic of the West;† to his person the title of majesty was long appropriated; and he disputed with the pope the sublime prerogative of creating kings and assembling councils. The oracle of the civil law, the learned Bartolus, was a pensioner of Charles IV. and his school resounded with the doctrine, that the Roman emperor was the rightful sovereign of the earth, from the rising to the setting sun. The contrary opnion was condemned, not as an error, but as a heresy, since even the gospel had pronounced, "And there went forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed."‡

If we annihilate the interval of time and space between Augustus and Charles, strong and striking will be the contrast between the two Cæsars; the Bohemian who concealed his weakness under the mask of ostentation, and the Roman, who disguised his strength under the semblance of modesty. At the head of his victorious legions, in his reign over the sea and land, from the Nile and Euphrates to the Atlantic ocean, Augustus professed himself the servant of the State and the equal of his fellow-citizens. The conqueror of Rome and her provinces assumed the popular and legal form of a censor, a consul, and a tribune. His will

* See the whole ceremony in Struvius, p. 629.

† The republic of Europe, with the pope and emperor at its head, was never represented with more dignity than in the council of Constance. See Lenfant's History of that Assembly.

‡ Gravina, Origines Juris Civilis, p. 103.

was the law of mankind, but in the declaration of his laws he borrowed the voice of the senate and people; and, from their decrees, their master accepted and renewed his temporary commission to administer the republic. In his dress, his domestics,* his titles, in all the offices of social life, Augustus maintained the character of a private Roman; and his most artful flatterers respected the secret of his absolute and perpetual monarchy.

CHAPTER L.—DESCRIPTION OF ARABIA AND ITS INHABITANTS.—BIRTH, CHARACTER, AND DOCTRINE OF MAHOMET.—HE PREACHES AT MECCA.—FLIES TO MEDINA.—PROPAGATES HIS RELIGION BY THE SWORD.—VOLUNTARY OR RELUCTANT SUBMISSION OF THE ARABS.—HIS DEATH AND SUCCESSORS.—THE CLAIMS AND FORTUNES OF ALI AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

AFTER pursuing above six hundred years the fleeting Cæsars of Constantinople and Germany, I now descend, in the reign of Heraclius, on the eastern borders of the Greek monarchy. While the State was exhausted by the Persian war, and the church was distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite sects, Mahomet, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religon, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe.†

* Six thousand urns have been discovered of the slaves and freedmen of Augustus and Livia. So minute was the division of office, that one slave was appointed to weigh the wool which was spun by the empress's maids, another for the care of her lap-dog, &c. (Camere Sepolcrale, &c. by Bianchini. Extract of his work, in the Bibliothèque Italique, tom. iv. p. 175. His Eloge, by Fontenelle, tom. vi. p. 356.) But these servants were of the same rank, and possibly not more numerous than those of Pollio or Lentulus. They only prove the general riches of the city.

† As in this and the following chapter I shall display much Arabic learning, I must profess my total ignorance of the Oriental tongues, and my gratitude to the learned interpreters who have transfused their science into the Latin, French, and English languages. Their collections, versions, and histories, I

In the vacant space between Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Æthiopia, the Arabian peninsula* may be conceived as a triangle of spacious but irregular dimensions. From the northern point of Beles† on the Euphrates, a line of fifteen hundred miles is terminated by the straits of Babelmandel and the land of frankincense. About half this length may be allowed for the middle breadth from east to west, from Bassora to Suez, from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea.‡

shall occasionally notice.

* The geographers of Arabia may be divided into three classes:—1. The *Greeks* and *Latins*, whose progressive knowledge may be traced in Agatharcides (de Mari Rubro, in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. 2, p. 159—167; l. 3, p. 211—216, edit. Wesseling), Strabo (l. 16, p. 1112—1114, from Eratosthenes, p. 1122—1132, from Artemidorus), Dionysius (Periegesis, 927—969), Pliny (Hist. Natur. 5. 12, 6. 32), and Ptolemy (Descript. et Tabulæ Urbium, in Hudson, tom. iii.). 2. The *Arabic writers*, who have treated the subject with the zeal of patriotism or devotion: the extracts of Pocock (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 125—128) from the Geography of the Sherif al Edrissi, render us still more dissatisfied with the version or abridgment (p. 24—27. 44—56. 108, &c. 119, &c.) which the Maronites have published under the absurd title of Geographia Nubiensis (Paris, 1619); but the Latin and French translators, Greaves (in Hudson, tom. iii.) and Galland (Voyage de la Palestine par la Roque, p. 265—346), have opened to us the Arabia of Abulfeda, the most copious and correct account of the peninsula, which may be enriched, however, from the Bibliothèque Orientale of D'Herbelot, p. 120, et alibi passim. 3. The *European travellers*, among whom Shaw (p. 438—455) and Niebuhr (Description, 1773, Voyages, tom. i. 1776) deserve an honourable distinction: Busching (Géographie par Berenger, tom. viii. p. 416—510) has compiled with judgment; and D'Anville's maps (Orbis Veteribus Notus, and Première Partie de l'Asie) should lie before the reader with his Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 208—231.

† Abulfed. Descript. Arabiæ, p. 1. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 19, 20. It was in this place, the paradise or garden of a satrap, that Xenophon and the Greeks first passed the Euphrates. (Anabasis, l. 1, c. 10, p. 29, edit. Wells.)

‡ Reland has proved, with much superfluous learning, 1. That our Red Sea (the Arabian Gulf) is no more than a part of the *Mare Rubrum*, the Ἐρυθρὰ θαλάσση of the ancients, which was extended to the indefinite space of the Indian ocean. 2. That the synonymous words ἐρυθρος, αἰθιοψ, alluded to the colour of the blacks or negroes. (Dissert. Miscell. tom. i. p. 59—117.) [M. Niebuhr, the traveller, has set aside the generally received etymologies of the "Red Sea," but substituted for them no other satisfactory derivation. (Description de l'Arabie, p. 360.) The present Persian gulf was the original Mare Erythræum of the ancients, so named from a king who ruled in one of its islands. This the Greeks mistook for a colour, and applied it no less erroneously to the Arabian Gulf.—Ed.]

The sides of the triangle are gradually enlarged, and the southern basis presents a front of a thousand miles to the Indian ocean. The entire surface of the peninsula exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France; but the far greater part has been justly stigmatized with the epithets of the *stony* and the *sandy*. Even the wilds of Tartary are decked by the hand of nature with lofty trees and luxuriant herbage; and the lonesome traveller derives a sort of comfort and society from the presence of vegetable life. But in the dreary waste of Arabia, a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains, and the face of the desert, without shade or shelter, is scorched by the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun. Instead of refreshing breezes, the winds, particularly from the south-west, diffuse a noxious and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of sand, which they alternately raise and scatter, are compared to the billows of the ocean, and whole caravans, whole armies, have been lost and buried in the whirlwind. The common benefits of water are an object of desire and contest; and such is the scarcity of wood, that some art is requisite to preserve and propagate the element of fire. Arabia is destitute of navigable rivers, which fertilize the soil, and convey its produce to the adjacent regions; the torrents that fall from the hills are imbibed by the thirsty earth; the rare and hardy plants, the tamarind or the acacia, that strike their roots into the clefts of the rocks, are nourished by the dews of the night; a scanty supply of rain is collected in cisterns and aqueducts; the wells and springs are the secret treasure of the desert; and the pilgrim of Mecca,* after many a dry and sultry march, is disgusted by the taste of the waters, which have rolled over a bed of sulphur or salt. Such is the general and genuine picture of the climate of Arabia. The experience of evil enhances the value of any local or partial enjoyments. A shady grove, a green pasture, a stream of fresh water, are sufficient to attract a colony of sedentary Arabs to the fortunate spots which can afford food and refreshment to themselves and their cattle, and which encourage their industry in the cultivation of the palm-tree and the vine. The high lands that border on the Indian ocean are distinguished by their superior plenty of wood and

* In the thirty days or stations, between Cairo and Mecca, there are fifteen destitute of good water. See the route of the Hadjees, in

water; the air is more temperate, the fruits are more delicious, the animals and the human race more numerous; the fertility of the soil invites and rewards the toil of the husbandman; and the peculiar gifts of frankincense* and coffee have attracted in different ages the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the rest of the peninsula, this sequestered region may truly deserve the appellation of the *happy*; and the splendid colouring of fancy and fiction has been suggested by contrast and countenanced by distance. It was for this earthly paradise that nature had reserved her choicest favours and her most curious workmanship: the incompatible blessings of luxury and innocence were ascribed to the natives: the soil was impregnated with gold† and gems, and both the land and sea were taught to exhale the odours of aromatic sweets. This division of the *sandy*, the *stony*, and the *happy*, so familiar to the Greeks and Latins, is unknown to the Arabians themselves; and it is singular enough, that a country whose language and inhabitants have ever been the same, should scarcely retain a vestige of its ancient geography. The maritime districts of *Bahrein* and *Oman* are opposite to the realm of Persia. The kingdom of *Yemen* displays the limits, or at least the situation, of Arabia Felix; the name of *Neged* is extended over the inland space; and the birth of Mahomet has illustrated the province of *Hejaz* along the coast of the Red sea.‡

The measure of population is regulated by the means of

Shaw's Travels, p. 477. * The aromatics, especially the *thus*, or frankincense, of Arabia, occupy the twelfth book of Pliny. Our great poet (Paradise Lost, l. 4) introduces, in a simile, the spicy odours that are blown by the north-east wind from the Sabæan coast:—

——— Many a league,
Pleas'd with the grateful scent, old Ocean smiles.

(Plin. Hist. Natur. 12. 42.) † Agatharcides affirms, that lumps of pure gold were found, from the size of an olive to that of a nut; that iron was twice, and silver ten times, the value of gold (de Mari Rubro, p. 60). These real or imaginary treasures are vanished; and no gold mines are at present known in Arabia. (Niebuhr, Description, p. 124.) ‡ Consult, peruse, and study, the Specimen Historiæ Arabum of Pocock (Oxon. 1650, in 4to.). The thirty pages of text and version are extracted from the Dynasties of Gregory Abulpharagius, which Pocock afterwards translated (Oxon. 1663, in 4to.); the three hundred and fifty-eight notes form a classic and original work on the Arabian antiquities.

subsistence; and the inhabitants of this vast peninsula might be outnumbered by the subjects of a fertile and industrious province. Along the shores of the Persian Gulf, of the ocean, and even of the Red sea, the *Ichthyophagi** or fish eaters, continued to wander in quest of their precarious food. In this primitive and abject state, which ill deserves the name of society, the human brute, without arts or laws, almost without sense or language, is poorly distinguished from the rest of the animal creation. Generations and ages might roll away in silent oblivion, and the helpless savage was restrained from multiplying his race, by the wants and pursuits which confined his existence to the narrow margin of the sea-coast. But in an early period of antiquity the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this scene of misery; and as the naked wilderness could not maintain a people of hunters, they rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert; and in the portrait of the modern *Bedoweens* we may trace the features of their ancestors,† who, in the age of Moses or Mahomet, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses, and camels, and sheep, to the same springs and the same pastures. Our toil is lessened, and our wealth is increased, by our dominion over the useful animals; and the Arabian shepherd had acquired the absolute possession of a faithful friend and a laborious slave.‡ Arabia, in the opinion of the naturalist, is the genuine and original country of the *horse;* the climate most propitious, not indeed to the size, but to the spirit and swiftness, of that generous animal. The merit of the Barb, the Spanish, and the English breed, is derived from

* Arrian remarks the Ichthyophagi of the coast of Hejaz (Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 12) and beyond Aden (p. 15). It seems probable that the shores of the Red Sea (in the largest sense) were occupied by these savages in the time, perhaps, of Cyrus; but I can hardly believe that any cannibals were left among the savages in the reign of Justinian (Procop. de Bell. Persic. l. 1. c. 19).

† See the Specimen Historiæ Arabum of Pocock, p. 2. 5. 86, &c. The journey of M. d'Arvieux, in 1664, to the camp of the emir of mount Carmel (Voyage de la Palestine, Amsterdam, 1718), exhibits a pleasing and original picture of the life of the Bedoweens, which may be illustrated from Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 327—344) and Volney (tom. i. p. 343—385) the last and most judicious of our Syrian travellers.

‡ Read (it is no unpleasing task) the incomparable articles of the *horse* and the *camel*, in the Natural History of

a mixture of Arabian blood;* the Bedoweens preserve, with superstitious care, the honours and the memory of the purest race; the males are sold at a high price, but the females are seldom alienated; and the birth of a noble foal was esteemed among the tribes as a subject of joy and mutual congratulation. These horses are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs, with a tender familiarity which trains them in the habits of gentleness and attachment. They are accustomed only to walk and to gallop: their sensations are not blunted by the incessant abuse of the spur and the whip: their powers are reserved for the moments of flight and pursuit; but no sooner do they feel the touch of the hand or the stirrup, than they dart away with the swiftness of the wind; and if their friend be dismounted in the rapid career, they instantly stop until he has recovered his seat. In the sands of Africa and Arabia, the *camel* is a sacred and precious gift. That strong and patient beast of burden can perform, without eating or drinking, a journey of several days; and a reservoir of fresh water is preserved in a large bag, a fifth stomach of the animal, whose body is imprinted with the marks of servitude; the larger breed is capable of transporting a weight of a thousand pounds; and the dromedary, of a lighter and more active frame, outstrips the fleetest courser in the race. Alive or dead, almost every part of the camel is serviceable to man: her milk is plentiful and nutritious: the young and tender flesh has the taste of veal:† a valuable salt is extracted from the urine: the dung supplies the deficiency of fuel;‡ and the long hair, which falls

M. de Buffon.

* For the Arabian horses, see D'Arvieux (p. 159—173) and Niebuhr (p. 142—144). At the end of the thirteenth century, the horses of Neged were esteemed surefooted, those of Yemen strong and serviceable, those of Hejaz most noble. The horses of Europe, the tenth and last class, were generally despised, as having too much body and too little spirit (D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 339): their strength was requisite to bear the weight of the knight and his armour.

† Qui carnibus camelorum vesci solent odii tenaces sunt, was the opinion of an Arabian physician (Pocock, Specimen, p. 88). Mahomet himself, who was fond of milk, prefers the cow, and does not even mention the camel; but the diet of Mecca and Medina was already more luxurious (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 404).

‡ [Itis also smoked like tobacco. For new and curious information respecting the camel, see the Letters from Egypt of Dr. Lepsius, p. 81, 82; and Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 259.—ED.]

each year and is renewed, is coarsely manufactured into the garments, the furniture, and the tents, of the Bedoweens. In the rainy seasons they consume the rare and insufficient herbage of the desert; during the heats of summer and the scarcity of winter, they remove their encampments to the sea-coast, the hills of Yemen, or the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and have often extorted the dangerous license of visiting the banks of the Nile, and the villages of Syria and Palestine. The life of a wandering Arab is a life of danger and distress; and though sometimes, by rapine or exchange, he may appropriate the fruits of industry, a private citizen in Europe is in the possession of more solid and pleasing luxury, than the proudest emir, who marches in the field at the head of ten thousand horse.

Yet an essential difference may be found between the hordes of Scythia and the Arabian tribes, since many of the latter were collected into towns and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture. A part of their time and industry was still devoted to the management of their cattle: they mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the desert; and the Bedoweens derived from their useful intercourse, some supply of their wants, and some rudiments of art and knowledge. Among the forty-two cities of Arabia,* enumerated by Abulfeda, the most ancient and populous were situate in the *happy* Yemen: the towers of Saana,† and the marvellous reservoir of Merab‡ were constructed by the

* Yet Marcian of Heraclea (in Periplo, p. 16, in tom. i. Hudson, Minor. Geograph.) reckons one hundred and sixty-four towns in Arabia Felix. The size of the towns might be small—the faith of the writer might be large.

† It is compared by Abulfeda (in Hudson, tom. iii. p. 54) to Damascus, and is still the residence of the Iman of Yemen. (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. i. p. 331—342.) Saana is twenty-four parasangs from Dasar (Abulfeda, p. 51), and sixty-eight from Aden (p. 53).

‡ Pocock, Specimen, p. 57. Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 52. Meriaba, or Merab, six miles in circumference, was destroyed by the legions of Augustus (Plin. Hist. Nat. 6. 32), and had not revived in the fourteenth century. (Abulfed. Descript. Arab. p. 58.) [In the second note to ch. 1 and again here, Gibbon was misled by Pliny, who had himself been deceived by some flattering fiction. Strabo was the intimate friend of Ælius Gallus, the commander of the Roman expedition against Arabia, and passed some time with him in Egypt (l. 2, p. 118). From him he received the circumstantial details, which he has given us, of that unsuccessful enterprize (l. 16, p. 780—782). Among the places to which the legions penetrated, he does not include Meriaba, although it had been just before (p. 778)

kings of the Homerites; but their profane lustre was eclipsed by the prophetic glories of *Medina** and *Mecca*,† near the

mentioned by him as an important city of the Sabæans; its destruction, or even capture, by Ælius Gallus, could not have been overlooked if it had been an historical fact. On the other hand, M. Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 240) has disproved the Mahometan fable of the torrent that was said to have overwhelmed Meriaba. Its celebrated reservoir was formed by a wall or dam from forty to fifty feet high and about a quarter of a mile long, which crossed a narrow valley and intercepted its water-courses. The remains of it were seen by M. Niebuhr. Having been some time neglected, it broke down, and the waters escaped, but could not reach the town, which was high above their level. Strabo says, that it occupied a lofty site. Deprived of a supply so essential to life and vegetation, the neighbourhood was deserted, and Meriaba fell into decay. The bursting of the dyke caused its ruin, but not by inundation.—ED.]

* The name of *city, Medina*, was appropriated κατ' ἐξόχην, to Yatreb (the Iatrippa of the Greeks), the seat of the prophet. The distances of Medina are reckoned by Abulfeda in stations, or days' journey of a caravan (p. 15): to Bahrein, fifteen; to Bassora, eighteen; to Cufah, twenty; to Damascus or Palestine, twenty; to Cairo, twenty-five; to Mecca, ten; from Mecca to Saana (p. 52), or Aden, thirty; to Cairo, thirty-one days, or four hundred and twelve hours (Shaw's Travels, p. 477); which, according to the estimate of D'Anville (Mesures Itinéraires, p. 99), allows about twenty-five English miles for a day's journey. From the land of frankincense (Hadramaut, in Yemen, between Aden and Cape Fartasch) to Gaza, in Syria, Pliny (Hist. Nat. 12. 32) computes sixty-five mansions of camels. These measures may assist fancy and elucidate facts. [The Greek name of Iatrippa is found only in Ptolemy's Geography, or where it was borrowed from him. *Yathreb* had an inauspicious meaning (the awkward or unfit), and Mahomet changed it to Medina tholnadi, or, according to Niebuhr, Medinet en Nebbi, the City of the Prophet. The adjunct was afterwards dropped. (See Condé, vol. i. p. 34.)—ED.]

† Our notions of Mecca must be drawn from the Arabians (D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 368—371. Pocock, Specimen, p. 125—128. Abulfeda, p. 11—40). As no unbeliever is permitted to enter the city, our travellers are silent; and the short hints of Thevenot (Voyages du Levant, part 1, p. 490) are taken from the suspicious mouth of an African renegado. Some Persians counted six thousand houses. (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 167.) [Mecca cannot be the Macoraba of Ptolemy; the situations do not agree, and till the time of Mahomet, it bore the name of Becca, or the House, from its celebrated temple. It is so called even in some parts of the Koran. M. Niebuhr (Desc. de l'Arabie, 309—320) has given such particulars of Mecca as he could collect in the neighbourhood, and from drawings sold to pilgrims. His view or plan of the great mosque excites, rather than gratifies, curiosity. He says that Pitts, Wilde, and the few Europeans who had been allowed to enter Mecca, could only have gained admittance by an apparent conversion to Mahometanism.—ED.]

Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of two hundred and seventy miles. The last of these holy places was known to the Greeks under the name of Macoraba; and the termination of the word is expressive of its greatness, which has not indeed, in the most flourishing period, exceeded the size and populousness of Marseilles. Some latent motive, perhaps of superstition, must have impelled the founders, in the choice of a most unpromising situation. They erected their habitations of mud or stone, in a plain about two miles long and one mile broad, at the foot of three barren mountains: the soil is a rock, the water, even of the holy well of Zemzem, is bitter or brackish; the pastures are remote from the city; and grapes are transported above seventy miles from the gardens of Tayef. The fame and spirit of the Koreishites, who reigned in Mecca, were conspicuous among the Arabian tribes; but their ungrateful soil refused the labours of agriculture, and their position was favourable to the enterprises of trade. By the seaport of Gedda, at the distance only of forty miles, they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mahomet. The treasures of Africa were conveyed over the peninsula to Gerrha or Katiff, in the province of Bahrein, a city built, as it is said, of rock-salt, by the Chaldean exiles:* and from thence, with the native pearls of the Persian gulf, they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance, a month's journey, between Yemen on the right, and Syria on the left, hand. The former was the winter, the latter the summer, station of her caravans; and their seasonable arrival relieved the ships of India from the tedious and troublesome navigation of the Red Sea. In the markets of Saana and Merab, in the harbours of Oman and Aden, the camels of the Koreishites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; the lucrative exchange diffused plenty and riches in the streets of Mecca; and the noblest of her sons united the love of arms with the profession of merchandise.†

* Strabo, l. 16, p. 1110. See one of these salt-houses near Bassora in D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 6. † Mirum dictû ex innumeris populis pars æqua in *commerciis* aut in latrociniis degit Plin. Hist. Nat. 6. 32). See Sale's Koran, Sûra 106, p. 503. Pocock,

The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the theme of praise among strangers and natives; and the arts of controversy transform this singular event into a prophecy and a miracle, in favour of the posterity of Ismael.* Some exceptions that can neither be dissembled nor eluded, render this mode of reasoning as indiscreet as it is superfluous: the kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the sultans of Egypt,† and the Turks:‡ the holy cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia§ embraced the peculiar wilderness in which Ismael and his sons must have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren. Yet these exceptions are temporary or local;

Specimen, p. 2. D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 361. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 5. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 72. 120. 126, &c.

* A nameless doctor (Universal Hist. vol. xx. octavo edition) has formally *demonstrated* the truth of Christianity by the independence of the Arabs. A critic, besides the exceptions of fact, might dispute the meaning of the text (Genes. xvi. 12), the extent of the application, and the foundation of the pedigree. [A country not worth conquering easily maintains its independence: and a nomade race can scarcely be subdued. Such was the greater part of Arabia. But Yemen (*Arabia felix*), though protected on one side by the sea, and on the other by sandy deserts almost impassable, had to submit to many foreign rulers. (See Niebuhr, Desc. de l'Arabie, 329, and Condé, vol. i. p. 32.)—ED.]

† It was subdued, A.D. 1173, by a brother of the great Saladin, who founded a dynasty of Curds or Ayoubites. (De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 425. D'Herbelot, p. 477.)

‡ By the lieutenant of Soliman I. (A.D. 1538) and Selim II. (1568). See Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire, p. 201. 221. The pasha, who resided at Saana, commanded twenty-one beys, but no revenue was ever remitted to the Porte (Marsigli, Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno, p. 124); and the Turks were expelled about the year 1630 (Niebuhr, p. 167, 168).

§ Of the Roman province, under the name of Arabia and the third Palestine, the principal cities were Bostra and Petra, which dated their era from the year 105, when they were subdued by Palma, a lieutenant of Trajan (Dion Cassius, l. 68). Petra was the capital of the Nabathæans, whose name is derived from the eldest of the sons of Ismael. (Genes. xxv. 12, &c. with the commentaries of Jerome, Le Clerc, and Calmet.) Justinian relinquished a palm country of ten days' journey to the south of Ælah (Procop. de Bell. Persic. l. 1, c. 19), and the Romans maintained a centurion and a custom-house (Arrian in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p. 11, in Hudson, tom. i.), at a place (λεύκη κώμη, Pagus Albus, Hawara) in the territory of Medina (D'Anville, Mémoire sur l'Egypte, p. 243). These real possessions, and some naval inroads of Trajan (Peripl. p. 14, 15) are magnified by history and medals into

the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies: the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia; the present sovereign of the Turks* may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs. Many ages before Mahomet,† their intrepid valour had been severely felt by their neighbours in offensive and defensive war. The patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The care of the sheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the tribe; but the martial youth under the banner of the emir, is ever on horseback, and in the field, to practise the exercise of the bow, the javelin, and the scymetar. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity, and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain their inheritance. Their domestic feuds are suspended on the approach of a common enemy; and in their last hostilities against the Turks, the caravan of Mecca was attacked and pillaged by fourscore thousand of the confederates When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front; in the rear, the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, which in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror; the secret waters of the desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with thirst, hunger, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely reposes in the heart of the burning solitude. The arms and deserts of the Bedoweens are not only the safeguards of their own freedom, but the barriers also of the happy Arabia, whose inhabitants, remote from war, are enervated by the luxury of the soil and climate. The legions of Augustus melted away in disease and lassitude;‡ and it is only by a naval power that

the Roman conquest of Arabia.

* Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 302, 303. 329—331) affords the most recent and authentic intelligence of the Turkish empire in Arabia.

† Diodorus Siculus (tom ii. l. 19, p. 390—393, edit. Wesseling) has clearly exposed the freedom of the Nabathæan Arabs, who resisted the arms of Antigonus and his son.

‡ Strabo, l. 16, p. 1127

the reduction of Yemen has been successfully attempted. When Mahomet erected his holy standard,* that kingdom was a province of the Persian empire; yet seven princes of the Homerites still reigned in the mountains: and the vicegerent of Chosroes was tempted to forget his distant country and his unfortunate master. The historians of the age of Justinian represent the state of the independent Arabs, who were divided by interest or affection in the long quarrel of the East; the tribe of *Gassan* was allowed to encamp on the Syrian territory; the princes of *Hira* were permitted to form a city about forty miles to the southward of the ruins of Babylon. Their service in the field was speedy and vigorous; but their friendship was venal, their faith inconstant, their enmity capricious; it was an easier task to excite than to disarm these roving barbarians; and, in the familiar intercourse of war, they learned to see, and to despise, the splendid weakness both of Rome and of Persia. From Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes† were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general appellation of *Saracens*,‡ a name which every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

—1129. Plin. Hist. Natur. 6. 32. Ælius Gallus landed near Medina, and marched near a thousand miles into the part of Yemen between Mareb and the ocean. The non ante devictis Sabeæ regibus (Od. 1. 29), and the intacti Arabum thesauri (Od. 3. 24) of Horace, attest the virgin purity of Arabia. [Strabo attributes the failure of this ill-concerted expedition to the treachery of Syllæus, procurator of Nabathæa, who was beheaded at Rome for the crime.—ED.]

* See the imperfect history of Yemen in Pocock, Specimen, p. 55—66, of Hira, p. 66—74, of Gassan, p. 75—78, as far as it could be known or preserved in the time of ignorance.

† The Σαρακηνικὰ φῦλα, μυριάδες ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν ἐρημονόμοι, καὶ ἀδέσποτοι, are described by Menander (Excerpt. Legation. p. 149), Procopius (De Bell. Persic. l. 1, c. 17. 19; l. 2, c. 10), and, in the most lively colours, by Ammianus Marcellinus (l. 14, c. 4), who had spoken of them as early as the reign of Marcus.

‡ The name which, used by Ptolemy and Pliny in a more confined, by Ammianus and Procopius in a larger, sense, has been derived, ridiculously, from *Sarah*, the wife of Abraham, obscurely from the village of *Saraka* (μετὰ Ναβαταίους; Stephan. de Urbibus), more plausibly, from the Arabic words, which signify a *thievish* character, or *Oriental* situation. (Hottinger, Hist. Oriental. l. 1, c. 1, p. 7, 8. Pocock, Specimen, p. 33.—35. Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 567.) Yet the last and most popular of these etymologies is refuted by Ptolemy (Arabia, p. 2. 18. in Hudson, tom. iv.), who ex-

The slaves of domestic tyranny may vainly exult in their national independence; but the Arab is personally free; and he enjoys, in some degree, the benefits of society, without forfeiting the prerogatives of nature. In every tribe, superstition, or gratitude, or fortune, has exalted a particular family above the heads of their equals. The dignities of sheikh and emir invariably descend in this chosen race; but the order of succession is loose and precarious; and the most worthy or aged of the noble kinsmen are preferred to the simple, though important, office of composing disputes by their advice, and guiding valour by their example. Even a female of sense and spirit has been permitted to command the countrymen of Zenobia.* The momentary junction of several tribes produces an army; their more lasting union constitutes a nation; and the supreme chief, the emir of emirs, whose banner is displayed at their head, may deserve, in the eyes of strangers, the honours of the kingly name. If the Arabian princes abuse their power, they are quickly

pressly remarks the western and southern position of the Saracens, then an obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot, therefore, allude to any *national* character; and, since it was imposed by strangers, it must be found, not in the Arabic, but in a foreign language. [It is by no means clear that the name of Saracens was "imposed by strangers." From the time of Herodotus, the whole people of the peninsula were known to "strangers" only as Arabæ. The progress of arms and of commerce disclosed their division, like other races, into various tribes. One of these, probably self-named Saracens, seems to have been miscalled Characeni and Arraceni by Pliny or his informant (H. N. 6. 32), and also to have been the wanderers of the desert region, traversed by Ælius Gallus, which Strabo (tom. ii. 781) designated as Ararena. About the close of the second century, the Romans came into more immediate contact with them, and thenceforth carelessly used their name as a "general appellation." The proposed explanations of its meaning are all unsatisfactory. That of Dr. Clarke (Travels, 2. 491) or more properly of Cellarius (2. 887) who thought that it denotes a people of the Sar, Zaara, or desert, would, in that sense, be so widely applicable, as to constitute, not the distinction of a tribe, but a national designation.—ED.] * Saraceni mulieres aiunt in eos regnare. (Expositio totius Mundi, p. 3, in Hudson, tom. iii.) The reign of Mavia is famous in ecclesiastical story. Pocock, Specimen, p. 69. 83. [For the submission of the *Berber* tribes to female rulers, see Bruce's Travels, i. 47. Mavia is said to have been the queen of the Saracens whose services the emperor Valens engaged in his Gothic wars (see ch. 26, vol. iii. p. 189). It is affirmed also, that she was the first Arabian convert to Christianity. But the sectarian discord of the times obscures her

punished by the desertion of their subjects, who had been accustomed to a mild and parental jurisdiction. Their spirit is free, their steps are unconfined, the desert is open, and the tribes and families are held together by a mutual and voluntary compact. The softer natives of Yemen supported the pomp and majesty of a monarch; but if he could not leave his palace without endangering his life,* the active powers of government must have been devolved on his nobles and magistrates. The cities of Mecca and Medina present, in the heart of Asia, the form, or rather the substance, of a commonwealth. The grandfather of Mahomet, and his lineal ancestors, appear in foreign and domestic transactions as the princes of their country; but they reigned, like Pericles at Athens, or the Medici at Florence, by the opinion of their wisdom and integrity; their influence was divided with their patrimony; and the sceptre was transferred from the uncles of the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe of Koreish. On solemn occasions they convened the assembly of the people; and since mankind must be either compelled or persuaded to obey, the use and reputation of oratory among the ancient Arabs is the clearest evidence of public freedom.† But their simple freedom was of a very different cast from the nice and artificial machinery of the Greek and Roman republics, in which each member possessed an undivided share of the civil and political rights of the community. In the more simple state of the Arabs, the nation is free, because each of her sons disdains a base submission to the will of a master. His breast is fortified with the austere virtues of courage, patience, and sobriety; the love of independence prompts him to exercise the habits of self-command; and the fear of dishonour guards him from the meaner apprehension of pain, of danger, and of death. The gravity and firmness of the mind are conspicuous in his outward demea-

history. Zedler, 19. 1160.—ED.]

* Ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων μὴ ἐξελθειν is the report of Agatharcides (De Mari Rubro, p. 63, 64, in Hudson, tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. 3, c. 47, p. 215), and Strabo (l. 16, p. 1124). But I much suspect that this is one of the popular tales, or extraordinary accidents, which the credulity of travellers so often transforms into a fact, a custom, and a law.

† Non gloriabantur antiquitus Arabes, nisi gladio, hospite, et *eloquentiâ*. (Sephadius, apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 161, 162.) This gift of speech they shared only with the Persians; and the sententious Arabs would probably have disdained the simple and sublime logic of

nour: his speech is slow, weighty, and concise; he is seldom provoked to laughter; his only gesture is that of stroking his beard, the venerable symbol of manhood; and the sense of his own importance teaches him to accost his equals without levity, and his superiors without awe.* The liberty of the Saracens survived their conquests; the first caliphs indulged the bold and familiar language of their subjects; they ascended the pulpit to persuade and edify the congregation; nor was it before the seat of empire was removed to the Tigris, that the Abbassides adopted the proud and pompous ceremonial of the Persian and Byzantine courts.

In the study of nations and men we may observe the causes that render them hostile or friendly to each other, that tend to narrow or enlarge, to mollify or exasperate, the social character. The separation of the Arabs from the rest of mankind has accustomed them to confound the ideas of stranger and enemy; and the poverty of the land has introduced a maxim of jurisprudence, which they believe and practise to the present hour. They pretend, that, in the division of the earth, the rich and fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the human family; and that the posterity of the outlaw Ishmael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived. According to the remark of Pliny, the Arabian tribes are equally addicted to theft and merchandise; the caravans that traverse the desert are ransomed or pillaged; and their neighbours, since the remote times of Job and Sesostris,† have been the victims of their rapacious

Demosthenes.

* I must remind the reader, that D'Arvieux, D'Herbelot, and Niebuhr, represent, in the most lively colours, the manners and government of the Arabs, which are illustrated by many incidental passages in the life of Mahomet.

† Observe the first chapter of Job, and the long wall of one thousand five hundred stadia which Sesostris built from Pelusium to Heliopolis. (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. 1, p. 67.) Under the name of *Hycsos*, the shepherd kings, they had formerly subdued Egypt. (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 98—163, &c.) [On the obscure and unprofitable subject of the *Hyksos*, M. Hoffmann furnished a learned dissertation for Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia (sec. 2, part 12, p. 403). He explored his difficult way by the feeble light borrowed from Manetho through Josephus, and not brightened by Eusebius. But his labours lead to nothing. Some have interpreted the term *Hyksos*, not shepherd-*kings*, but shepherd-*captives*, and so made it applicable to the Children of Israel. The Egyptian Chronology of

spirit. If a Bedoween discovers from afar a solitary traveller, he rides furiously against him, crying, with a loud voice, "Undress thyself, thy aunt (my wife) is without a garment." A ready submission entitles him to mercy; resistance will provoke the aggressor, and his own blood must expiate the blood which he presumes to shed in legitimate defence. A single robber, or a few associates, are branded with their genuine name; but the exploits of a numerous band assume the character of lawful and honourable war. The temper of a people thus armed against mankind, was doubly inflamed by the domestic licence of rapine, murder, and revenge. In the constitution of Europe, the right of peace and war is now confined to a small, and the actual exercise to a much smaller, list of respectable potentates; but each Arab, with impunity and renown, might point his javelin against the life of his countryman. The union of the nation consisted only in a vague resemblance of language and manners; and in each community, the jurisdiction of the magistrate was mute and impotent. Of the time of ignorance which preceded Mahomet, seventeen hundred battles* are recorded by tradition: hostility was imbittered with the rancour of civil faction: and the recital, in prose or verse, of an obsolete

Dr. Lepsius (Berlin, 1849) may be consulted on this subject. English readers will find extracts from it appended to Bohn's edition of the same author's Letters from Egypt. See pp. 410—428, 476—488. It is very improbable that the desultory movements of the Arab tribes were ever combined, before the time of Mahomet, into the systematic co-operation necessary for the conquest of a country like Egypt. They may have disturbed, by predatory incursions, the more civilized land, which experienced the same annoyance from all its ruder neighbours on every side. If Sesostris actually built the "long wall" attributed to him, the cited passage in Diodorus Siculus proves that it was intended as a line of defence against the Syrians as well as the Arabs. The shepherd-kings of Abyssinia have been brought more directly into connection with plain history. See note, ch. 42, vol. iv, p. 493. The Arabian writers whom Condé follows, divide their nation into "two classes, one of which dwelt exclusively in towns; the other was composed of shepherds." (Hist. vol. i. p. 31.) Most early nations had their shepherd-class, some of which, belonging to distinct nations, appear to have been confounded and blended erroneously into one.—ED.]

* Or, according to another account, one thousand two hundred (D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 75); the two historians who wrote of the *Ayam al Arab*, the battles of the Arabs, lived in the ninth and tenth century. The famous war of Dahes and Gabrah was occasioned by two horses, lasted forty years, and ended in a proverb. (Pocock, Specimen, p. 48.)

feud, was sufficient to rekindle the same passions among the descendants of the hostile tribes. In private life, every man, at least every family, was the judge and avenger of its own cause. The nice sensibility of honour, which weighs the insult rather than the injury, sheds its deadly venom on the quarrels of the Arabs; the honour of their women, and of their *beards*, is most easily wounded; an indecent action, a contemptuous word, can be expiated only by the blood of the offender; and such is their patient inveteracy, that they expect whole months and years the opportunity of revenge. A fine or compensation for murder is familiar to the Barbarians of every age: but in Arabia the kinsmen of the dead are at liberty to accept the atonement, or to exercise with their own hands the law of retaliation. The refined malice of the Arabs refuses even the head of the murderer, substitutes an innocent for the guilty person, and transfers the penalty to the best and most considerable of the race by whom they have been injured. If he falls by their hands, they are exposed in their turn to the danger of reprisals, the interest and principal of the bloody debt are accumulated; the individuals of either family lead a life of malice and suspicion, and fifty years may sometimes elapse before the account of vengeance be finally settled.* This sanguinary spirit, ignorant of pity or forgiveness, has been moderated, however, by the maxims of honour, which require in every private encounter some decent equality of age and strength, of numbers and weapons. An annual festival of two, perhaps of four, months, was observed by the Arabs before the time of Mahomet, during which their swords were religiously sheathed both in foreign and domestic hostility; and this partial truce is more strongly expressive of the habits of anarchy and warfare.†

But the spirit of rapine and revenge was attempered by the milder influence of trade and literature. The solitary

* The modern theory and practice of the Arabs in the revenge of murder are described by Niebuhr (Description, p. 26—31). The harsher features of antiquity may be traced in the Koran, c. 2, p. 20; c. 17, p. 230, with Sale's observations.

† Procopius (De Bell. Persic. l. 1, c. 16) places the *two* holy months about the summer solstice. The Arabians consecrate *four* months of the year—the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth; and pretend, that in a long series of ages the truce was infringed only four or six times. (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 147—150, and Notes on the ninth chapter of

peninsula was encompassed by the most civilized nations of the ancient world; the merchant is the friend of mankind: and the annual caravans imported the first seeds of knowledge and politeness into the cities, and even the camps of the desert. Whatever may be the pedigree of the Arabs, their language is derived from the same original stock with the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Chaldean tongues; the independence of the tribes was marked by their peculiar dialects;* but each, after their own, allowed a just preference to the pure and perspicuous idiom of Mecca. In Arabia as well as in Greece, the perfection of language outstripped the refinement of manners; and her speech could diversify the fourscore names of honey, the two hundred of a serpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thousand of a sword, at a time when this copious dictionary was intrusted to the memory of an illiterate people.† The monuments of the Homerites were inscribed with an obsolete and mysterious character; but the Cufic letters, the groundwork of the present alphabet, were invented on the banks of the Euphrates; and the recent invention was taught at Mecca by a stranger who settled in that city after the birth of Mahomet. The arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric, were unknown to the

the Koran, p. 154, &c. Casiri, Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. ii. p. 20, 21.)

* Arrian, in the second century, remarks (in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p. 12) the partial or total difference of the dialects of the Arabs. Their language and letters are copiously treated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 150—154), Casiri (Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 1. 83. 292; tom. ii. p. 25, &c.), and Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 72—86). I pass slightly; I am not fond of repeating words like a parrot.

† [Is it the "perfection of language" to have from a hundred to a thousand different names for the same object? Bruce (Travels, i. 522) characterizes it more truly as confusion, not copiousness. "Instead of distinct names," he says, "these are only different epithets;" and he attributes them to the "mixture of so many nations meeting and trading at Mecca." This may partly account for them. But M. Niebuhr (p. 73) indicates a more general cause. "No language," he says, "has so many dialects and varieties of pronunciation." This is a natural consequence of the native mode of life. Separate tribes, or even families, wandering detached from each other, insensibly change their tones of utterance, and invent words or names as required. Through want of intercourse, a language originally one, thus became diffluent into many. According to Condé (p. 32), "The science on which the Arabs most prided themselves, was that of their own language and its different modifications." Yet they never imparted to it the simplicity and precision which constitute the nearest approaches to perfection.—ED.]

freeborn eloquence of the Arabians; but their penetration was sharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit strong and sententious,* and their more elaborate compositions were addressed with energy and effect to the minds of their hearers. The genius and merit of a rising poet were celebrated by the applause of his own and the kindred tribes. A solemn banquet was prepared, and a chorus of women, striking their tymbals, and displaying the pomp of their nuptials, sang in the presence of their sons and husbands the felicity of their native tribe; that a champion had now appeared to vindicate their rights; that a herald had raised his voice to immortalize their renown. The distant or hostile tribes resorted to an annual fair, which was abolished by the fanaticism of the first Moslems; a national assembly, that must have contributed to refine and harmonize the barbarians.† Thirty days were employed in the exchange, not only of corn and wine, but of eloquence and poetry. The prize was disputed by the generous emulation of the bards; the victorious performance was deposited in the archives of princes and emirs, and we may read, in our own language, the seven original poems which were inscribed in letters of gold, and suspended in the temple of Mecca.‡ The Arabian poets were the historians and moralists of the

* A familiar tale in Voltaire's Zadig (le Chien et le Cheval) is related to prove the natural sagacity of the Arabs (D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 120, 121. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 37—46), but D'Arvieux, or rather La Roque (Voyage de Palestine, p. 92), denies the boasted superiority of the Bedoweens. The one hundred and sixty-nine sentences of Ali, translated by Ockley, London, 1718, (Bohn's edit. p. 337,) afford a just and favourable specimen of Arabian wit.

† [This annual fair originated in the resort of pilgrims to the Caaba of Mecca. By the suppression of idolatry, the Mahometans prevented for a time this long-accustomed concourse of strangers. Their own pilgrimages were instituted to revive the meetings and restore the profitable traffic to the people of the town. But the *giaours* were excluded, so that the faithful alone might reap all its advantages.—ED.]

‡ Pocock (Specimen, p. 158—161) and Casiri (Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 48. 84, &c. 119; tom. ii. p. 17, &c.) speak of the Arabian poets before Mahomet; the seven poems of the Caaba have been published in English by Sir William Jones; but his honourable mission to India has deprived us of his own notes, far more interesting than the obscure and obsolete text. [Arabian poetry, like that of all rude nations, shows how mind improves its own resources and effects its progress. Condé, in his Preface, p. 20, says that these compositions have both metre and rhyme, and asserts the Arabic origin of our metres.—ED.]

age; and if they sympathized with the prejudices, they inspired and crowned the virtues, of their countrymen. The indissoluble union of generosity and valour was the darling theme of their song; and when they pointed their keenest satire against a despicable race, they affirmed, in the bitterness of reproach, that the men knew not how to give, nor the women to deny.* The same hospitality, which was practised by Abraham and celebrated by Homer, is still renewed in the camps of the Arabs.† The ferocious Bedoweens, the terror of the desert, embrace, without inquiry or hesitation, the stranger who dares to confide in their honour and to enter their tent. His treatment is kind and respectful; he shares the wealth or the poverty of his host; and, after a needful repose, he is dismissed on his way, with thanks, with blessings, and perhaps with gifts. The heart and hand are more largely expanded by the wants of a brother or a friend; but the heroic acts that could deserve the public applause, must have surpassed the narrow measure of discretion and experience. A dispute had arisen, who, among the citizens of Mecca, was entitled to the prize of generosity, and a successive application was made to the three who were deemed most worthy of the trial. Abdallah, the son of Abbas, had undertaken a distant journey, and his foot was in the stirrup, when he heard the voice of a suppliant,—"O son of the uncle of the apostle of God, I am a traveller and in distress!" He instantly dismounted to present the pilgrim with his camel, her rich caparison, and a purse of four thousand pieces of gold, excepting only the sword, either for its intrinsic value, or as the gift of an honoured kinsman. The servant of Kais informed the second suppliant that his master was asleep; but he immediately added, "Here is a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold (it is all we have in the house), and here is an order, that will entitle you to a camel and a slave:" the master, as soon as he awoke, praised and enfranchised his faithful steward with a gentle reproof, that, by respecting his slumbers, he had stinted his bounty. The third of these heroes, the blind Arabah, at the hour of prayer, was supporting his steps on the shoulders of two slaves. "Alas!" he replied, "my coffers are empty! but these you may sell; if you refuse, I renounce

* Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 29, 30.

† [This still characterizes the Arab sheikhs of the present time. See Layard, N. & B. p. 289.—Ed.]

them." At these words, pushing away the youths, he groped along the wall with his staff. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabian virtue:* he was brave and liberal, an eloquent poet and a successful robber: forty camels were roasted at his hospitable feast; and at the prayer of a suppliant enemy, he restored both the captives and the spoil. The freedom of his countrymen disdained the laws of justice; they proudly indulged the spontaneous impulse of pity and benevolence.

The religion of the Arabs,† as well as of the Indians, consisted in the worship of the sun, moon, and the fixed stars, a primitive and specious mode of superstition. The bright luminaries of the sky display the visible image of a deity; their number and distance convey to a philosophic, or even a vulgar eye, the idea of boundless space; the character of eternity is marked on these solid globes, that seem incapable of corruption or decay; the regularity of their motions may be ascribed to a principle of reason or instinct; and their real or imaginary influence encourages the vain belief, that the earth and its inhabitants are the objects of their peculiar care. The science of astronomy was cultivated at Babylon; but the school of the Arabs was a clear firmament and a naked plain. In their nocturnal marches, they steered by the guidance of the stars; their names, and order, and daily station, were familiar to the curiosity and devotion of the Bedoween; and he was taught by experience to divide, in twenty-eight parts, the zodiac of the moon, and to bless the constellations which refreshed, with salutary rains, the thirst of the desert. The reign of the heavenly orbs could not be extended beyond the visible sphere; and some metaphysical powers were

* D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 458. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 118. Caab and Hesnus (Pocock, Specimen, p. 43. 46. 48) were likewise conspicuous for their liberality; and the latter is elegantly praised by an Arabian poet:—"Videbis eum cum accesseris exultantem, ac si dares illi quod ab illo petis."

† Whatever can now be known of the idolatry of the ancient Arabians, may be found in Pocock. (Specimen, p. 89—136. 163, 164.) His profound erudition is more clearly and concisely interpreted by Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 14—24), and Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 580—590) has added some valuable remarks. [Condé (p. 31) assigns to different tribes their respective objects of worship. —Ed.]

necessary to sustain the transmigration of souls and the resurrection of bodies: a camel was left to perish on the grave, that he might serve his master in another life; and the invocation of departed spirits implies that they were still endowed with consciousness and power. I am ignorant, and I am careless, of the blind mythology of the Barbarians; of the local deities of the stars, the air, and the earth, of their sex or titles, their attributes or subordination. Each tribe, each family, each independent warrior, created and changed the rites and the object of his fantastic worship; but the nation, in every age, has bowed to the religion, as well as to the language, of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the CAABA ascends beyond the Christian era: in describing the coast of the Red Sea, the Greek historian Diodorus * has remarked, between the Thamudites and the Sabæans, a famous temple, whose superior sanctity was revered by *all* the Arabians; the linen or silken veil, which is annually renewed by the Turkish emperor, was first

* Ἱερὸν ἁγιώτατον ἵδρυται τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πάντων Ἀράβων περιττότερον. (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. 3, p. 211.) The character and position are so correctly apposite, that I am surprised how this curious passage should have been read without notice or application. Yet this famous temple had been overlooked by Agatharcides (De Mari Rubro, p. 58, in Hudson, tom. i.), whom Diodorus copies in the rest of the description. Was the Sicilian more knowing than the Egyptian? Or was the Caaba built between the years of Rome 650 and 746, the dates of their respective histories? (Dodwell, in Dissert. ad tom. i. Hudson, p. 72. Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 770.) [The *Caaba* was properly the black stone, preserved in the temple, or *Becca*. In the course of time the name was extended to the building itself. This stone, like that of Elagabalus at Emesa (see ch. 6, vol. i, p. 184), was no doubt an aërolite, which sanctified the spot on which it fell. Similar stones were venerated in other parts of the East, and a temple dedicated to the superstition was called Bethel—the House of God. Hence the Greeks had their custom, their fable, and the name of *Baityla*. The Roman worship of Terminus and ceremony of anointing and garlanding the *lapides terminales* had probably the same origin, but took the more useful course of preserving boundary-marks and determining distances. The temple of the Caaba is a small square tower in the middle of the inclosed quadrangle, and the black stone, encircled with silver, is worked into one of its walls. The veil is a band of silk, with inscriptions in letters of gold carried round the edifice. Niebuhr's Arabia, p. 318. A dissertation by Lieut. Wilford in the Asiatic Researches (Supp. to Sir Wm. Jones's Works, ii. 757), makes this temple coeval with Semiramis; others ascribe it to Sesostris, and some devout Mussulmans assert that the stone was the patriarch Jacob's

offered by a pious king of the Homerites, who reigned seven hundred years before the time of Mahomet.* A tent or a cavern might suffice for the worship of the savages, but an edifice of stone and clay has been erected in its place; and the art and power of the monarchs of the East have been confined to the simplicity of the original model.† A spacious portico encloses the quadrangle of the Caaba; a square chapel, twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-seven high; a door and a window admit the light; the double roof is supported by three pillars of wood; a spout (now of gold) discharges the rain-water, and the well Zemzem is protected by a dome from accidental pollution. The tribe of Koreish, by fraud or force, had acquired the custody of the Caaba; the sacerdotal office devolved through four lineal descents to the grandfather of Mahomet; and the family of the Hashemites, from whence he sprang, was the most respectable and sacred in the eyes of their country.‡ The precincts of Mecca enjoyed the rights of sanctuary; and, in the last month of each year, the city and the temple were crowded with a long train of pilgrims, who presented their vows and offerings in the house of God. The same rites, which are now accomplished by the faithful Mussulman, were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments; seven times, with hasty steps, they encircled the Caaba, and kissed the black stone; seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina; and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a

pillow.—ED.]

* Pocock, Specimen, p. 60, 61. From the death of Mahomet we ascend to 68, from his birth to 129, years before the Christian era. The veil or curtain, which is now of silk and gold, was no more than a piece of Egpytian linen. (Abulfeda, in Vit. Mohammed. c. 6, p. 14.)

† The original plan of the Caaba (which is servilely copied in Sale, the Universal History, &c.), was a Turkish draught, which Reland (de Religione Mohammedicâ, p. 113—123) has corrected and explained from the best authorities. For the description and legend of the Caaba, consult Pocock (Specimen, p. 115—122), the Bibliothèque Orientale of D'Herbelot (*Caaba, Hagiar, Zemzem,* &c.) and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 114—122).

‡ Cosa, the fifth ancestor of Mahomet, must have usurped the Caaba A.D. 440, but the story is differently told by Jannabi (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 65—69) and by Abulfeda (in Vit. Moham-

sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground. Each tribe either found or introduced in the Caaba their domestic worship; the temple was adorned, or defiled, with three hundred and sixty idols of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes; and most conspicuous was the statue of Hebal, of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, the instruments and symbols of profane divination. But this statue was a monument of Syrian arts: the devotion of the ruder ages was content with a pillar or a tablet; and the rocks of the desert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black stone * of Mecca, which is deeply tainted with the reproach of an idolatrous origin. From Japan to Peru, the use of sacrifice has universally prevailed; and the votary has expressed his gratitude or fear by destroying or consuming, in honour of the gods, the dearest and most precious of their gifts. The life of a man† is the most precious oblation to deprecate a public calamity; the altars of Phœnicia and Egypt, of Rome and Carthage, have been polluted with human gore; the cruel practice was long preserved among the Arabs; in the third century, a boy was annually sacrificed by the tribe of the Dumatians,‡ and a royal captive was piously slaughtered by the prince of the Saracens, the ally and soldier of the emperor Justinian.§

c. 6, p. 13).

* In the second century, Maximus of Tyre attributes to the Arabs the worship of a stone—Ἀράβιοι σέβουσι μὲν, ὄντινα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶδον· λίθος ἦν τετραγωνος, (Dissert. 8, tom. i. p. 142, edit. Reiske) and the reproach is furiously re-echoed by the Christians. (Clemens Alex. in Protreptico, p. 40. Arnobius contra Gentes, l. 6, p. 246.) Yet these stones were no other than the *βαίτυλα* of Syria and Greece, so renowned in sacred and profane antiquity. (Euseb. Præp. Evangel. l. 1, p. 37. Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 54—56.)

† The two horrid subjects of Ἀνδροθυσία and Παιδοθυσία, are accurately discussed by the learned Sir John Marsham. (Canon. Chron. p. 76—78. 301—304.) Sanchoniatho derives the Phœnician sacrifices from the example of Chronus; but we are ignorant whether Chronus lived before or after Abraham, or indeed whether he lived at all.

‡ Κατ' ἐτὸς ἕκαστον παῖδα ἔθνον, is the reproach of Porphyry; but he likewise imputes to the Romans the same barbarous custom, which A.U.C. 657, had been finally abolished. Dumætha, Daumat al Gendal, is noticed by Ptolemy (Tabul. p. 37. Arabia, p. 9—29) and Abulfeda (p. 57), and may be found in D'Anville's maps, in the mid-desert between Chaibar and Tadmor.

§ Procopius (de Bell. Persico, l. 1, c. 28), Evagrius (l. 6, c. 21), and

A parent who drags his son to the altar, exhibits the most painful and sublime effort of fanaticism: the deed, or the intention, was sanctified by the example of saints and heroes; and the father of Mahomet himself was devoted by a rash vow, and hardly ransomed for the equivalent of a hundred camels. In the time of ignorance, the Arabs, like the Jews and Egyptians, abstained from the taste of swine's flesh;* they circumcised † their children at the age of puberty; the same customs, without the censure or the precept of the Koran, have been silently transmitted to their posterity and proselytes. It has been sagaciously conjectured, that the artful legislator indulged the stubborn prejudices of his countrymen. It is more simple to believe that he adhered to the habits and opinions of his youth, without foreseeing that a practice congenial to the climate of Mecca, might become useless or inconvenient on the banks of the Danube or the Volga.

Arabia was free: the adjacent kingdoms were shaken by the storms of conquest and tyranny, and the persecuted sects fled to the happy land where they might profess what they thought, and practise what they professed. The religions of the Sabians and Magians, of the Jews and Christians, were disseminated from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. In a remote period of antiquity, Sabianism was diffused over Asia by the science of the Chaldeans ‡ and the

Pocock (Specimen, p. 72. 86), attest the human sacrifices of the Arabs in the sixth century. The danger and escape of Abdallah is a tradition rather than a fact. (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 82—84.)

* Suillis carnibus abstinent, says Solinus (Polyhistor, c. 33), who copies Pliny (l. 8, c. 68), in the strange supposition that hogs cannot live in Arabia. The Egyptians were actuated by a natural and superstitious horror for that unclean beast. (Marsham, Canon. p. 205.) The old Arabians likewise practised, *post coitum*, the rite of ablution (Herodot. l. 1, c. 80), which is sanctified by the Mahometan law. (Reland, p. 75, &c. Chardin, or rather the *Mollah* of Shaw Abbas, tom. iv. p. 71, &c.) [In the sultry climes of the East, the flesh of swine was found to be an unwholesome viand. The use of it was prohibited also in the temple of Comana. See note, ch. 17, vol. ii. p. 228.—Ed.]

† The Mahometan doctors are not fond of the subject; yet they hold circumcision necessary to salvation, and even pretend that Mahomet was miraculously born without a foreskin. (Pocock, Specimen, p. 319, 320. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 106, 107.)

‡ Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. 2, p. 142—145) has cast on their religion the curious but superficial glance of a Greek.

arms of the Assyrians. From the observations of two thousand years, the priests and astronomers of Babylon* deduced the eternal laws of nature and Providence. They adored the seven gods or angels who directed the course of the seven planets, and shed their irresistible influence on the earth. The attributes of the seven planets, with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations of the northern and southern hemisphere, were represented by images and talismans; the seven days of the week were dedicated to their respective deities; the Sabians prayed thrice each day; and the temple of the moon at Haran was the term of their pilgrimage.† But the flexible genius of their faith was always ready either to teach or to learn; in the tradition of the creation, the deluge, and the patriarchs, they held a singular agreement with their Jewish captives; they appealed to the secret books of Adam, Seth, and Enoch; and a slight infusion of the gospel has transformed the last remnant of the Polytheists into the Christians of St. John, in the territory of Bassora.‡ The altars of Babylon were overturned by the Magians; but the injuries of the Sabians were revenged by the sword of Alexander; Persia groaned above five hundred years under a foreign yoke; and the purest disciples of Zoroaster escaped from the contagion of idolatry, and breathed with their adversaries the freedom of the desert.§ Seven hundred

Their astronomy would be far more valuable; they had looked through the telescope of reason, since they could doubt whether the sun were in the number of the planets or of the fixed stars.

* Simplicius (who quotes Porphyry) de Cælo, l. 2, com. 46, p. 123, lin. 18, apud Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 474, who doubts the fact, because it is adverse to his systems. The earliest date of the Chaldean observations is the year 2234 before Christ. After the conquest of Babylon by Alexander, they were communicated, at the request of Aristotle, to the astronomer Hipparchus. What a moment in the annals of science!

† Pocock (Specimen, p. 138—146), Hottinger (Hist. Oriental. p. 162—203), Hyde (de Religione Vet. Persarum, p. 124, 128, &c.), D'Herbelot (*Sabi*, p. 725, 726), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 14, 15), rather excite than gratify our curiosity; and the last of these writers confounds Sabianism with the primitive religion of the Arabs.

‡ D'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 130—147) will fix the position of these ambiguous Christians; Assemannus (Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iv. p. 607—614), may explain their tenets. But it is a slippery task to ascertain the creed of an ignorant people, afraid and ashamed to disclose their secret traditions.

§ The Magi were fixed in the province of

years before the death of Mahomet, the Jews were settled in Arabia; and a far greater multitude was expelled from the holy land in the wars of Titus and Hadrian. The industrious exiles aspired to liberty and power; they erected synagogues in the cities and castles in the wilderness, and their gentile converts were confounded with the children of Israel, whom they resembled in the outward mark of circumcision. The Christian missionaries were still more active and successful; the Catholics asserted their universal reign; the sects whom they oppressed successively retired beyond the limits of the Roman empire; the Marcionites and the Manichæans dispersed their *fantastic* opinions and apocryphal gospels; the churches of Yemen, and the princes of Hira and Gassan, were instructed in a purer creed by the Jacobite and Nestorian bishops.* The liberty of choice was presented to the tribes; each Arab was free to elect or to compose his private religion; and the rude superstition of his house was mingled with the sublime theology of saints and philosophers. A fundamental article of faith was inculcated by the consent of the learned strangers; the existence of one supreme God, who is exalted above the powers of heaven and earth, but who has often revealed himself to mankind by the ministry of his angels and prophets, and whose grace or justice has interrupted, by seasonable miracles, the order of nature. The most rational of the Arabs acknowledged his power, though they neglected his worship;† and it was habit rather than conviction that still attached them to the relics of idolatry. The Jews and Christians were the people of the *Book:* the Bible was already translated into the Arabic language;‡ and the volume of the

Bahrein (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 114) and mingled with the old Arabians. (Pocock, Specimen, p. 146—150.)

* The state of the Jews and Christians in Arabia is described by Pocock from Sharestani, &c. (Specimen, p. 60. 134, &c.) Hottinger (Hist. Orient. p. 212—238), D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 474—476), Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 185; tom. viii. p. 280), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 22, &c. 33, &c.

† In their offerings, it was a maxim to defraud God for the profit of the idol, not a more potent, but a more irritable, patron. (Pocock, Specimen, p. 108, 109.)

‡ Our versions now extant, whether Jewish or Christian, appear more recent than the Koran; but the existence of a prior translation may be fairly inferred,—1. From

Old Testament was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth and promises of Ismael; revered the faith and virtue of Abraham; traced his pedigree and their own to the creation of the first man, and imbibed with equal credulity, the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish rabbis.

The base and plebeian origin of Mahomet is an unskilful calumny of the Christians,* who exalt instead of degrading the merit of their adversary. His descent from Ismael was a national privilege or fable; but if the first steps of the pedigree † are dark and doubtful, he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility: he sprang from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba. The grandfather of Mahomet was Abdol Motalleb, the son of Hashem, a wealthy

the perpetual practice of the synagogue, of expounding the Hebrew lesson by a paraphrase in the vulgar tongue of the country. 2. From the analogy of the Armenian, Persian, Æthiopic versions, expressly quoted by the fathers of the fifth century, who assert, that the Scriptures were translated into *all* the Barbaric languages. (Walton, Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglot. p. 34. 93—97. Simon, Hist. Critique du V. et du N. Testament, tom. i. p. 180, 181. 282—286. 293. 305, 306; tom. iv. p. 206.)

* In eo conveniunt omnes ut plebeio vilique genere ortum, &c. (Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 136.) Yet Theophanes, the most ancient of the Greeks, and the father of many a lie, confesses that Mahomet was of the race of Ismael, ἐκ μιᾶς γενικωτάτης φυλῆς. (Chonograph. p. 277.) [Professor Smyth, in his Lectures on Modern History (p. 65), characterizes as "splendid and complete," Gibbon's account of the Arabian legislator and prophet. "The historian," he says, "has descended on this magnificent subject in all the fulness of his strength;" and concludes by adding, that to read this chapter, after travelling through the same subject in other volumes, is "to turn from the sands and rocks of the wilderness to the happy land of fertility and freshness, where every landscape is luxuriance and every gale is odour."—ED.]

† Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 1, 2) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, p. 25—97) describe the popular and approved genealogy of the prophet. At Mecca, I would not dispute its authenticity: at Lausanne, I will venture to observe, 1. *That* from Ismael to Mahomet, a period of two thousand five hundred years, they reckon thirty, instead of seventy-five generations. 2. *That* the modern Bedoweens are ignorant of their history and careless of their pedigree. (Voyage

and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was saved by the courage of the son. The kingdom of Yemen was subject to the Christian princes of Abyssinia: their vassal Abrahah was provoked by an insult to avenge the honour of the cross; and the holy city was invested by a train of elephants and an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed; and in the first audience, the grandfather of Mahomet demanded the restitution of his cattle. "And why," said Abrahah, "do you not rather implore my clemency in favour of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy?" "Because," replied the intrepid chief, "the cattle is my own; the Caaba belongs to the gods, and they will defend their house from injury and sacrilege." The want of provisions, or the valour of the Koreish, compelled the Abyssinians to a disgraceful retreat: their discomfiture has been adorned with a miraculous flight of birds, who showered down stones on the heads of the infidels; and the deliverance was long commemorated by the era of the elephant.* The glory of

de D'Arvieux, p. 100. 103.)

* The seed of this history, or fable, is contained in the one hundred and fifth chapter of the Koran, and Gagnier (in Præfat. ad Vit. Moham. p. 18, &c.) has translated the historical narrative of Abulfeda, which may be illustrated from D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 12) and Pocock (Specimen, p. 64). Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 48) calls it a lie of the coinage of Mahomet; but Sale (Koran, p. 501—503), who is half a Mussulman, attacks the inconsistent faith of the doctor for believing the miracles of the Delphic Apollo. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. part 2, p. 14; tom. ii. p. 823) ascribes the miracle to the devil, and extorts from the Mahometans the confession, that God would not have defended against the Christians the idols of the Caaba. [For the more consistent narrative of these events by the Abyssinian annalists, see notes to ch. 42 (vol. iv. p. 493), and ch. 46 (p. 138 of this vol.). By the same authorities it is farther said, that Abreha having granted privileges to a church in the land of the Homerites, for the purpose of attracting to it a concourse of pilgrims and merchants, like that which frequented the Caaba, the Beni Koreish, in his absence, attacked and polluted the new rival temple. To revenge this outrage, Abreha, mounted on a white elephant (whence his expedition is known as "the war of the elephant") led an army to destroy the Caaba. A disease, unknown before to the Abyssinians, and supposed to have been the small-pox, broke out among his troops and caused him to retire precipitately. The grandfather of Mahomet is there called Abu Thaleb, to which name his fourth son, the father of Ali, must in that case have succeeded. The

Abdol Motalleb was crowned with domestic happiness; his life was prolonged to the age of one hundred and ten years; and he became the father of six daughters and thirteen sons. His best beloved Abdallah was the most beautiful and modest of the Arabian youth; and in the first night, when he consummated his marriage with Amina, of the noble race of the Zahrites, two hundred virgins are said to have expired of jealousy and despair. Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed,* the only son of Abdallah and Amina, was born at Mecca, four years after the death of Justinian, and two months after the defeat of the Abyssinians,† whose victory would have introduced into the Caaba the religion of the Christians. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; his uncles were strong and numerous; and in the division of the inheritance the orphan's share was reduced to five camels and an Ethiopian maid-servant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Abu Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the service of Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. The marriage-contract, in the simple style of antiquity, recites the mutual love of Mahomet and Cadija; describes him as the most

date of these events is about the year 521, and from documents which Bruce had before him, he deduced that Mahomet was born in 553. Dean Prideaux's extraordinary belief in the supernatural defeat of the Gauls at Delphi is avowed in his Connection, vol. ii. p. 21.—ED.]

* [The Arabians pronounce the name of their prophet *Muhammed* or *Mohammed*, and derive it from the past participle of their verb *hamada*, to praise. Zedler, 19, 482. Note to Bohn's Ockley, p. 1.—ED.]

† The safest eras of Abulfeda (in Vit. c. 1, p. 2), of Alexander, or the Greeks, 882, of Bocht Naser or Nabonasser, 1316, equally lead us to the year 569. The old Arabian calendar is too dark and uncertain to support the Benedictines (Art de Verifier les Dates, p. 15), who from the day of the month and week deduce a new mode of calculation, and remove the birth of Mahomet to the year of Christ 570, the 10th of November. Yet this date would agree with the year 882 of the Greeks, which is assigned by Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 5) and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 101, and Errata, Pocock's version). While we refine our chronology, it is possible that the illiterate prophet was ignorant of his own age. [Some modern writers fix A.D. 571, as the year of Mahomet's birth. Cludius. Mohammed's Religion, &c. p. 21. —GUIZOT.] [Condé, i. 34, gives A.D. 572. Clinton avoids this disputed

accomplished of the tribe of Koreish; and stipulates a dowry of twelve ounces of gold and twenty camels, which was supplied by the liberality of his uncle.* By this alliance the son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his ancestors; and the judicious matron was content with his domestic virtues, till, in the fortieth year of his age,† he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

According to the tradition of his companions, Mahomet‡ was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue. In the familiar offices of life he scrupulously adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeness of his country: his respectful attention to the rich and powerful was dignified by his condescension and affability to the poorest citizens of Mecca: the frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views: and the habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship or universal benevolence. His me-

point.—ED.]

* I copy the honourable testimony of Abu Taleb to his family and nephew. Laus Dei, qui nos a stirpe Abrahami et semine Ismaelis constituit, et nobis regionem sacram dedit, et nos judices hominibus statuit. Porro Mohammed filius Abdollahi nepotis mei (*nepos meus*) quo cum ex æquo librabitur e Koraishidis quispiam cui non præponderaturus est bonitate et excellentiâ, et intellectû et gloria, et acumine, etsi opum inops fuerit (et certe opes umbra transiens sunt et depositum quod reddi debet), desiderio Chadijæ filiæ Chowailedi tenetur, et illa vicissim ipsius, quicquid autem dotis vice petieritis, ego in me suscipiam (Pocock, Specimen, e septimâ parte libri Ebn Hamduni).

† The private life of Mahomet, from his birth to his mission, is preserved by Abulfeda (in Vit. c. 3—7), and the Arabian writers of genuine or apocryphal note, who are alleged by Hottinger (Hist. Orient. p. 204—211), Maracci (tom. i. p. 10—14), and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 97—134).

‡ Abulfeda (in Vit. c. 65, 66), Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 272—289), the best traditions of the person and conversation of the prophet are derived from Ayesha, Ali, and Abu Horaira (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 267. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 149), surnamed the father of a cat, who died in the year 59 of the Hegira.

mory was capacious and retentive, his wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive. He possessed the courage both of thought and action; and, although his designs might gradually expand with his success, the first idea which he entertained of his divine mission bears the stamp of an original and superior genius. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in the use of the purest dialect, of Arabia; and the fluency of his speech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence. With these powers of eloquence, Mahomet was an illiterate Barbarian: his youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing;* the common ignorance exempted him from shame or reproach, but he was reduced to a narrow circle of existence, and deprived of those faithful mirrors, which reflect to our mind the minds of sages and heroes. Yet the book of nature and of man was open to his view; and some fancy has been indulged in the political and philosophical observations which are ascribed to the Arabian *traveller*.† He compares the nations and the reli-

* Those who believe that Mahomet could read or write, are incapable of reading what is written, with another pen, in the Suras, or chapters of the Koran, 7. 29. 96. These texts, and the tradition of the Sonna, are admitted, without doubt, by Abulfeda (in Vit. c. 7); Gagnier (Not. ad Abulfed. p. 15); Pocock (Specimen, p. 151); Reland (de Religione Mohammedicâ, p. 236); and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 42). Mr. White, almost alone, denies the ignorance, to accuse the imposture, of the prophet. His arguments are far from satisfactory. Two short trading journeys to the fairs of Syria were surely not sufficient to infuse a science so rare among the citizens of Mecca; it was not in the cool deliberate act of a treaty that Mahomet would have dropped the mask; nor can any conclusion be drawn from the words of disease and delirium. The *lettered* youth, before he aspired to the prophetic character, must have often exercised, in private life, the arts of reading and writing; and his first converts of his own family would have been the first to detect and upbraid his scandalous hypocrisy. (White's Sermons, p. 203, 204. Notes, p. 36—38.)

† The count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomed, p. 202—228,) leads his Arabian pupil, like the Telemachus of Fenelon, or the Cyrus of Ramsay. His journey to the court of Persia is probably a fiction; nor can I trace the origin of his exclamation, "Les Grecs sont pourtant des hommes." The two Syrian journeys are expressed by almost all the Arabian writers, both Mahometans and Christians. (Gagnier, ad Abulfed. p. 10.) [Ockley (p. 9) says that Boulainvilliers "pretends to have taken his accounts from Arabian authors, but does not name

gions of the earth; discovers the weakness of the Persian and Roman monarchies; beholds, with pity and indignation, the degeneracy of the times; and resolves to unite, under one God and one king, the invincible spirit and primitive virtues of the Arabs. Our more accurate inquiry will suggest, that instead of visiting the courts, the camps, the temples, of the East, the two journeys of Mahomet into Syria were confined to the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; that he was only thirteen years of age when he accompanied the caravan of his uncle, and that his duty compelled him to return as soon as he had disposed of the merchandize of Cadijah. In these hasty and superficial excursions, the eye of genius might discern some objects invisible to his grosser companions; some seeds of knowledge might be cast upon a fruitful soil; but his ignorance of the Syriac language must have checked his curiosity; and I cannot perceive in the life or writings of Mahomet, that his prospect was far extended beyond the limits of the Arabian world. From every region of that solitary world, the pilgrims of Mecca were annually assembled by the calls of devotion and commerce; in the free concourse of multitudes, a simple citizen, in his native tongue, might study the political state and character of the tribes, the theory and practice of the Jews and Christians. Some useful strangers might be tempted, or forced, to implore the rights of hospitality; and the enemies of Mahomet have named the Jew, the Persian, and the Syrian monk, whom they accuse of lending their secret aid to the composition of the Koran.* Conversation enriches the understanding, but solitude is the school of genius; and the uniformity of a work denotes the hand of a single artist. From his earliest youth, Mahomet was addicted to religious contemplation; each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew from the world and from the arms of Cadijah; in the

a single authority. In short, he has given to the world a romance, not a history."—Ed.]

* I am not at leisure to pursue the fables or conjectures which name the strangers accused or suspected by the infidels of Mecca. (Koran, c. 16, p. 223; c. 35, p. 297, with Sale's Remarks; Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 22—27; Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 11. 74; Maracci, tom. ii. p. 400.) Even Prideaux has observed that the transaction must have been secret, and that the scene lay in the heart of Arabia.

cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca,* he consulted the spirit of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens, but in the mind of the prophet. The faith which, under the name of *Islam*, he preached to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction, THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND THAT MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

It is the boast of the Jewish apologists, that while the learned nations of antiquity were deluded by the fables of Polytheism, their simple ancestors of Palestine preserved the knowledge and worship of the true God. The moral attributes of Jehovah may not easily be reconciled with the standard of *human* virtue; his metaphysical qualities are darkly expressed; but each page of the Pentateuch and the Prophets is an evidence of his power; the unity of his name is inscribed on the first table of the law; and his sanctuary was never defiled by any visible image of the invisible essence. After the ruin of the temple, the faith of the Hebrew exiles was purified, fixed, and enlightened, by the spiritual devotion of the synagogue; and the authority of Mahomet will not justify his perpetual reproach, that the Jews of Mecca or Medina adored Ezra as the son of God.† But the children of Israel had ceased to be a people; and the religions of the world were guilty, at least in the eyes of the prophet, of giving sons, or daughters, or companions to the supreme God. In the rude idolatry of the Arabs, the crime is manifest and audacious; the Sabians are poorly excused by the pre-eminence of the first planet, or intelligence, in their celestial hierarchy; and in the Magian system the conflict of the two principles betrays the imperfection of the conqueror. The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of Paganism; their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the

* Abulfeda, in Vit. c. 7, p. 15. Gagnier, tom. i. p. 133. 135. The situation of mount Hera is remarked by Abulfeda (Geograph. Arab. p. 4). Yet Mahomet had never read of the cave of Egeria, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ, of the Idæan mount, where Minos conversed with Jove, &c.

† Koran, c. 9, p. 153. Al Beidawi, and the other commentators quoted by Sale, adhere to the charge; but I do not understand that it is coloured by the most obscure or absurd tradition of the Talmudists.

East; the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess.* The mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation *appear* to contradict the principle of the divine unity. In their obvious sense, they introduce three equal deities, and transform the man Jesus into the substance of the son of God;† an orthodox commentary will satisfy only a believing mind; intemperate curiosity and zeal had torn the veil of the sanctuary; and each of the Oriental sects was eager to confess that all, except themselves, deserved the reproach of idolatry and polytheism. The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish.‡ In the author of the universe, his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or

* Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 225—228. The Collyridian heresy was carried from Thrace to Arabia by some women, and the name was borrowed from the κόλλυρις, or cake, which they offered to the goddess. This example, that of Beryllus bishop of Bostra (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 6, c. 33,) and several others, may excuse the reproach, Arabia hæreseωn ferax.

† The three gods in the Koran (c. 4, p. 81; c. 5, p. 92,) are obviously directed against our Catholic mystery; but the Arabic commentators understand them of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mary, an heretical trinity, maintained, as it is said, by some Barbarians at the Council of Nice. (Eutych. Annal. tom. i. p. 440.) But the existence of the *Marianites* is denied by the candid Beausobre (Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 532,) and he derives the mistake from the word *Rouah*, the Holy Ghost, which in some Oriental tongues is of the feminine gender, and is figuratively styled the mother of Christ in the Gospel of the Nazarenes. [The Hebrew term is רוּחַ *Ruach*, of which the first signification is *breath;* with this the German *Rauch, smoke*, is radically connected. *Ruach hakodesch* are the words, to which we have given the form of "The Holy Ghost."—Ed.]

‡ This train of thought is philosophically exemplified in the character of Abraham, who opposed in Chaldea the first introduction of idolatry. (Koran, c. 6, p. 106. D'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. p. 13.)

similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophet,* are firmly held by his disciples, and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophic theist might subscribe the popular creed of the Mahometans;† a creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding, when we have abstracted from the unknown substance all ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mahomet; his proselytes, from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the name of *Unitarians;* and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images. The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination is strictly embraced by the Mahometans; and they struggle with the common difficulties, *how* to reconcile the prescience of God with the freedom and responsibility of man; *how* to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness.

The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age; the liberality of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran.‡ During that period, some rays of prophetic light had been imparted to one hundred

* See the Koran, particularly the second (p. 30,) the fifty-seventh (p. 437,) the fifty-eighth (p. 441,) chapters, which proclaim the omnipotence of the Creator.

† The most orthodox creeds are translated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 274. 284—292); Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 82—95); Reland (de Religion. Moham. l. 1, p. 7—13); and Chardin. (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 4—28.) The great truth that God is without similitude, is foolishly criticised by Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. part 3, p. 87—94,) because he made man after his own image.

‡ Reland, de Relig. Moham. l. 1, p. 17—47. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 73—76. Voyage de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 28—37, and 37—47, for the Persian addition, "Ali is the vicar of God!" Yet the precise number of prophets is

and twenty-four thousand of the elect, discriminated by their respective measure of virtue and grace; three hundred and thirteen apostles were sent with a special commission to recall their country from idolatry and vice; one hundred and four volumes had been dictated by the holy spirit; and six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels. The writings of the patriarchs were extant only in the apocryphal copies of the Greeks and Syrians;* the conduct of Adam had not entitled him to the gratitude or respect of his children; the seven precepts of Noah were observed by an inferior and imperfect class of the proselytes of the synagogue,† and the memory of Abraham was obscurely revered by the Sabians in his native land of Chaldea; of the myriads of prophets, Moses and Christ alone lived and reigned; and the remnant of the inspired writings was comprised in the books of the Old and the New Testament. The miraculous story of Moses is consecrated and embellished in the Koran;‡ and the captive Jews enjoy the secret revenge of imposing their own belief on the nations whose recent creeds they deride. For the author of Christianity, the Mahometans are taught

not an article of faith.

* For the apocryphal books of Adam, see Fabricius, Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T. p. 27—29; of Seth, p. 154—157; of Enoch, p. 160—219. But the book of Enoch is consecrated, in some measure, by the quotation of the apostle St. Jude; and a long legendary fragment is alleged by Syncellus and Scaliger. [Copies of the book of Enoch were brought from Abyssinia by Bruce. That which he deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, was translated by Archbishop Laurence, and published at Oxford in 1821. A *third edition* in 2 vols. 8vo. revised and accompanied by the original text in Ethiopic characters, appeared in 1838. Another copy of the MS. was presented to the King's Library at Paris.—Ed.]

† The seven precepts of Noah are explained by Marsham (Canon. Chronicus, p. 154—180,) who adopts, on this occasion, the learning and credulity of Selden.

‡ The articles of *Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses,* &c., in the Bibliothèque of D'Herbelot, are gaily bedecked with the fanciful legends of the Mahometans, who have built on the ground-work of Scripture and the Talmud.

by the prophet to entertain a high and mysterious reverence.* "Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and his word, which he conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit proceeding from him; honourable in this world, and in the world to come; and one of those who approach near to the presence of God." † The wonders of the genuine and apocryphal gospels ‡ are profusely heaped on his head; and the Latin church has not disdained to borrow from the Koran the immaculate conception § of his virgin mother. Yet Jesus was a mere mortal; and at the day of judgment, his testimony will serve to condemn both the Jews, who reject him as a prophet, and the Christians, who adore him as the Son of God. The malice of his enemies aspersed his reputation, and conspired against his life; but their intention only was guilty, a phantom or a criminal was substituted on the cross, and the innocent saint was translated to the seventh heaven.¶ During six hundred years the gospel was the way of truth and salvation; but the Christians insensibly forgot both the laws and the example of their founder; and Mahomet was instructed by the Gnostics to accuse the church, as well as the synagogue, of corrupting the integrity of the

* Koran, c. 7, p. 128, &c.; c. 10, p. 173, &c. D'Herbelot, p. 647, &c.

† Koran, c. 3, p. 40; c. 4, p. 80. D'Herbelot, p. 399, &c.

‡ See the gospel of St. Thomas, or of the Infancy, in the Codex Apocryphus N. T. of Fabricius, who collects the various testimonies concerning it (p. 128—158). It was published in Greek by Cotelier, and in Arabic by Sike, who thinks our present copy more recent than Mahomet. Yet his quotations agree with the original about the speech of Christ in his cradle, his living birds of clay, &c. (*Sike*, c. 1, p. 168, 169; c. 36, p. 198, 199; c. 46, p. 206. *Cotelier*, c. 2, p. 160, 161.)

§ It is darkly hinted in the Koran (c. 3, p. 39,) and more clearly explained by the tradition of the Sonnites. (Sale's Note, and Maracci, tom. ii. p. 112.) In the twelfth century, the immaculate conception was condemned by St. Bernard as a presumptuous novelty. (Fra Paolo, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, l. 2.)

¶ See the Koran, c. 3, v. 53, and c. 4, v. 156, of Maracci's edition. Deus est præstantissimus dolose agentium (an odd praise) . . . nec crucifixerunt eum, sed objecta est eis similitudo: an expression that may suit with the system of the Docetes; but the commentators believe (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 113—115. 173; Sale, p. 42, 43. 79,) that another man, a friend or an enemy, was crucified in the likeness of Jesus; a fable which they had read in the gospel of St. Barnabas, and which had been started as early as the time of Irenæus, by some Ebionite heretics. (Beausobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. ii. p. 25.

sacred text.* The piety of Moses and of Christ rejoiced in the assurance of a future prophet, more illustrious than themselves: the evangelic promise of the *Paraclete*, or Holy Ghost, was prefigured in the name, and accomplished in the person, of Mahomet,† the greatest and the last of the apostles of God.

The communication of ideas requires a similitude of thought and language; the discourse of a philosopher would vibrate without effect on the ear of a peasant; yet how minute is the distance of *their* understandings, if it be compared with the contact of an infinite and a finite mind, with the word of God expressed by the tongue or the pen of a mortal? The inspiration of the Hebrew prophets, of the apostles and evangelists of Christ, might not be incompatible with the exercise of their reason and memory; and the diversity of their genius is strongly marked in the style and composition of the books of the Old and New Testament. But Mahomet was content with a character, more humble, yet more sublime, of a simple editor; the substance of the Koran,‡ according to himself or his disciples, is uncreated and eternal; subsisting in the essence of the Deity, and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting decrees. A paper copy, in a volume of silk and gems, was brought down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, who, under the Jewish economy, had indeed been dispatched on the most important errands; and this trusty messenger successively revealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian prophet. Instead of a perpetual

Mosheim, de Reb. Christ. p. 353.)

* This charge is obscurely urged in the Koran (c. 3, p. 45); but neither Mahomet, nor his followers, are sufficiently versed in languages and criticism to give any weight or colour to their suspicions. Yet the Arians and Nestorians could relate some stories, and the illiterate prophet might listen to the bold assertions of the Manichæans. See Beausobre, tom. i. p. 291—305.

† Among the prophecies of the Old and New Testament, which are perverted by the fraud or ignorance of the Mussulmans, they apply to the prophet the promise of the *Paraclete*, or Comforter, which had been already usurped by the Montanists and Manichæans (Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 263, &c.,) and the easy change of letters περικλυτὸς for παράκλητος, affords the etymology of the name of Mohammed. (Maracci, tom. i. part 1, p. 15—28).

‡ For the Koran, see D'Herbelot, p. 85—88. Maracci, tom. i. in Vit. Mohammed. p. 32—45. Sale, Preliminary Discourse, p. 56—70.

and perfect measure of the divine will, the fragments of the Koran were produced at the discretion of Mahomet: each revelation is suited to the emergencies of his policy or passion; and all contradiction is removed by the saving maxim, that any text of Scripture is abrogated or modified by any subsequent passage. The word of God, and of the apostle, was diligently recorded by his disciples on palm-leaves and the shoulder-bones of mutton; and the pages, without order or connection, were cast into a domestic chest in the custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the sacred volume was collected and published by his friend and successor Abubeker: the work was revised by the caliph Othman, in the thirtieth year of the Hegira; and the various editions of the Koran assert the same miraculous privilege of a uniform and incorruptible text. In the spirit of enthusiasm or vanity, the prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merit of his book, audaciously challenges both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single page, and presumes to assert that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance.* This argument is most powerfully addressed to a devout Arabian, whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture, whose ear is delighted by the music of sounds, and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius.† The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel; he will peruse with impatience the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language.‡

* Koran, c. 17. v. 89. In Sale, p. 235, 236. In Maracci, p. 410.

† Yet a sect of Arabians was persuaded, that it might be equalled or surpassed by a human pen (Pocock, Specimen, p. 221, &c.); and Maracci (the polemic is too hard for the translator) derides the rhyming affectation of the most applauded passage. (tom. i. part 2, p. 69—75).

‡ Colloquia (whether real or fabulous) in media Arabia atque ab Arabibus habita. (Lowth, de Poesi Hebræorum Prælect. 32—34, with his German editor Michaelis, Epimetron 4.) Yet Michaelis (p. 671—673,) has detected many Egyptian images, the elephantiasis, papyrus, Nile, crocodile, &c. The language is ambi-

If the composition of the Koran exceed the faculties of a man, to what superior intelligence should we ascribe the Iliad of Homer or the Philippics of Demosthenes? In all religions, the life of the founder supplies the silence of his written revelation; the sayings of Mahomet were so many lessons of truth; his actions so many examples of virtue; and the public and private memorials were preserved by his wives and companions. At the end of two hundred years, the Sonna, or oral law, was fixed and consecrated by the labours of Al Bochari, who discriminated seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five traditions, from a mass of three hundred thousand reports, of a more doubtful or spurious character. Each day the pious author prayed in the temple of Mecca, and performed his ablutions with the water of Zemzem; the pages were successively deposited on the pulpit, and the sepulchre of the apostle; and the work has been approved by the four orthodox sects of the Sonnites.*

The mission of the ancient prophets, of Moses, and of Jesus, had been confirmed by many splendid prodigies; and Mahomet was repeatedly urged, by the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, to produce a similar evidence of his divine legation; to call down from heaven the angel or the volume of his revelation, to create a garden in the desert, or to kindle a conflagration in the unbelieving city. As often as he is pressed by the demands of the Koreish, he involves himself in the obscure boast of vision and prophecy, appeals to the internal proofs of his doctrine, and shields himself behind the providence of God, who refuses those signs and wonders that would depreciate the merit of faith and aggravate the guilt of infidelity. But the modest or angry tone of his apologies betrays his weakness and vexation; and these passages of scandal establish, beyond suspicion, the integrity of the Koran.† The votaries of Mahomet are

guously styled, *Arabico-Hebræa*. The resemblance of the sister dialects was much more visible in their childhood than in their mature age. (Michaelis, p. 682. Schultens, in Præfat. Job.)

* Al Bochari died A.H. 224. See D'Herbelot, p. 208. 416. 827 Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. c. 19, p. 33.

† See more remarkably, Koran, c. 2. 6. 12, 13. 17. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 18, 19,) has confounded the impostor. Maracci, with a more learned apparatus, has shewn that the passages which deny his miracles are clear and positive, (Koran, tom. i. part 2, p. 7—12,) and those which seem to assert them, are ambiguous and insufficient (p. 12—22).

more assured than himself of his miraculous gifts, and their confidence and credulity increase as they are farther removed from the time and place of his spiritual exploits. They believe or affirm that trees went forth to meet him; that he was saluted by stones; that water gushed from his fingers, that he fed the hungry, cured the sick, and raised the dead; that a beam groaned to him; that a camel complained to him; that a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned; and that both animate and inanimate nature were equally subject to the apostle of God.* His dream of a nocturnal journey is seriously described as a real and corporeal transaction. A mysterious animal, the borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem; with his companion Gabriel, he successively ascended the seven heavens, and received and repaid the salutations of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their respective mansions. Beyond the seventh heaven, Mahomet alone was permitted to proceed; he passed the veil of unity, approached within two bow-shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart, when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God. After this familiar, though important conversation, he again descended to Jerusalem, remounted the borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey of many thousand years.† Ac-

* See the Specimen Hist. Arabum, the text of Abulpharagius, p. 17, the notes of Pocock, p. 187—190. D'Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 76, 77. Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 200—203. Maracci (Koran, tom. i. p. 22—64,) has most laboriously collected and confuted the miracles and prophecies of Mahomet, which, according to some writers, amount to three thousand. ["Some of the doctors of Islamism have computed them at four thousand four hundred and fifty, while others have held that the more remarkable ones were not fewer than a thousand. Professor Lee's translation of Mirza Ibrahim states that the miracles recorded of Mahomet almost exceed enumeration." See Note to Bohn's Ockley, p. 66.—ED.]

† The nocturnal journey is circumstantially related by Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 19, p. 33,) who wishes to think it a vision; by Prideaux (p. 31—40,) who aggravates the absurdities; and by Gagnier (tom. i. p. 252—343,) who declares, from the zealous Al Jannabi, that to deny this journey, is to disbelieve the Koran. Yet the Koran, without naming either heaven, or Jerusalem, or Mecca, has only dropped a mysterious hint: Laus illi qui transtulit servum suum ab oratorio Haram ad oratorium remotissimum. (Koran, c. 17. v. 1, in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 407, for Sale's version is more licentious.) A slender basis for the aërial struc-

cording to another legend, the apostle confounded in a national assembly the malicious challenge of the Koreish. His resistless word split asunder the orb of the moon: the obedient planet stooped from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions round the Caaba, saluted Mahomet in the Arabian tongue, and suddenly contracting her dimensions, entered at the collar, and issued forth through the sleeve, of his shirt.* The vulgar are amused with these marvellous tales; but the gravest of the Mussulman doctors imitate the modesty of their master, and indulge a latitude of faith or interpretation.† They might speciously allege, that in preaching the religion, it was needless to violate the harmony, of nature; that a creed unclouded with mystery may be excused from miracles; and that the sword of Mahomet was not less potent than the rod of Moses.

The polytheist is oppressed and distracted by the variety of superstition: a thousand rites of Egyptian origin were interwoven with the essence of the Mosaic law; and the spirit of the gospel had evaporated in the pageantry of the church. The prophet of Mecca was tempted by prejudice, or policy, or patriotism, to sanctify the rites of the Arabians, and the custom of visiting the holy stone of the Caaba. But the precepts of Mahomet himself inculcate a more simple and rational piety: prayer, fasting, and alms, are the religious duties of a Mussulman; and he is encouraged to hope, that prayer will carry him half way to God, fasting will bring him to the door of his palace, and alms will gain him admit-

ture of tradition.

* In the prophetic style, which uses the present or past for the future, Mahomet had said,—Appropinquavit hora et scissa est luna. (Koran, c. 54. v. 1, in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 688.) This figure of rhetoric has been converted into a fact, which is said to be attested by the most respectable eye-witnesses. (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 690.) The festival is still celebrated by the Persians (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 201); and the legend is tediously spun out by Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 183—234); on the faith, as it should seem, of the credulous Al Jannabi. Yet a Mahometan doctor has arraigned the credit of the principal witness (apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 187); the best interpreters are content with the simple sense of the Koran; (Al Beidawi, apud Hottinger, Hist. Orient. l. 2, p. 302,) and the silence of Abulfeda is worthy of a prince and a philosopher.

† Abulpharagius, in Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 17, and his scepticism is justified in the notes of Pocock, p. 190—194, from the purest

tance.* I. According to the tradition of the nocturnal journey, the apostle, in his personal conference with the Deity, was commanded to impose on his disciples the daily obligation of fifty prayers. By the advice of Moses, he applied for an alleviation of this intolerable burden; the number was gradually reduced to five; without any dispensation of business or pleasure, or time or place, the devotion of the faithful is repeated at day-break, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the first watch of the night; and, in the present decay of religious fervour, our travellers are edified by the profound humility and attention of the Turks and Persians. Cleanliness is the key of prayer: the frequent lustration of the hands, the face, and the body, which was practised of old by the Arabs, is solemnly enjoined by the Koran; and a permission is formally granted to supply with sand the scarcity of water. The words and attitudes of supplication, as it is performed either sitting, or standing, or prostrate on the ground, are prescribed by custom or authority, but the prayer is poured forth in short and fervent ejaculations; the measure of zeal is not exhausted by a tedious liturgy; and each Mussulman, for his own person, is invested with the character of a priest. Among the theists, who reject the use of images, it has been found necessary to restrain the wanderings of the fancy, by directing the eye and the thought towards a *kebla*, or visible point of the horizon. The prophet was at first inclined to gratify the Jews by the choice of Jerusalem; but he soon returned to a more natural partiality; and five times every day the eyes of the nations at Astracan, at Fez, at Delhi, are devoutly turned to the holy temple of Mecca. Yet every spot for the service of God is equally pure; the Mahometans indifferently pray in their chamber or in the street. As a

authorities.

* The most authentic account of these precepts, pilgrimage, prayer, fasting, alms, and ablutions, is extracted from the Persian and Arabian theologians by Maracci (Prodrom. part 4, p. 9—24); Reland (in his excellent treatise de Religione Mohammedicâ, Utrecht, 1717, p. 67—123); and Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 47—195). Maracci is a partial accuser; but the jeweller, Chardin, had the eyes of a philosopher; and Reland, a judicious student, had travelled over the east in his closet at Utrecht. The fourteenth letter of Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. p. 325—360, in octavo) describes what he had seen of the religion of

distinction from the Jews and Christians, the Friday in each week is set apart for the useful institution of public worship: the people are assembled in the mosch; and the iman, some respectable elder, ascends the pulpit, to begin the prayer and pronounce the sermon. But the Mahometan religion is destitute of priesthood or sacrifice;* and the independent spirit of fanaticism looks down with contempt on the ministers and the slaves of superstition. II. The voluntary† penance of the ascetics, the torment and glory of their lives, was odious to a prophet who censured in his companions a rash vow of abstaining from flesh, and women, and sleep; and firmly declared that he would suffer no monks in his religion.‡ Yet he instituted, in each year, a fast of thirty days; and strenuously recommended the observance, as a discipline which purifies the soul and subdues the body, as a salutary exercise of obedience to the will of God and his apostle. During the month of Ramadan, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Mussulman abstains from eating, and drinking, and women, and baths, and perfumes; from all nourishment that can restore his strength, from all pleasure that can gratify his senses. In the revolution of the lunar year, the Ramadan coincides by turns with the winter cold and the summer heat; and the patient martyr, without assuaging his thirst with a drop of water, must expect the close of a tedious and sultry day. The interdiction of wine, peculiar to some orders of priests or hermits, is converted by Mahomet alone into a positive and general law:§ and a con-

the Turks. * [Sacrifices, though not a regular part of the Mahometan ritual, are offered by pilgrims at Mecca. Mahomet set the example of this, by slaying sixty-three camels, when he visited the Caaba, in the tenth year of the Hegira. Ockley, p. 59, edit. Bohn. —Ed.] † Mahomet (Sale's Koran, c. 9, p. 153,) reproaches the Christians with taking their priests and monks for their lords, besides God. Yet Maracci (Prodromus, part 3, p. 69, 70,) excuses the worship, especially of the pope; and quotes, from the Koran itself, the case of Eblis, or Satan, who was cast from heaven for refusing to adore Adam. ‡ Koran, c. 5, p. 94, and Sale's note, which refers to the authority of Jallaloddin and Al Beidawi. D'Herbelot declares, that Mahomet condemned *la vie religieuse;* and that the first swarms of fakirs, dervises, &c., did not appear till after the year 300 of the Hegira. (Bibliot. Orient. p. 292. 718.) § See the double prohibition (Koran, c. 2, p. 25; c. 5, p. 94); the one in the style of a legislator, the other in that of a fanatic. The public and private

siderable portion of the globe has abjured, at his command, the use of that salutary, though dangerous, liquor. These painful restraints are, doubtless, infringed by the libertine and eluded by the hypocrite; but the legislator, by whom they are enacted, cannot surely be accused of alluring his proselytes by the indulgence of their sensual appetites. III. The charity of the Mahometans descends to the animal creation; and the Koran repeatedly inculcates, not as a merit, but as a strict and indispensable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate. Mahomet, perhaps, is the only lawgiver who has defined the precise measure of charity: the standard may vary with the degree and nature of property, as it consists either in money, in corn or cattle, in fruits or merchandise; but the Mussulman does not accomplish the law, unless he bestows a *tenth* of his revenue; and if his conscience accuses him of fraud or extortion, the tenth, under the idea of restitution is enlarged to a *fifth*.* Benevolence is the foundation of justice, since we are forbidden to injure those whom we are bound to assist. A prophet may reveal the secrets of heaven and of futurity; but in his moral precepts he can only repeat the lessons of our own hearts.

The two articles of belief, and the four practical duties of Islam, are guarded by rewards and punishments; and the faith of the Mussulman is devoutly fixed on the event of the judgment and the last day. The prophet has not presumed to determine the moment of that awful catastrophe, though he darkly announces the signs, both in heaven and earth, which will precede the universal dissolution, when life shall be destroyed, and the order of creation shall be confounded in the primitive chaos. At the blast of the trumpet, new worlds will start into being; angels, genii, and men, will arise from the dead, and the human soul will again be united to the body. The doctrine of the resurrection was

motives of Mahomet are investigated by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 62—64,) and Sale. (Preliminary Discourse, p. 124.)

* The jealousy of Maracci (Prodromus, part 4, p. 33,) prompts him to enumerate the more liberal alms of the Catholics of Rome. Fifteen great hospitals are open to many thousand patients and pilgrims, fifteen hundred maidens are annually portioned, fifty-six charity-schools are founded for both sexes, one hundred and twenty confraternities relieve the wants of their brethren, &c. The benevolence of London is still more extensive; but I am afraid that much more is to be ascribed to the humanity, than to the religion, of the people.

first entertained by the Egyptians;* and their mummies were embalmed, their pyramids were constructed, to preserve the ancient mansion of the soul, during a period of three thousand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing; and it is with a more philosophic spirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can re-animate the breathless clay, and collect the innumerable atoms, that no longer retain their form or substance.† The intermediate state of the soul it is hard to decide; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial nature, are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of the organs of sense.

The reunion of the soul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind; and, in his copy of the Magian picture, the prophet has too faithfully represented the forms of proceeding, and even the slow and successive operations, of an earthly tribunal. By his intolerant adversaries he is upbraided for extending, even to themselves, the hope of salvation; for asserting the blackest heresy, that every man who believes in God, and accomplishes good works, may expect in the last day a favourable sentence. Such rational indifference is ill adapted to the character of a fanatic; nor is it probable that a messenger from heaven should depreciate the value and necessity of his own revelation. In the idiom of the Koran,§ the belief of God is

* See Herodotus (l. 2, c. 123,) and our learned countryman, Sir John Marsham (Canon. Chronicus, p. 46). The Ἅιδης of the same writer (p. 254—274) is an elaborate sketch of the infernal regions, as they were painted by the fancy of the Egyptians and Greeks, of the poets and philosophers of antiquity. [The immortality of the soul may have been the subject of philosophic speculation, poetic dreams, and secret instruction to the initiated in mysteries; but it was never popularly proclaimed or distinctly recommended to lively belief, till Christianity was preached. We are too prone to judge of ancient times by the present; to suppose that books were as accessible then as they are now; and that the illiterate heard the lectures of the schools, as they listen to the discourses in modern churches.—Ed.]

† The Koran (c. 2, p. 259, &c., of Sale, p. 32, of Maracci, p. 97,) relates an ingenious miracle, which satisfied the curiosity, and confirmed the faith, of Abraham.

§ The candid Reland has demonstrated, that Mahomet damns all unbelievers (de Religion. Moham. p. 128—142); that devils will not be finally saved (p. 196—199); that paradise will not *solely* consist of corporeal delights (p. 199—205); and that women's souls are immortal (p. 205—209).

inseparable from that of Mahomet; the good works are those which he has enjoined; and the two qualifications imply the profession of Islam, to which all nations and all sects are equally invited. Their spiritual blindness, though excused by ignorance and crowned with virtue, will be scourged with everlasting torments; and the tears which Mahomet shed over the tomb of his mother, for whom he was forbidden to pray, display a striking contrast of humanity and enthusiasm.* The doom of the infidels is common: the measure of their guilt and punishment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude of the errors which they have entertained: the eternal mansions of the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the idolaters, are sunk below each other in the abyss; and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites who have assumed the mask of religion. After the greater part of mankind has been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. The good and evil of each Mussulman will be accurately weighed in a real or allegorical balance, and a singular mode of compensation will be allowed for the payment of injuries: the aggressor will refund an equivalent of his own good actions for the benefit of the person whom he has wronged; and if he should be destitute of any moral property, the weight of his sins will be loaded with an adequate share of the demerits of the sufferer. According as the shares of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of the abyss; but the innocent, treading in the footsteps of Mahomet, will gloriously enter the gates of paradise, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells. The term of expiation will vary from nine hundred to seven thousand years; but the prophet has judiciously promised, that *all* his disciples, whatever may be their sins, shall be saved, by their own faith and his inter-

* Al Beidawi, apud Sale, Koran, c. 9, p. 164. The refusal to pray for an unbelieving kindred, is justified, according to Mahomet, by the duty of a prophet, and the example of Abraham, who reprobated his own father as an enemy of God. Yet Abraham (he adds, c. 9, v. 116. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 317,) fuit sane pius, mitis.

cession, from eternal damnation. It is not surprising that superstition should act most powerfully on the fears of her votaries, since the human fancy can paint with more energy the misery than the bliss of a future life. With the two simple elements of darkness and fire, we create a sensation of pain, which may be aggravated to an infinite degree by the idea of endless duration. But the same idea operates with an opposite effect on the continuity of pleasure; and too much of our present enjoyments is obtained from the relief, or the comparison, of evil. It is natural enough that an Arabian prophet should dwell with rapture on the groves, the fountains, and the rivers of paradise; but instead of inspiring the blessed inhabitants with a liberal taste for harmony and science, conversation and friendship, he idly celebrates the pearls and diamonds, the robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants, and the whole train of sensual and costly luxury, which becomes insipid to the owner, even in the short period of this mortal life. Seventy-two *houris*, or black-eyed girls, of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, and exquisite sensibility, will be created for the use of the meanest believer; a moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years, and his faculties will be increased a hundred-fold, to render him worthy of his felicity. Notwithstanding a vulgar prejudice, the gates of heaven will be open to both sexes; but Mahomet has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands, or disturb their felicity, by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage. This image of a carnal paradise has provoked the indignation, perhaps the envy, of the monks: they declaim against the impure religion of Mahomet; and his modest apologists are driven to the poor excuse of figures and allegories. But the sounder and more consistent party adhere, without shame, to the literal interpretation of the Koran; useless would be the resurrection of the body, unless it were restored to the possession and exercise of its worthiest faculties; and the union of sensual and intellectual enjoyment is requisite to complete the happiness of the double animal, the perfect man. Yet the joys of the Mahometan paradise will not be confined to the indulgence of luxury and appetite; and the prophet has expressly

declared, that all meaner happiness will be forgotten and despised by the saints and martyrs, who shall be admitted to the beatitude of the divine vision.*

The first and most arduous conquests of Mahomet† were

* For the day of judgment, hell, paradise, &c., consult the Koran (c. 2, v. 25; c. 56. 78, &c.,) with Maracci's virulent, but learned, refutation (in his notes, and in the Prodromus, part 4, p. 78. 120. 122, &c.); D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 368. 375); Reland (p. 47—61; and Sale (p. 76—103.). The original ideas of the Magi are darkly and doubtfully explored by their apologist, Dr. Hyde (Hist. Religionis Persarum, c. 33, p. 402—412. Oxon. 1760.). In the article of Mahomet, Bayle has shown how indifferently wit and philosophy supply the absence of genuine information. † Before I enter on the history of the prophet it is incumbent on me to produce my evidence. The Latin, French, and English versions of the Koran, are preceded by historical discourses, and the three translators, Maracci (tom. i. p. 10—32); Savary (tom. i. p. 1—248); and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 33—56,) had accurately studied the language and character of their author. Two professed lives of Mahomet have been composed by Dr. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, seventh edition, London, 1718, in octavo); and the count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomed. Londres, 1730, in octavo); but the adverse wish of finding an impostor, or a hero, has too often corrupted the learning of the doctor and the ingenuity of the count. The article in D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 598—603,) is chiefly drawn from Novairi and Mircond; but the best and most authentic of our guides is M. Gagnier, a Frenchman by birth, and professor at Oxford of the Oriental tongues. In two elaborate works (Ismael Abulfeda de Vita et Rebus gestis Mohammedis, &c. Latine vertit, Præfatione et Notis illustravit Johannes Gagnier. Oxon. 1723, in folio; La Vie de Mahomet traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran, des Traditions authentiques de la Sonna et des meilleurs Auteurs Arabes; Amsterdam, 1748, 3 vols. in duodecimo,) he has interpreted, illustrated, and supplied the Arabic text of Abulfeda and Al Jannabi; the first, an enlightened prince, who reigned at Hamah, in Syria, A.D. 1310—1332 (see Gagnier, Præfat. ad Abulfed.); the second, a credulous doctor, who visited Mecca, A.D. 1556, (D'Herbelot, p. 397. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 209, 210.). These are my general vouchers, and the inquisitive reader may follow the order of time, and the division of chapters. Yet I must observe, that both Abulfeda and Al Jannabi are modern historians, and that they cannot appeal to any writers of the first century of the Hegira. [Professor Smyth, in his list of books to be consulted (Preface to Lectures, p. xii.) says, that Prideaux's Life of Mahomet "is not long but seems not very good." Ockley's opinion of Boulainvilliers has been already stated (p. 466.) Of Gibbon's three masterpieces, Athanasius, Julian, and Mahomet, his materials for the last were the least tractable. Yet he has constructed out of them a picture so excellent, that all who have followed him have borrowed from his stores without adding to them.

those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend;* since he presented himself as a prophet to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man. Yet Cadijah believed the words, and cherished the glory of her husband; the obsequious and affectionate Zeid was tempted by the prospect of freedom; the illustrious Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, embraced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero; and the wealth, the moderation, the veracity of Abubeker, confirmed the religion of the prophet whom he was destined to succeed. By his persuasion, ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private lessons of Islam; they yielded to the voice of reason and enthusiasm; they repeated the fundamental creed,—"There is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God;" and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honours, with the command of armies and the government of kingdoms. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, the first fruits of his mission; but in the fourth year he assumed the prophetic office, and resolving to impart to his family the light of divine truth, he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is said, and a bowl of milk, for the entertainment of forty guests of the race of Hashem. "Friends and kinsmen," said Mahomet to the assembly, "I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will support my burden? Who among you will be my companion and my vizir?"† No answer was

Among his successors, Dr. Weil, in his Life of Mahomet, published at Stutgard in 1843, most deserves the attention of the studious. His researches have been made available in Bohn's edition Ockley.—ED.

* After the Greeks, Prideaux (p. 8,) discloses the secret doubts of the wife of Mahomet. As if he had been a privy-counsellor of the prophet, Boulainvilliers (p. 272, &c.,) unfolds the sublime and patriotic views of Cadijah and the first disciples.

† *Vezirus, portitor, bajulus, onus ferens;* and this plebeian name was transferred by an apt metaphor to the pillars of the State. (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 19.) I endeavour to preserve the Arabian idiom, as far as I can feel it myself in a Latin or French translation. [Some Arabian scholars derive the word *vizir*, from *vezan*, to bear or carry; and others from *vesara*, he has advised. No regular officer of

returned, till the silence of astonishment, and doubt, and contempt, was at length broken by the impatient courage of Ali, a youth in the fourteenth year of his age. "O prophet, I am the man; whosoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them." Mahomet accepted his offer with transport, and Abu Taleb was ironically exhorted to respect the superior dignity of his son. In a more serious tone, the father of Ali advised his nephew to relinquish his impracticable design. "Spare your remonstrances," replied the intrepid fanatic to his uncle and benefactor; "if they should place the sun on my right hand, and the moon on my left, they should not divert me from my course." He persevered ten years in the exercise of his mission; and the religion which has overspread the East and the West advanced with a slow and painful progress within the walls of Mecca. Yet Mahomet enjoyed the satisfaction of beholding the increase of his infant congregation of Unitarians, who revered him as a prophet, and to whom he seasonably dispensed the spiritual nourishment of the Koran. The number of proselytes may be estimated by the absence of eighty-three men and eighteen women, who retired to Ethiopia in the seventh year of his mission; and his party was fortified by the timely conversion of his uncle Hamza, and of the fierce and inflexible Omar, who signalized in the cause of Islam the same zeal which he had exerted for its destruction. Nor was the charity of Mahomet confined to the tribe of Koreish or the precincts of Mecca: on solemn festivals, in the days of pilgrimage, he frequented the Caaba, accosted the strangers of every tribe, and urged, both in private converse and public discourse, the belief and worship of a sole deity. Conscious of his reason and of his weakness, he asserted the liberty of conscience, and disclaimed the use of religious violence;* but he called the Arabs to repentance,

State was so designated till A.D. 750, when Abul Abbas, the first of the Abbassides, originated the title; nor does it appear ever to have been used in an undignified sense.—ED.]

* The passages of the Koran in behalf of toleration are strong and numerous, c. 2. v. 257; c. 16. 129; c. 17. 54; c. 45. 15; c. 50. 39; c. 88. 21, &c., with the notes of Maracci and Sale. This character alone may generally decide the doubts of the learned, whether a chapter was revealed at

and conjured them to remember the ancient idolaters of Ad and Thamund, whom the divine justice had swept away from the face of the earth.*

The people of Mecca were hardened in their unbelief by superstition and envy. The elders of the city, the uncles of the prophet, affected to despise the presumption of an orphan, the reformer of his country; the pious orations of Mahomet in the Caaba were answered by the clamours of Abu Taleb. "Citizens and pilgrims, listen not to the tempter, hearken not to his impious novelties. Stand fast in the worship of Al Lâta and Al Uzzah." Yet the son of Abdallah was ever dear to the aged chief; and he protected the fame and person of his nephew against the assaults of the Koreishites, who had long been jealous of the pre-eminence of the family of Hashem. Their malice was coloured with the pretence of religion; in the age of Job, the crime of impiety was punished by the Arabian magistrate;† and Mahomet was guilty of deserting and denying the national deities. But so loose was the policy of Mecca, that the leaders of the Koreish, instead of accusing a criminal, were compelled to employ the measures of persuasion or violence. They repeatedly addressed Abu Taleb in the style of reproach and menace. "Thy nephew reviles our religion; he accuses our wise forefathers of ignorance and folly; silence him quickly, lest he kindle tumult and discord in the city. If he persevere, we shall draw our swords against him and his adherents, and thou wilt be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-citizens." The weight and moderation of Abu Taleb eluded the violence of religious faction; the most helpless or timid of the disciples retired to Æthiopia, and the prophet withdrew himself to

Mecca or Medina.

* See the Koran (passim, and especially c. 7, 123, 124, &c.); and the tradition of the Arabs (Pocock, Specimen, p. 35—37.). The caverns of the tribe of Thamund, fit for men of the ordinary stature, were shewn in the midway between Medina and Damascus (Abulfed. Arabiæ Descript. p. 43, 44,) and may be probably ascribed to the Troglodites of the primitive world, (Michaelis, ad Lowth de Poesi Hebræor. p. 131—134. Recherches sur les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 48, &c.).

† In the time of Job, the crime of impiety was punished by the Arabian magistrate (c. 31, v. 26. 28.). I blush for a respectable prelate (de Poesi Hebræorum, p. 650, 651, edit. Michaelis; and letter of a late professor in the university of Oxford, p. 15—53,) who justifies and applauds this patriarchal inquisition.

various places of strength in the town and country. As he was still supported by his family, the rest of the tribe of Koreish engaged themselves to renounce all intercourse with the children of Hashem, neither to buy nor sell, neither to marry nor to give in marriage, but to pursue them with implacable enmity, till they should deliver the person of Mahomet to the justice of the gods. The decree was suspended in the Caaba before the eyes of the nation; the messengers of the Koreish pursued the Mussulman exiles in the heart of Africa; they besieged the prophet and his most faithful followers, intercepted their water, and inflamed their mutual animosity by the retaliation of injuries and insults. A doubtful truce restored the appearances of concord, till the death of Abu Taleb abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domestic comforts by the loss of his faithful and generous Cadijah. Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah, succeeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. A zealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Hashem, he convened an assembly of the Koreishites and their allies, to decide the fate of the apostle. His imprisonment might provoke the despair of his enthusiasm; and the exile of an eloquent and popular fanatic would diffuse the mischief through the provinces of Arabia. His death was resolved; and they agreed that a sword from each tribe should be buried in his heart, to divide the guilt of his blood, and baffle the vengeance of the Hashemites. An angel or a spy revealed their conspiracy; and flight was the only resource of Mahomet.* At the dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, he silently escaped from his house: the assassins watched at the door; but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered with the green vestment of the apostle. The Koreish respected the piety of the heroic youth; but some verses of Ali, which are still extant, exhibit an interesting picture of his anxiety, his tenderness, and his religious confidence. Three days Mahomet and his companion were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca; and in the close of each evening, they

* D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 445. He quotes a particular history of the flight of Mahomet.

received from the son and daughter of Abubeker a secret supply of intelligence and food. The diligence of the Koreish explored every haunt in the neighbourhood of the city; they arrived at the entrance of the cavern; but the providential deceit of a spider's web and a pigeon's nest, is supposed to convince them that the place was solitary and inviolate. "We are only two," said the trembling Abubeker. "There is a third," replied the prophet; "it is God himself." No sooner was the pursuit abated, than the fugitives issued from the rock, and mounted their camels; on the road to Medina, they were overtaken by the emissaries of the Koreish; they redeemed themselves with prayers and promises from their hands. In this eventful moment the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world. The flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina has fixed the memorable era of the *Hegira*,* which, at the end of twelve centuries, still discriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nations.†

The religion of the Koran might have perished in its cradle, had not Medina embraced with faith and reverence the holy outcasts of Mecca. Medina, or the *city*, known under the name of Yathreb, before it was sanctified by the throne of the prophet, was divided between the tribes of the Charegites and the Awsites, whose hereditary feud was rekindled by the slightest provocations; two colonies of Jews, who boasted a sacerdotal race, were their humble allies, and without converting the Arabs, they introduced the taste of science and religion, which distinguished Medina as the city of the book. Some of her noblest citizens, in a

* The *Hegira* was instituted by Omar, the second caliph, in imitation of the era of the martyrs of the Christians (D'Herbelot, p. 444), and properly commenced sixty-eight days before the flight of Mahomet with the first of Moharrem, or first day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday, July 16, A.D 622 (Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. c. 22, 23, p. 45—50, and Greaves' edition of Ullug Beg's Epochæ Arabum, &c. c. 1, p. 8. 10, &c. [The years of the Hegira being lunar, in thirty of them, nineteen have 354 days each; the other eleven are intercalary, and have 355; consequently thirty-three Arabian years are about equal to thirty-two of ours.—ED.]

† Mahomet's life, from his mission to the Hegira, may be found in Abulfeda (p. 14—45) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 134—251. 342—385). The legend from p. 187—234, is vouched by Al Jannabi, and disdained by

pilgrimage to the Caaba, were converted by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return they diffused the belief of God and his prophet, and the new alliance was ratified by their deputies in two secret and nocturnal interviews on a hill in the suburbs of Mecca. In the first, ten Charegites and two Awsites united in faith and love, protested in the name of their wives, their children, and their absent brethren, that they would for ever profess the creed, and observe the precepts, of the Koran. The second was a political association, the first vital spark of the empire of the Saracens.* Seventy-three men and two women of Medina held a solemn conference with Mahomet, his kinsmen, and his disciples; and pledged themselves to each other by a mutual oath of fidelity. They promised in the name of the city, that if he should be banished, they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and children. "But if you are recalled by your country," they asked with a flattering anxiety, "will you not abandon your new allies?" —"All things," replied Mahomet with a smile, "are now common between us; your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin. We are bound to each other by the ties of honour and interest. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes."—"But if we are killed in your service, what," exclaimed the deputies of Medina, "will be our reward?"— "PARADISE," replied the prophet. "Stretch forth thy hand." He stretched it forth, and they reiterated the oath of allegiance and fidelity. Their treaty was ratified by the people, who unanimously embraced the profession of Islam; they rejoiced in the exile of the apostle, but they trembled for his safety, and impatiently expected his arrival. After a perilous and rapid journey along the sea-coast, he halted at Koba, two miles from the city, and made his public entry into Medina, sixteen days after his flight from Mecca. Five hundred of the citizens advanced to meet him; he was hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion; Mahomet was mounted on a she-camel, an umbrella shaded his head, and a turban was unfurled before him to supply

Abulfeda.

* The triple inauguration of Mahomet is described by Abulfeda (p. 30. 33. 40. 86) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 342, &c. 349, &c.; tom. ii. p. 223, &c.

the deficiency of a standard. His bravest disciples, who had been scattered by the storm, assembled round his person; and the equal, though various, merit of the Moslems was distinguished by the names of *Mohagerians* and *Ansars*, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina. To eradicate the seeds of jealousy, Mahomet judiciously coupled his principal followers with the rights and obligations of brethren; and when Ali found himself without a peer, the prophet tenderly declared, that *he* would be the companion and brother of the noble youth. The expedient was crowned with success; the holy fraternity was respected in peace and war, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity. Once only the concord was slightly ruffled by an accidental quarrel; a patriot of Medina arraigned the insolence of the strangers, but the hint of their expulsion was heard with abhorrence, and his own son most eagerly offered to lay at the apostle's feet the head of his father.

From his establishment at Medina, Mahomet assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office; and it was impious to appeal from a judge whose decrees were inspired by the divine wisdom. A small portion of ground, the patrimony of two orphans, was acquired by gift or purchase;* on that chosen spot, he built a house and a mosch, more venerable in their rude simplicity than the palaces and temples of the Assyrian caliphs. His seal of gold, or silver, was inscribed with the apostolic title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly assembly, he leaned against the trunk of a palm-tree; and it was long before he indulged himself in the use of a chair or pulpit of rough timber.†

* Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 44) reviles the wickedness of the impostor, who despoiled two poor orphans, the sons of a carpenter; a reproach which he drew from the Disputatio contra Saracenos, composed in Arabic before the year 1130; but the honest Gagnier (ad Abulfed. p. 53) has shown that they were deceived by the word *Al Nagjar*, which signifies, in this place, not an obscure trade, but a noble tribe of Arabs. The desolate state of the ground is described by Abulfeda; and his worthy interpreter has proved from Al Bochari, the offer of a price; from Al Jannabi, the fair purchase; and from Ahmed Ben Joseph, the payment of the money by the generous Abubeker. On these grounds the prophet must be honourably acquitted.

† Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 246. 324) describes the seal and pulpit, as two venerable relics of the apostle of God; and the portrait of his court is taken from Abulfeda (c. 44, p. 85).

After a reign of six years, fifteen hundred Moslems, in arms and in the field, renewed their oath of allegiance; and their chief repeated the assurance of protection till the death of the last member, or the final dissolution of the party. It was in the same camp that the deputy of Mecca was astonished by the attention of the faithful to the words and looks of the prophet, by the eagerness with which they collected his spittle, a hair that dropped on the ground, the refuse water of his lustrations, as if they participated in some degree of the prophetic virtue. "I have seen," said he, "the Chosroes of Persia and the Cæsar of Rome, but never did I behold a king among his subjects like Mahomet among his companions." The devout fervour of enthusiasm acts with more energy and truth than the cold and formal servility of courts.

In the state of nature every man has a right to defend, by force of arms, his person and his possessions; to repel, or even to prevent, the violence of his enemies, and to extend his hostilities to a reasonable measure of satisfaction and retaliation. In the free society of the Arabs, the duties of subject and citizen imposed a feeble restraint; and Mahomet, in the exercise of a peaceful and benevolent mission, had been despoiled and banished by the injustice of his countrymen. The choice of an independent people had exalted the fugitive of Mecca to the rank of a sovereign; and he was invested with the just prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging offensive or defensive war. The imperfection of human rights was supplied and armed by the plenitude of divine power: the prophet of Medina assumed, in his new revelations, a fiercer and more sanguinary tone, which proves that his former moderation was the effect of weakness:* the means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed, and he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and, without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The same bloody precepts, so repeatedly inculcated in the Koran, are ascribed by the author

* The eighth and ninth chapters of the Koran are the loudest and most vehement; and Maracci (Prodromus, part 4, p. 59—64) has inveighed with more justice than discretion against the double-dealing

to the Pentateuch and the Gospel. But the mild tenor of the evangelic style may explain an ambiguous text, that Jesus did not bring peace on the earth, but a sword: his patient and humble virtues should not be confounded with the intolerant zeal of princes and bishops, who have disgraced the name of his disciples. In the prosecution of religious war, Mahomet might appeal with more propriety to the example of Moses, of the judges and the kings of Israel. The military laws of the Hebrews are still more rigid than those of the Arabian legislator.* The Lord of hosts marched in person before the Jews: if a city resisted their summons, the males, without distinction, were put to the sword: the seven nations of Canaan were devoted to destruction; and neither repentance nor conversion could shield them from the inevitable doom, that no creature within their precincts should be left alive. The fair option of friendship, or submission, or battle, was proposed to the enemies of Mahomet. If they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the religion which they had embraced. The clemency of the prophet was decided by his interest; yet he seldom trampled on a prostrate enemy; and he seems to promise, that, on the payment of a tribute, the least guilty of his unbelieving subjects might be indulged in their worship, or at least in their imperfect faith. In the first months of his reign, he practised the lessons of holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina; the martial apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges;† and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself or his lieutenants. The Arab con-

of the impostor.

* The tenth and twentieth chapters of Deuteronomy, with the practical comments of Joshua, David, &c. are read with more awe than satisfaction by the pious Christians of the present age. But the bishops, as well as the rabbis of former times, have beat the drum-ecclesiastic with pleasure and success. (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 142, 143.

† Abulfeda, in Vit. Moham. p. 156. The private arsenal of the apostle consisted of nine swords, three lances, seven pikes or half-pikes, a quiver and three bows, seven cuirasses, three shields, and two helmets (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 328—334), with a large white standard, a black banner (p. 335), twenty horses (p. 322), &c. Two of his martial sayings are recorded by tradition (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 88. 337).

tinued to unite the professions of a merchant and a robber; and his petty excursions for the defence or the attack of a caravan insensibly prepared his troops for the conquest of Arabia. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by a divine law:* the whole was faithfully collected in one common mass: a fifth of the gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the moveables and immoveables, was reserved by the prophet for pious and charitable uses; the remainder was shared in adequate portions by the soldiers who had obtained the victory or guarded the camp; the rewards of the slain devolved to their widows and orphans; and the increase of cavalry was encouraged by the allotment of a double share to the horse and to the man. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder; the apostle sanctified the licence of embracing the female captives as their wives or concubines; and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The sword," says Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer: whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven: at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm: the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination; and the death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue, if the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence: there is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in their beds; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy.†

* The whole subject de jure belli Mohammedanorum is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reland. (Dissertationes Miscellaneæ, tom. iii. Dissert. 10, p. 3—53.)

† The doctrine of absolute predestination, on which few religions

Perhaps the Koreish would have been content with the flight of Mahomet, had they not been provoked and alarmed by the vengeance of an enemy, who could intercept their Syrian trade as it passed and repassed through the territory of Medina. Abu Sophian himself, with only thirty or forty followers, conducted a wealthy caravan of a thousand camels; the fortune or dexterity of his march escaped the vigilance of Mahomet; but the chief of the Koreish was informed that the holy robbers were placed in ambush to await his return. He dispatched a messenger to his brethren of Mecca, and they were roused by the fear of losing their merchandise and their provisions, unless they hastened to his relief with the military force of the city. The sacred band of Mahomet was formed of three hundred and thirteen Moslems, of whom seventy-seven were fugitives, and the rest auxiliaries; they mounted by turns a train of seventy camels (the camels of Yathreb were formidable in war); but such was the poverty of his first disciples, that only two could appear on horseback in the field.* In the fertile and famous vale of Beder,† three stations from Medina, he was informed by his scouts of the caravan that approached on one side; of the Koreish, one hundred horse, eight hundred and fifty foot, who advanced on the other. After a short debate, he sacrificed the prospect of wealth to the pursuit of glory and revenge; and a slight intrenchment was formed to cover his troops, and a stream of fresh water that glided through the valley. "O God," he exclaimed, as the numbers of the Koreish descended from the hills,

can reproach each other, is sternly exposed in the Koran (c. 3, p. 52, 53; c. 4, p. 70, &c. with the notes of Sale, and c. 17, p. 413, with those of Maracci), Reland (de Relig. Mohamm. p. 61—64), and Sale (Prelim. Discourse, p. 103), represent the opinions of the doctors, and our modern travellers the confidence, the fading confidence, of the Turks.

* Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 9) allows him seventy or eighty horse; and on two other occasions prior to the battle of Ohud, he enlists a body of thirty (p. 10) and of five hundred (p. 66) troopers. Yet the Mussulmans, in the field of Ohud, had no more than two horses, according to the better sense of Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohamm. p. 31, p. 65). In the *Stony* province, the camels were numerous; but the horse appears to have been less common than in the *Happy* or the *Desert* Arabia.

† Bedder Houneene, twenty miles from Medina, and forty from Mecca, is on the high road of the caravan of Egypt; and the pilgrims annually commemorate the prophet's victory by illuminations, rockets, &c. Shaw's Travels,

"O God, if these are destroyed, by whom wilt thou be worshipped on the earth? Courage, my children, close your ranks; discharge your arrows, and the day is your own." At these words he placed himself, with Abubeker, on a throne or pulpit,* and instantly demanded the succour of Gabriel and three thousand angels. His eye was fixed on the field of battle; the Mussulmans fainted and were pressed; in that decisive moment the prophet started from his throne, mounted his horse, and cast a handful of sand into the air; "Let their faces be covered with confusion!" Both armies heard the thunder of his voice; their fancy beheld the angelic warriors;† the Koreish trembled and fled; seventy of the bravest were slain; and seventy captives adorned the first victory of the faithful. The dead bodies of the Koreish were despoiled and insulted; two of the most obnoxious prisoners were punished with death; and the ransom of the others, four thousand drachms of silver, compensated in some degree the escape of the caravan. But it was in vain that the camels of Abu Sophian explored a new road through the desert and along the Euphrates: they were overtaken by the diligence of the Mussulmans; and wealthy must have been the prize, if twenty thousand drachms could be set apart for the fifth of the apostle. The resentment of the public and private loss stimulated Abu Sophian to collect a body of three

p. 477. * The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is styled by Gagnier (in Abulfeda, c. 27, p. 58. Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 30. 33), *Umbraculum, une loge de bois avec une porte.* The same Arabic word is rendered by Reiske (Annales Moslemici Abulfedæ, p. 23), by *Solium, Suggestus editior;* and the difference is of the utmost moment for the honour both of the interpreter and of the hero. I am sorry to observe the pride and acrimony with which Reiske chastises his fellow-labourer. Sæpe sic vertit, ut integræ paginæ nequeant nisi unâ liturâ corrigi: Arabice non satis callebat et carebat judicio critico. J. J. Reiske, Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalisæ Tabulas, p. 228, ad calcem Abulfedæ Syriæ Tabulæ; Lipsiæ, 1766, in quarto. † The loose expressions of the Koran (c. 3, p. 124, 125; c. 8, p. 9) allow the commentators to fluctuate between the numbers of one thousand, three thousand, or nine thousand angels; and the smallest of these might suffice for the slaughter of seventy of the Koreish. (Maracci, Alcoran, tom. ii. p. 131.) Yet the same scholiasts confess, that this angelic band was not visible to any mortal eye. (Maracci, p. 297.) They refine on the words (c. 8. 16), "not thou, but God," &c. (D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, p. 600, 601).

thousand men, seven hundred of whom were armed with cuirasses, and two hundred were mounted on horseback; three thousand camels attended his march; and his wife Henda, with fifteen matrons of Mecca, incessantly sounded their timbrels to animate the troops, and to magnify the greatness of Hebal, the most popular deity of the Caaba. The standard of God and Mahomet was upheld by nine hundred and fifty believers; the disproportion of numbers was not more alarming than in the field of Beder; and their presumption of victory prevailed against the divine and human sense of the apostle. The second battle was fought on mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina:* the Koreish advanced in the form of a crescent: and the right wing of cavalry was led by Caled, the fiercest and most successful of the Arabian warriors. The troops of Mahomet were skilfully posted on the declivity of the hill; and their rear was guarded by a detachment of fifty archers. The weight of their charge impelled and broke the centre of the idolaters; but in the pursuit they lost the advantage of their ground; the archers deserted their station; the Mussulmans were tempted by the spoil, disobeyed their general, and disordered their ranks. The intrepid Caled, wheeling his cavalry on their flank and rear, exclaimed, with a loud voice, that Mahomet was slain. He was indeed wounded in the face with a javelin; two of his teeth were shattered with a stone; yet, in the midst of tumult and dismay, he reproached the infidels with the murder of a prophet; and blessed the friendly hand that stanched his blood, and conveyed him to a place of safety. Seventy martyrs died for the sins of the people; they fell, said the apostle, in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeless companion;† their bodies were mangled by the inhuman females of Mecca; and the wife of Abu Sophian tasted the entrails of Hamza, the uncle of Mahomet. They might applaud their superstition and satiate their fury; but the Mussulmans soon rallied in the field, and the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. It was attacked the ensuing year by an army of ten thousand enemies; and this third expedition is variously named from

* Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 47.

† In the third chapter of the Koran (p. 50—53, with Sale's notes), the prophet alleges some poor excuses for the defeat of Ohud.

the *nations*, which marched under the banner of Abu Sophian, from the *ditch* which was drawn before the city, and a camp of three thousand Mussulmans. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; the valour of Ali was signalized in single combat; and the war was protracted twenty days, till the final separation of the confederates. A tempest of wind, rain, and hail, overturned their tents; their private quarrels were fomented by an insidious adversary; and the Koreish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne, or to check the conquests, of their invincible exile.*

The choice of Jerusalem for the first kebla of prayer discovers the early propensity of Mahomet in favour of the Jews; and happy would it have been for their temporal interest, had they recognized, in the Arabian prophet, the hope of Israel and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last moment of his life; and in the double character of an apostle and a conqueror, his persecution was extended to both worlds.† The Kainoka dwelt at Medina under the protection of the city: he seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. "Alas," replied the trembling Jews, "we are ignorant of the use of arms, but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?" The unequal conflict was terminated in fifteen days; and it was with extreme reluctance that Mahomet yielded to the importunity of his allies, and consented to spare the lives of the captives. But their riches were confiscated, their arms became more effectual in the hands of the Mussulmans; and a wretched colony of seven hundred exiles was driven with their wives and children to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria. The Nadharites were more guilty, since they conspired in a

* For the detail of the three Koreish wars, of Beder, of Ohud, and of the ditch, peruse Abulfeda (p. 56—61. 64—69. 73—77), Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 23—45. 70—96. 120—139), with the proper articles of D'Herbelot, and the abridgments of Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 6, 7) and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 102).

† The wars of Mahomet against the Jewish tribes of Kainoka, the Nadharites, Koraidha, and Chaibar, are related by Abulfeda (p. 61. 71. 77. 87, &c.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. 61—65. 107—112. 139—148. 268—294).

friendly interview to assassinate the prophet. He besieged their castle, three miles from Medina; but their resolute defence obtained an honourable capitulation; and the garrison, sounding their trumpets and beating their drums, was permitted to depart with the honours of war. The Jews had excited and joined the war of the Koreish; no sooner had the *nations* retired from the *ditch*, than Mahomet, without laying aside his armour, marched on the same day to extirpate the hostile race of the children of Koraidha. After a resistance of twenty-five days, they surrendered at discretion. They trusted to the intercession of their old allies of Medina; they could not be ignorant that fanaticism obliterates the feelings of humanity. A venerable elder, to whose judgment they appealed, pronounced the sentence of their death; seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of the city; they descended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and burial; and the apostle beheld with an inflexible eye the slaughter of his helpless enemies. Their sheep and camels were inherited by the Mussulmans; three hundred cuirasses, five hundred pikes, a thousand lances, composed the most useful portion of the spoil. Six days' journey to the north-east of Medina, the ancient and wealthy town of Chaibar was the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia; the territory, a fertile spot in the desert, was covered with plantations and cattle, and protected by eight castles, some of which were esteemed of impregnable strength. The forces of Mahomet consisted of two hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot; in the succession of eight regular and painful sieges they were exposed to danger, and fatigue, and hunger; and the most undaunted chiefs despaired of the event. The apostle revived their faith and courage by the example of Ali, on whom he bestowed the surname of the Lion of God; perhaps we may believe that a Hebrew champion of gigantic stature was cloven to the chest by his irresistible scymetar; but we cannot praise the modesty of romance, which represents him as tearing from its hinges the gate of a fortress, and wielding the ponderous buckler in his left hand.* After the reduction of the castles, the town of Chaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured,

* Abu Rafe, the servant of Mahomet, is said to affirm that he himself, and seven other men, afterwards tried, without success, to

in the presence of Mahomet, to force a confession of his hidden treasure; the industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration; they were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for *his* emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were transplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia.*

Five times each day the eyes of Mahomet were turned towards Mecca,† and he was urged by the most sacred and powerful motives, to revisit, as a conqueror, the city and temple from whence he had been driven as an exile. The Caaba was present to his waking and sleeping fancy; an idle dream was translated into vision and prophecy; he unfurled the holy banner; and a rash promise of success too hastily dropped from the lips of the apostle. His march from Medina to Mecca displayed the peaceful and solemn pomp of a pilgrimage; seventy camels, chosen and bedecked for sacrifice, preceded the van; the sacred territory was respected, and the captives were dismissed without ransom to proclaim his clemency and devotion. But no sooner did Mahomet descend into the plain, within a day's journey of the city, than he exclaimed, "they have clothed themselves with the skins of tigers;" the numbers and resolution of the Koreish opposed his progress; and the roving Arabs of the desert might desert or betray a leader whom they had followed for the hopes of spoil. The intrepid fanatic sank into a cool and cautious politician; he waived in the treaty his title of apostle of God, concluded with the Koreish and their allies a truce of ten years,

move the same gate from the ground (Abulfeda, p. 90). Abu Rafe was an eye-witness, but who will be witness for Abu Rafe?

* The banishment of the Jews is attested by Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 9) and the great Al Zabari (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 285). Yet Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 324) believes that the Jewish religion, and Karaite sect, are still professed by the tribe of Chaibar; and that in the plunder of the caravans, the disciples of Moses are the confederates of those of Mahomet.

† The successive steps of the reduction of Mecca, are related by Abulfeda (p. 84—87. 97—100. 102—111), and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 209—245. 309—322; tom. iii. p. 1—58), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 8—10), Abulpharagius (Dynast, p. 103).

engaged to restore the fugitives of Mecca who should embrace his religion, and stipulated only, for the ensuing year, the humble privilege of entering the city as a friend, and of remaining three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage. A cloud of shame and sorrow hung on the retreat of the Mussulmans, and their disappointment might justly accuse the failure of a prophet who had so often appealed to the evidence of success. The faith and hope of the pilgrims were rekindled by the prospect of Mecca; their swords were sheathed; seven times in the footsteps of the apostle they encompassed the Caaba: the Koreish had retired to the hills, and Mahomet, after the customary sacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. The people were edified by his devotion; the hostile chiefs were awed, or divided, or seduced; and both Caled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, most seasonably deserted the sinking cause of idolatry. The power of Mahomet was increased by the submission of the Arabian tribes; ten thousand soldiers were assembled for the conquest of Mecca; and the idolaters, the weaker party, were easily convicted of violating the truce. Enthusiasm and discipline impelled the march, and preserved the secret, till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed to the astonished Koreish, the design, the approach, and the irresistible force of the enemy. The haughty Abu Sophian presented the keys of the city, admired the variety of arms and ensigns that passed before him in review; observed that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom, and confessed, under the scymetar of Omar, that he was the apostle of the true God. The return of Marius and Sylla was stained with the blood of the Romans; the revenge of Mahomet was stimulated by religious zeal, and his injured followers were eager to execute or to prevent the order of a massacre. Instead of indulging their passions and his own,* the victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions of Mecca. His troops, in three divisions, marched into the city; eight and

* After the conquest of Mecca, the Mahomet of Voltaire imagines and perpetrates the most horrid crimes. The poet confesses, that he is not supported by the truth of history, and can only allege, que celui qui fait la guerre à sa patrie au nom de Dieu, est capable de tout (Œuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 282). The maxim is neither charitable nor philosophic; and some reverence is surely due to the fame of heroes and the religion of nations. I am informed that a Turkish ambassador at Paris was much scandalized at the repro-

twenty of the inhabitants were slain by the sword of Caled; eleven men and six women were proscribed by the sentence of Mahomet; but he blamed the cruelty of his lieutenant; and several of the most obnoxious victims were indebted for their lives to his clemency or contempt. The chiefs of the Koreish were prostrate at his feet. "What mercy can you expect from the man whom you have wronged?"—"We confide in the generosity of our kinsman."—"And you shall not confide in vain; begone! you are safe, you are free." The people of Mecca deserved their pardon by the profession of Islam; and after an exile of seven years, the fugitive missionary was enthroned as the prince and prophet of his native country.* But the three hundred and sixty idols of the Caaba were ignominiously broken; the house of God was purified and adorned; as an example to future times, the apostle again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim; and a perpetual law was enacted, that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city.†

The conquest of Mecca determined the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes;‡ who, according to the vicissitudes of fortune, had obeyed or disregarded the eloquence or the arms of the prophet. Indifference for rites and opinions still marks the character of the Bedoweens; and they might accept, as loosely as they hold, the doctrine of the Koran. Yet an obstinate remnant still adhered to the religion and liberty of their ancestors; and the war of Honain derived a proper appellation from the *idols* whom Mahomet had vowed to destroy, and whom the confederates

sentation of this tragedy.

* The Mahometan doctors still dispute whether Mecca was reduced by force or consent (Abulfeda, p. 107, et Gagnier ad locum); and this verbal controversy is of as much moment as our own about William the *Conqueror*.

† In excluding the Christians from the peninsula of Arabia, the province of Hejaz, or the navigation of the Red Sea, Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 166), and Reland (Dissert. Miscell. tom. iii. p. 51), are more rigid than the Mussulmans themselves. The Christians are received without scruple into the ports of Mocha and even of Gedda; and it is only the city and precincts of Mecca that are inaccessible to the profane (Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 308, 309. Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 205. 248, &c.). [This prohibition is contained in the chapter of the Koran called Barat; it is numbered the *ninth*, but supposed to have been the last that was published. (Ockley, p. 57, edit. Bohn.) It was designed to make converts by securing exclusively to Mussulmans the profits of the great fair of Mecca. See note, p. 453. —ED.]

‡ Abulfeda, p. 112—115. Gagnier, tom ii. 67—88. D'Herbelot, MOHAMMED.

of Tayef had sworn to defend.* Four thousand Pagans advanced with secrecy and speed to surprise the conqueror, they pitied and despised the supine negligence of the Koreish, but they depended on the wishes, and perhaps the aid, of a people who had so lately renounced their gods, and bowed beneath the yoke of their enemy. The banners of Medina and Mecca were displayed by the prophet; a crowd of Bedoweens increased the strength or numbers of the army, and twelve thousand Mussulmans entertained a rash and sinful presumption of their invincible strength. They descended without precaution into the valley of Honain; the heights had been occupied by the archers and slingers of the confederates; their numbers were oppressed, their discipline was confounded, their courage was appalled, and the Koreish smiled at their impending destruction. The prophet, on his white mule, was encompassed by the enemies; he attempted to rush against their spears in search of a glorious death; ten of his faithful companions interposed their weapons and their breasts; three of these fell dead at his feet. "O my brethren," he repeatedly cried with sorrow and indignation, "I am the son of Abdallah, I am the apostle of truth! O man, stand fast in the faith! O God, send down thy succour!" His uncle Abbas, who, like the heroes of Homer, excelled in the loudness of his voice, made the valley resound with the recital of the gifts and promises of God; the flying Moslems returned from all sides to the holy standard; and Mahomet observed with pleasure that the furnace was again rekindled; his conduct and example restored the battle; and he animated his victorious troops to inflict a merciless revenge on the authors of their shame. From the field of Honain, he marched without delay to the siege of Tayef, sixty miles to the south-east of Mecca, a fortress of strength, whose fertile lands produce the fruits of Syria in the midst of the Arabian desert. A friendly tribe, instructed (I know not how) in the art of sieges, supplied him with a train of battering rams and military engines, with a body of five hundred artificers. But it was in vain that he offered

* The siege of Tayef, division of the spoil, &c. are related by Abulfeda (p. 117—123), and Gagnier (tom. iii. p. 88—111). It is Al Jannabi who mentions the engines and engineers of the tribe of Daws. The fertile spot of Tayef was supposed to be a piece of the land of Syria detached and dropped in the general deluge.

freedom to the slaves of Tayef; that he violated his own laws by the extirpation of the fruit-trees; that the ground was opened by the miners; that the breach was assaulted by the troops. After a siege of twenty days the prophet sounded a retreat; but he retreated with a song of devout triumph, and affected to pray for the repentance and safety of the unbelieving city. The spoil of this fortunate expedition amounted to six thousand captives, twenty-four thousand camels, forty thousand sheep, and four thousand ounces of silver; a tribe who had fought at Honain, redeemed their prisoners by the sacrifice of their idols; but Mahomet compensated the loss by resigning to the soldiers his fifth of the plunder, and wished for their sake, that he possessed as many head of cattle as there were trees in the province of Tehama. Instead of chastising the disaffection of the Koreish, he endeavoured to cut out their tongues (his own expression), and to secure their attachment by a superior measure of liberality; Abu Sophian alone was presented with three hundred camels and twenty ounces of silver; and Mecca was sincerely converted to the profitable religion of the Koran. The *fugitives* and *auxiliaries* complained, that they who had borne the burthen were neglected in the season of victory. "Alas," replied their artful leader, "suffer me to conciliate these recent enemies, these doubtful proselytes, by the gift of some perishable goods. To your guard I intrust my life and fortunes. You are the companions of my exile, of my kingdom, of my paradise." He was followed by the deputies of Tayef, who dreaded the repetition of a siege. "Grant us, O apostle of God, a truce of three years, with the toleration of our ancient worship."—"Not a month, not an hour."—"Excuse us at least from the obligation of prayer."—"Without prayer, religion is of no avail." They submitted in silence; their temples were demolished, and the same sentence of destruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. His lieutenants, on the shores of the Red Sea, the ocean, and the Gulf of Persia, were saluted by the acclamations of a faithful people; and the ambassadors who knelt before the throne of Medina, were as numerous (says the Arabian proverb) as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm-tree. The nation submitted to the God and the sceptre of Mahomet; the opprobrious name of tribute was abolished; the spontaneous or reluctant oblations of alms and tithes were applied to the service of religion: and one hundred

and fourteen thousand Moslems accompanied the last pilgrimage of the apostle.*

When Heraclius returned in triumph from the Persian war, he entertained, at Emesa, one of the ambassadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes and nations of the earth to the profession of Islam. On this foundation the zeal of the Arabians has supposed the secret conversion of the Christian emperor: the vanity of the Greeks has feigned a personal visit to the prince of Medina, who accepted from the royal bounty a rich domain, and a secure retreat in the province of Syria.† But the friendship of Heraclius and Mahomet was of short continuance: the new religion had inflamed rather than assuaged the rapacious spirit of the Saracens; and the murder of an envoy afforded a decent pretence for invading, with three thousand soldiers, the territory of Palestine, that extends to the eastward of the Jordan. The holy banner was intrusted to Zeid; and such was the discipline or enthusiasm of the rising sect, that the noblest chiefs served without reluctance under the slave of the prophet. On the event of his decease, Jaafar and Abdallah were successively substituted to the command; and if the three should perish in the war, the troops were authorized to elect their general. The three leaders were slain in the battle of Muta,‡ the first military action which tried the valour of the Moslems against a foreign enemy. Zeid fell, like a soldier, in the foremost ranks; the death of Jaafar was heroic and memorable; he lost his right hand; he shifted the standard to his left; the left was severed from his body; he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps, till he was transfixed to the ground with fifty honourable wounds. "Advance," cried Abdallah, who stepped into the vacant place,

* The last conquests and pilgrimage of Mahomet are contained in Abulfeda (p. 121—133), Gagnier (tom. iii. p. 119—219), Elmacin (p. 10, 11), Abulpharagius (p. 103). The ninth of the Hegira was styled the Year of Embassies. (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121.)

† Compare the bigoted Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. i. p. 232—255) with the no less bigoted Greeks, Theophanes (p. 276—278), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 14, p. 86), and Cedrenus (p. 421).

‡ For the battle of Muta, and its consequences, see Abulfeda (p. 100—102), and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 327—343), Χάλεδος (says Theophanes) ὃν λέγουσι μάχαιραν τοῦ Θεοῦ (p. 278 D). [But Theophanes in his account of the Syrian war, a year afterwards (p. 279 B), omits one of Caled's greatest exploits, the battle of Ajnadin.—ED.]

"advance with confidence; either victory or paradise is our own." The lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but the falling standard was rescued by Caled, the proselyte of Mecca; nine swords were broken in his hand; and his valour withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the camp he was chosen to command: his skilful evolutions of the ensuing day secured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens: and Caled is renowned among his brethren and his enemies by the glorious appellation of the "Sword of God." In the pulpit, Mahomet described, with prophetic rapture, the crowns of the blessed martyrs; but in private he betrayed the feelings of human nature: he was surprised as he wept over the daughter of Zeid. "What do I see?" said the astonished votary.—"You see," replied the apostle, "a friend who is deploring the loss of his most faithful friend." After the conquest of Mecca, the sovereign of Arabia affected to prevent the hostile preparations of Heraclius; and solemnly proclaimed war against the Romans, without attempting to disguise the hardships and dangers of the enterprise.* The Moslems were discouraged: they alleged the want of money, or horses, or provisions; the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of the summer: "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant prophet. He disdained to compel their service; but on his return he admonished the most guilty, by an excommunication of fifty days. Their desertion enhanced the merit of Abubeker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes; and Mahomet displayed his banner at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Painful indeed was the distress of the march: lassitude and thirst were aggravated by the scorching and pestilential winds of the desert: ten men rode by turns on the same camel; and they were

* The expedition of Tabuc is recorded by our ordinary historians, Abulfeda (Vit. Moham. p. 123—127), and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 147—163), but we have the advantage of appealing to the original evidence of the Koran (c. 9, p. 154. 165), with Sale's learned and rational notes. [Ockley notices very briefly (p. 57) this march to Tabuc, and places it in the ninth year of the Hegira. The battle of Muta is only once incidentally mentioned by him (p. 60), when he says, that in the eleventh year of the Hegira, "Mohammed ordered Osama to go to the place where Zeid his father was slain at the battle of Muta, to revenge his death." This was the last expedition he ever

reduced to the shameful necessity of drinking the water from the belly of that useful animal. In the midway, ten days' journey from Medina and Damascus, they reposed near the grove and fountain of Tabuc. Beyond that place Mahomet declined the prosecution of the war: he declared himself satisfied with the peaceful intentions, he was more probably daunted by the martial array, of the emperor of the East. But the active and intrepid Caled spread around the terror of his name; and the prophet received the submission of the tribes and cities from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea. To his Christian subjects, Mahomet readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship.* The weakness of their Arabian brethren had restrained them from opposing his ambition; the disciples of Jesus were endeared to the enemy of the Jews; and it was the interest of a conqueror to propose a fair capitulation to the most powerful religion of the earth.

Till the age of sixty-three years, the strength of Mahomet was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. His epileptic fits, an absurd calumny of the Greeks, would be an object of pity rather than abhorrence,† but he

ordered.—ED.] * The *Diploma securitatis Ailensibus* is attested by Ahmed Ben Joseph, and the author *Libri Splendorum* (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfedam, p. 125); but Abulfeda himself, as well as Elmacin (Hist. Saracen, p. 11), though he owns Mahomet's regard for the Christians (p. 13), only mentions peace and tribute. In the year 1630, Sionita published at Paris the text and version of Mahomet's patent in favour of the Christians; which was admitted and reprobated by the opposite taste of Salmasius and Grotius (Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. AA). Hottinger doubts of its authenticity (Hist. Orient. p. 237); Renaudot urges the consent of the Mahometans (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 169); but Mosheim (Hist. Eccles. p. 244) shows the futility of their opinion, and inclines to believe it spurious. Yet Abulpharagius quotes the impostor's treaty with the Nestorian patriarch (Assemman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 418); but Abulpharagius was primate of the Jacobites.

† The epilepsy, or falling sickness, of Mahomet, is asserted by Theophanes, Zonaras, and the rest of the Greeks; and is greedily swallowed by the gross bigotry of Hottinger (Hist. Orient. p. 10, 11), Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 12), and Maracci (tom. ii. Alcoran, p. 762, 763). The titles (*the wrapped up, the covered*) of two chapters of the Koran (73, 74), can hardly be strained to such an interpretation; the silence, the ignorance, of the Mahometan commentators, is more conclusive than the most peremptory denial; and the charitable side is espoused by Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, tom. i. p. 301), Gagnier (ad Abulfedam, p. 9. Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 118) and Sale Koran,

seriously believed that he was poisoned at Chaibar by the revenge of a Jewish female.* During four years, the health of the prophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal disease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtue or penitence. "If there be any man," said the apostle from the pulpit, "whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back to the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Mussulman? let him proclaim *my* faults in the face of the congregation. Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate the principal and the interest of the debt." —"Yes," replied a voice from the crowd, "I am entitled to three drachms of silver." Mahomet heard the complaint, satisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for accusing him in this world rather than at the day of judgment. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves (seventeen men, as they are named, and eleven women); minutely directed the order of his funeral, and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death, he regularly performed the function of public prayer; the choice of Abubeker to supply his place appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. At a moment when his faculties were visibly impaired, he called for pen and ink to write, or more properly to dictate, a divine book, the sum and accomplishment of all his revelations; a dispute arose in the chamber, whether he should be allowed to supersede the authority of the Koran; and the prophet was forced to reprove the indecent vehemence of his disciples. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained, in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle and the faith

p. 469—474). * This poison (more ignominious since it was offered as a test of his prophetic knowledge) is frankly confessed by his zealous votaries, Abulfeda (p. 92), and Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 286—288).

of an enthusiast; described the visits of Gabriel, who bade an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy, but of the favour, of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet. The request was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution; his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words. "O God! pardon my sins! Yes, ... I come, ... among my fellow citizens on high;" and thus peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor. An expedition for the conquest of Syria was stopped by this mournful event; the army halted at the gates of Medina; the chiefs were assembled round their dying master. The city, more especially the house, of the prophet, was a scene of clamorous sorrow or silent despair: fanaticism alone could suggest a ray of hope and consolation. "How can he be dead, our witness, our intercessor, our mediator with God? By God, he is not dead; like Moses and Jesus he is wrapt in a holy trance, and speedily will he return to his faithful people." The evidence of sense was disregarded; and Omar, unsheathing his scymetar, threatened to strike off the heads of the infidels, who should dare to affirm that the prophet was no more. The tumult was appeased by the weight and moderation of Abubeker. "Is it Mahomet," said he to Omar and the multitude, "or the God of Mahomet, whom you worship? The God of Mahomet liveth for ever, but the apostle was a mortal like ourselves, and according to his own prediction, he has experienced the common fate of mortality." He was piously interred by the hands of his nearest kinsman, on the same spot on which he expired:* Medina

* The Greeks and Latins have invented and propagated the vulgar and ridiculous story that Mahomet's iron tomb is suspended in the air at *Mecca* (σῆμα μετεωριζόμενον; Laonicus Chalcocondyles de Rebus Turcicis, l. 3, p. 66) by the action of equal and potent loadstones (Dictionnaire de Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. EE. FF.). Without any philosophical inquiries, it may suffice, that, 1. The prophet was not

has been sanctified by the death and burial of Mahomet: and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aside from the way, to bow in voluntary devotion,* before the simple tomb of the prophet.†

At the conclusion of the life of Mahomet, it may perhaps be expected, that I should balance his faults and virtues, that I should decide whether the title of enthusiast or impostor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately conversant with the son of Abdallah, the task would still be difficult, and the success uncertain: at the distance of twelve centuries, I darkly contemplate his shade through a cloud of religious incense; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting resemblance would not equally apply to the solitary of mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition; so soon as marriage had raised him above the pressure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice; and till the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and reason; and a slight conversation with the Jews and Christians would teach him to despise and detest the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man

buried at Mecca; and, 2. That his tomb at Medina, which has been visited by millions, is placed on the ground (Reland de Relig. Moham. l. 2, c. 19, p. 209—211), Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 263—268).

* Al Jannabi enumerates (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 372—391) the multifarious duties of a pilgrim who visits the tomb of the prophet and his companions; and the learned casuist decides, that this act of devotion is nearest in obligation and merit to a divine precept. The doctors are divided which, of Mecca or Medina, be the most excellent (p. 391—394).

† The last sickness, death, and burial, of Mahomet, are described by Abulfeda and Gagnier (Vit. Moham. p. 133—142. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 220—271). The most private and interesting circumstances were originally received from Ayesha, Ali, the sons of Abbas, &c. and as they dwelt at Medina, and survived the prophet many years, they might repeat the pious tale to a second or third generation of pilgrims. [All Arabian writers agree that Mahomet died on the 12th day of the month Rabie I. in the 11th year of the Hegira, which some moderns make to be the 6th of June, and others the 8th. Clinton, with his usual accuracy, says "the 11th year of the Hegira began on Sunday, March 29th, A.D. 632. The 12th of Rabie I. being the seventy-first day, fell upon Sunday, June 7th." F. R. ii. 172.—ED.]

and a citizen to impart the doctrine of salvation, to rescue his country from the dominion of sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object, would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm suggestions of the understanding or the fancy would be felt as the inspirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God.* From enthusiasm to imposture, the step is perilous and slippery: the demon of Socrates† affords a memorable instance, how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mahomet were those of pure and genuine benevolence; but a human missionary is incapable of cherishing the obstinate unbelievers who reject his claims, despise his arguments, and persecute his life; he might forgive his personal adversaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God; the stern passions of pride and revenge were kindled in the bosom of Mahomet, and he sighed, like the prophet of Nineveh, for the destruction of the rebels whom he had condemned. The injustice of Mecca, and the choice of Medina, transformed the citizen into a prince, the

* The Christians, rashly enough, have assigned to Mahomet a tame pigeon, that seemed to descend from heaven and whisper in his ear. As this pretended miracle is urged by Grotius (de Veritate Religionis Christianæ), his Arabic translator, the learned Pocock, inquired of him the names of his authors; and Grotius confessed, that it is unknown to the Mahometans themselves. Lest it should provoke their indignation and laughter, the pious *lie* is suppressed in the Arabic version; but it has maintained an edifying place in the numerous editions of the Latin text. (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 186, 187. Reland, de Religion. Moham. l. 2, c. 39, p. 259—262.)

† Ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρξάμενον, φωνή τις γιγνομένη· ἡ ὅταν γένηταί ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με τούτου ὃ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν, προτρέπει δὲ οὔποτε (Plato, in Apolog. Socrat. c. 19, p. 121, 122, edit. Fischer). The familiar examples, which Socrates urges in his Dialogue with Theages (Platon. Opera, tom. i. p. 128, 129, edit. Hen. Stephan.), are beyond the reach of human foresight: and the divine inspiration (the Δαιμόνιον) of the philosopher, is clearly taught in the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The ideas of the most rational Platonists are expressed by Cicero (de Divinat. l. 54), and in the fourteenth and fifteenth Dissertations of Maximus of Tyre (p. 153—172, edit. Davis).

humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his sword was consecrated by the example of the saints; and the same God who afflicts a sinful world with pestilence and earthquakes, might inspire for their conversion or chastisement the valour of his servants. In the exercise of political government, he was compelled to abate the stern rigour of fanaticism, to comply, in some measure, with the prejudices and passions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation. The use of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of the faith; and Mahomet commanded or approved the assassination of the Jews and idolaters who had escaped from the field of battle. By the repetition of such acts, the character of Mahomet must have been gradually stained; and the influence of such pernicious habits would be poorly compensated by the practice of the personal and social virtues, which are necessary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his sectaries and friends. Of his last years, ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect, that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor!) at the enthusiasm of his youth, and the credulity of his proselytes.* A philosopher would observe that *their* cruelty and *his* success would tend more strongly to fortify the assurance of his divine mission, that his interest and religion were inseparably connected, and that his conscience would be soothed by the persuasion, that he alone was absolved by the Deity from the obligation of positive and moral laws. If he retained any vestige of his native innocence, the sins of Mahomet may be allowed as the evidence of his sincerity. In the support of truth, the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed less criminal; and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and justice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a priest, I can surprise a word or action of unaffected humanity; and the decree of Mahomet, that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children, may suspend or moderate the censure of the historian.†

* In some passage of his volumnious writings, Voltaire compares the prophet, in his old age, to a fakir,—"qui détache la chaîne de son cou pour en donner sur les oreilles à ses confrères."

† Gagnier relates, with the same impartial pen, this humane law or

The good sense of Mahomet* despised the pomp of royalty; the apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family; he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garment. Disdaining the penance and merit of a hermit, he observed, without effort or vanity, the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. On solemn occasions he feasted his companions with rustic and hospitable plenty; but in his domestic life, many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley-bread; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey; but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two sensual enjoyments which his nature required and his religion did not forbid; and Mahomet affirmed, that the fervour of his devotion was increased by these innocent pleasures. The heat of the climate inflames the the blood of the Arabs; and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity.† Their incontinence was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran; their incestuous alliances were blamed; the boundless licence of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines; their rights both of bed and of dowry were equitably determined; the freedom of divorce was discouraged; adultery was condemned as a capital offence; and fornication, in either sex, was punished with a hundred stripes.‡ Such were the calm and rational precepts of the

the prophet, and the murders of Caab and Sophian, which he prompted and approved (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 69. 97. 208).

* For the domestic life of Mahomet, consult Gagnier and the corresponding chapters of Abulfeda; for his diet (tom. iii. p. 285—288), his children (p. 189. 289); his wives (p. 290—303); his marriage with Zeineb (tom. ii. p. 152—160); his amour with Mary (p. 303—309); the false accusation of Ayesha (p. 186—199). The most original evidence of the three last transactions, is contained in the twenty-fourth, thirty-third, and sixty-sixth chapters of the Koran, with Sale's commentary. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 80—90) and Maracci (Prodrom. Alcoran, part 4, p. 49—59), have maliciously exaggerated the frailties of Mahomet.

† Incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque solvitur sexus. (Ammian. Marcellin. l. 14, c. 4.)

‡ Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 133—137) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, &c. and the curious reader of Selden's Uxor Hebraica will recognize many Jewish ordinances.

legislator; but in his private conduct, Mahomet indulged the appetites of a man, and abused the claims of a prophet. A special revelation dispensed him from the laws which he had imposed on his nation; the female sex, without reserve, was abandoned to his desires; and this singular prerogative excited the envy, rather than the scandal, the veneration rather than the envy, of the devout Mussulmans. If we remember the seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines of the wise Solomon, we shall applaud the modesty of the Arabian, who espoused no more than seventeen or fifteen wives; eleven are enumerated, who occupied at Medina their separate apartments round the house of the apostle, and enjoyed in their turns the favour of his conjugal society.* What is singular enough, they were all widows, excepting only Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker.† *She* was doubtless a virgin, since Mahomet consummated his nuptials (such is the premature ripeness of the climate) when she was only nine years of age. The youth, the beauty, the spirit, of Ayesha, gave her a superior ascendant: she was beloved and trusted by the prophet; and, after his death, the daughter of Abubeker was long revered as the mother of the faithful. Her behaviour had been ambiguous and indiscreet: in a nocturnal march, she was accidentally left behind; and in the morning Ayesha returned to the camp with a man. The temper of Mahomet was inclined to jealousy; but a divine revelation assured him of her innocence; he chastised her accusers, and published a law of domestic peace, that no woman should be condemned unless four male witnesses had seen her in the act of adultery.‡ In his adventures with Zeineb, the wife of Zeid, and with Mary, an Egyptian captive, the amorous prophet forgot the

* [Dr. Weil says that from four of these Mohamet "was separated soon after marriage, or before consummation," and that only nine wives survived him. Yet there were also four female slaves who were his concubines.—ED.]

† [His original name was Abdallah, the same as that of Mahomet's father. On the marriage of his daughter, he took that of Abu-Beker, distinguishing himself then and to all posterity, as the "Father of the Virgin."—ED.]

‡ In a memorable case, the caliph Omar decided that all presumptive evidence was of no avail; and that all the four witnesses must have actually seen stylum in pyxide. (Abulfedæ Annales Moslemici, p. 71, vers. Reiske.) [Ayesha's innocence is asserted, and her adventure with Safwan Ebu al Moattel explained, in a note to Sale's Koran,

interest of his reputation. At the house of Zeid, his freedman and adopted son, he beheld, in a loose undress, the beauty of Zeineb, and burst forth into an ejaculation of devotion and desire. The servile, or grateful, freedman understood the hint, and yielded without hesitation to the love of his benefactor. But as the filial relation had excited some doubt and scandal, the angel Gabriel descended from heaven to ratify the deed, to annul the adoption, and gently to reprove the apostle for distrusting the indulgence of his God. One of his wives, Hafsa, the daughter of Omar, surprised him on her own bed, in the embraces of his Egyptian captive: she promised secrecy and forgiveness: he swore that he would renounce the possession of Mary. Both parties forgot their engagements, and Gabriel again descended with a chapter of the Koran, to absolve him from his oath, and to exhort him freely to enjoy his captives and concubines, without listening to the clamours of his wives. In a solitary retreat of thirty days, he laboured, alone with Mary, to fulfil the commands of the angel. When his love and revenge were satiated, he summoned to his presence his eleven wives, reproached their disobedience and indiscretion, and threatened them with a sentence of divorce, both in this world and in the next: a dreadful sentence, since those who had ascended the bed of the prophet were for ever excluded from the hope of a second marriage. Perhaps the incontinence of Mahomet may be palliated by the tradition of his natural or preternatural gifts;* he united the manly virtue of thirty of the children of Adam; and the apostle might rival the thirteenth labour† of the Grecian Hercules.‡ A more serious and decent excuse may be drawn

ch. xxiv.—Ed.]

* Sibi robur ad generationem, quantum triginta viri habent, inesse jactaret: ita ut unicâ horâ posset undecim fœminis *satisfacere*, ut ex Arabum libris refert S^tus^. Petrus Paschasius, c. 2. (Maracci, Prodromus Alcoran. p. 4, p. 55. See likewise Observations de Belon, l. 3, c. 10, fol. 179, recto.) Al Jannabi (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 287) records his own testimony, that he surpassed all men in conjugal vigour; and Abulfeda mentions the exclamation of Ali, who washed his body after his death:—"O propheta, certe penis tuus cœlum versus erectus est" (in Vit. Mohammed. p. 140).

† I borrow the style of a father of the church, ἐναθλεύων Ἡρακλῆς τρισκαιδέκατον ἆθλον. (Greg. Nazianzen, orat. 3, p. 108.)

‡ The common and most glorious legend includes, in a single night, the fifty victories of Hercules over the virgin daughters of Thestius.

from his fidelity to Cadijah. During the twenty-four years of their marriage, her youthful husband abstained from the right of polygamy, and the pride or tenderness of the venerable matron was never insulted by the society of a rival. After her death he placed her in the rank of the four perfect women, with the sister of Moses, the mother of Jesus, and Fatima, the best beloved of his daughters. "Was she not old?" said Ayesha, with the insolence of a blooming beauty, "has not God given you a better in her place?"—"No, by God," said Mahomet, with an effusion of honest gratitude, "there never can be a better! she believed in me, when men despised me: she relieved my wants, when I was poor and persecuted by the world." *

In the largest indulgence of polygamy, the founder of a religion and empire might aspire to multiply the chances of a numerous posterity and a lineal succession. The hopes of Mahomet were fatally disappointed. The virgin Ayesha, and his ten widows of mature age and approved fertility, were barren in his potent embraces. The four sons of Cadijah died in their infancy. Mary, his Egyptian concubine, was endeared to him by the birth of Ibrahim. At the end of fifteen months the prophet wept over his grave; but he sustained with firmness the raillery of his enemies, and checked the adulation or credulity of the Moslems, by the assurance that an eclipse of the sun was *not* occasioned by the death of the infant. Cadijah had likewise given him four daughters, who were married to the most faithful of his disciples: the three eldest died before their father; but Fatima, who possessed his confidence and love, became the wife of her cousin Ali, and the mother of an illustrious progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his descendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the series of the Saracen caliphs, a title which describes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and successors of the apostle of God.†

(Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. 4, p. 274. Pausanias, l. 9, p. 763. Statius Sylv. l. 1, eleg. 3, v. 42.) But Athenæus allows seven nights, (Deipnosophist. l. 13, p. 556), and Apollodorus fifty, for this arduous achievement of Hercules, who was then no more than eighteen years of age. (Bibliot. l. 2, c. 4, p. 111, cum notis Heyne, part 1, p. 332.)

* Abulfeda in Vit. Moham. p. 12, 13. 16, 17, cum notis Gagnier.

† This outline of the Arabian history is drawn from the Bibliothèque

The birth, the alliance, the character, of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Taleb was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Hashem, and the hereditary prince or guardian of the city and temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct; but the husband of Fatima might expect the inheritance and blessing of her father; the Arabs had sometimes been patient of a female reign; and the two grandsons of the prophet had often been fondled in his lap, and shown in his pulpit, as the hope of his age, and the chief of the youth of paradise. The first of the true believers might aspire to march before them in this world and in the next; and if some were of a graver and more rigid cast, the zeal and virtue of Ali were never outstripped by any recent proselyte. He united the qualifications of a poet, a soldier, and a saint: his wisdom still breathes in a collection of moral and religious sayings;* and every antagonist, in the combats of the tongue or of the sword, was subdued by his eloquence and valour. From the first hour of his mission to the last rites of his funeral, the apostle was never forsaken by a generous friend, whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second Moses. The son of Abu Taleb was afterwards reproached for neglecting to secure his interest by a solemn declaration of his right, which would have silenced all competition, and sealed his succession by the decrees of heaven. But the unsuspecting hero confided in himself; the jealousy of empire, and perhaps the fear of opposition, might suspend

Orientale of D'Herbelot (under the names of *Aboubecre, Omar, Othman, Ali,* &c.), from the Annals of Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, and Elmacin (under the proper years of the *Hegira*), and especially from Ockley's History of the Saracens (vol. i. p. 1—10. 115—122. 229. 249. 363—372. 378—391, and almost the whole of the second volume). Yet we should weigh with caution the traditions of the hostile sects; a stream which becomes still more muddy as it flows farther from the source. Sir John Chardin has too faithfully copied the fables and errors of the modern Persians (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 235—250, &c.).

* Ockley, at the end of his second volume [p. 339—345 of Bohn's edition] has given an English version of one hundred and sixty-nine sentences, which he ascribes, with some hesitation, to Ali, the son of Abu Taled. His preface is coloured by the enthusiasm of a translator; yet these sentences delineate a characteristic, though dark, picture of human

the resolutions of Mahomet; and the bed of sickness was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the enemy of Ali.

The silence and death of the prophet restored the liberty of the people; and his companions convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor. The hereditary claim and lofty spirit of Ali were offensive to an aristocracy of elders, desirous of bestowing and resuming the sceptre by a free and frequent election; the Koreish could never be reconciled to the proud pre-eminence of the line of Hashem; the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled; the *fugitives* of Mecca and the *auxiliaries* of Medina asserted their respective merits, and the rash proposal of choosing two independent caliphs * would have crushed in their infancy the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeased by the disinterested resolution of Omar, who suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, stretched forth his hand, and declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Abubeker. The urgency of the moment, and the acquiescence of the people, might excuse this illegal and precipitate measure; but Omar himself confessed from the pulpit, that if any Mussulman should hereafter presume to anticipate the suffrage of his brethren, both the elector and the elected would be worthy of death.† After the simple inauguration of Abubeker, he was obeyed in Medina, Mecca,

life.

* [Caliph (or khalifa) denotes a *vicar* or *successor*. First applied to Abubeker as the successor of the prophet, it became afterwards a sovereign title. (Ockley, p. 79. 141.)—ED.]

† Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 5, 6), from an Arabian MS. represents Ayesha as adverse to the substitution of her father in the place of the apostle. This fact, so improbable in itself, is unnoticed by Abulfeda, Al Jannabi, and Al Bochari, the last of whom quotes the tradition of Ayesha herself. (Vit. Mohammed, p. 136. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 236.) [The authority cited by Ockley is Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi. MS. Arab. Huntington, No. 554. Ayesha protested against her husband's command that Abubeker should officiate as his deputy in the public prayers of the people, saying that "the congregation would not be able to listen to him for weeping," and she proposed that Omar should be sent instead. Perhaps she was moved by filial piety, and apprehended danger to her aged parent, in whom she may have perceived some growing infirmity, since he died in little more than two years afterwards. She was seconded by Omar's daughter, Hafsa, whose father was better fitted to overawe a popular assembly. See Bohn's Ockley, p. 81:—ED.]

and the provinces of Arabia; the Hashemites alone declined the oath of fidelity; and their chief, in his own house, maintained, above six months, a sullen and independent reserve; without listening to the threats of Omar, who attempted to consume with fire the habitation of the daughter of the apostle. The death of Fatima, and the decline of his party, subdued the indignant spirit of Ali; he condescended to salute the commander of the faithful, accepted his excuse of the necessity of preventing their common enemies, and wisely rejected his courteous offer of abdicating the government of the Arabians. After a reign of two years, the aged caliph was summoned by the angel of death. In his testament, with the tacit approbation of the companions, he bequeathed the sceptre to the firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. "I have no occasion," said the modest candidate, "for the place."—"But the place has occasion for you," replied Abubeker; who expired with a fervent prayer that the God of Mahomet would ratify his choice, and direct the Mussulmans in the way of concord and obedience. The prayer was not ineffectual, since Ali himself, in a life of privacy and prayer, professed to revere the superior worth and dignity of his rival; who comforted him for the loss of empire, by the most flattering marks of confidence and esteem. In the twelfth year of his reign, Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin; he rejected with equal impartiality the names of his son and of Ali, refused to load his conscience with the sins of his successor, and devolved on six of the most respectable companions the arduous task of electing a commander of the faithful. On this occasion, Ali was again blamed by his friends * for submitting his right to the judgment of men, for recognizing their jurisdiction by accepting a place among the six electors. He might have obtained their suffrage, had he deigned to promise a strict and servile conformity, not only to the Koran and tradition, but likewise to the determinations of two *seniors*.†

* Particularly by his friend and cousin Abdallah, the son of Abbas, who died A.D. 687, with the title of grand doctor of the Moslems. In Abulfeda he recapitulated the important occasions in which Ali had neglected his salutary advice (p. 76, vers. Reiske) and concludes (p. 85), O princeps fidelium, absque controversia tu quidem vere fortis es, at inops boni consilii, et rerum gerendarum parum callens.

† I suspect that the two seniors (Abulpharagius, p. 115. Ockley,

With these limitations, Othman, the secretary of Mahomet, accepted the government; nor was it till after the third caliph, twenty-four years after the death of the prophet, that Ali was invested, by the popular choice, with the regal and sacerdotal office. The manners of the Arabians retained their primitive simplicity, and the son of Abu Taleb despised the pomp and vanity of this world. At the hour of prayer, he repaired to the mosch of Medina, clothed in a thin cotton gown, a coarse turban on his head, his slippers in one hand, and his bow in the other, instead of a walking-staff. The companions of the prophet and the chiefs of the tribes saluted their new sovereign, and gave him their right hands as a sign of fealty and allegiance.

The mischiefs that flow from the contests of ambition are usually confined to the times and countries in which they have been agitated.* But the religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is still maintained in the immortal hatred of the Persians and Turks.† The former, who are branded with the appellation of *Shiites* or sectaries, have enriched the Mahometan creed with a new article of faith; and if Mahomet be the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God. In their private converse, in their public worship, they bitterly execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indefeasible right to the dignity of imam and caliph; and the name of Omar expresses in their tongue the perfect accomplishment of wickedness and impiety.‡ The *Sonnites*, who are supported by the general consent and orthodox tradition of the Mussulmans, entertain a more impartial, or

tom. i. p. 371), may signify not two actual counsellors, but his two predecessors, Abubeker and Omar. [Bohn's Ockley, p. 272.]

* ["The mischiefs of ambition" never have been, nor can they be, so circumscribed. They extend to the most distant times and countries. History is but the development of their consequences.—ED.]

† The schism of the Persians is explained by all our travellers of the last century, especially in the second and fourth volumes of their master, Chardin. Niebuhr, though of inferior merit, has the advantage of writing so late as the year 1764 (Voyages en Arabie, &c. tom. ii. p. 208—233), since the ineffectual attempt of Nadir Shah to change the religion of the nation. (See his Persian History translated into French by Sir William Jones, tom. ii. p. 5, 6. 47, 48. 144—155.)

‡ Omar is the name of the devil; his murderer is a saint. When the Persians shoot with the bow, they frequently cry—"May this arrow go to the heart of Omar!" (Voyages de Chardin, tom. ii.

at least a more decent, opinion. They respect the memory of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy and legitimate successors of the prophet. But they assign the last and most humble place to the husband of Fatima, in the persuasion that the order of succession was determined by the degrees of sanctity.* An historian who balances the four caliphs with a hand unshaken by superstition, will calmly pronounce, that their manners were alike pure and exemplary; that their zeal was fervent, and probably sincere; and that, in the midst of riches and power, their lives were devoted to the practice of moral and religious duties. But the public virtues of Abubeker and Omar, the prudence of the first, the severity of the second, maintained the peace and prosperity of their reigns. The feeble temper and declining age of Othman were incapable of sustaining the weight of conquest and empire. He chose, and he was deceived; he trusted, and he was betrayed; the most deserving of the faithful became useless or hostile to his government, and his lavish bounty was productive only of ingratitude and discontent. The spirit of discord went forth in the provinces; their deputies assembled at Medina, and the Charegites, the desperate fanatics who disclaimed the yoke of subordination and reason, were confounded among the free-born Arabs, who demanded the redress of their wrongs and the punishment of their oppressors. From Cufa, from Bassora, from Egypt, from the tribes of the desert, they rose in arms, encamped about a league from Medina, and dispatched a haughty mandate to their sovereign, requiring him to execute justice, or to descend from the throne. His repentance began to disarm and disperse the insurgents; but their fury was rekindled by the arts of his enemies; and the forgery of a perfidious secretary was contrived to blast his reputation and precipitate his fall.† The caliph had lost

p. 239, 240. 259, &c.)

* This gradation of merit is distinctly marked in a creed, illustrated by Reland (de Relig. Mohamm. l. 1, p. 37); and a Sonnite argument inserted by Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, tom. ii. p. 230). The practice of cursing the memory of Ali was abolished, after forty years, by the Ommiades themselves (D'Herbelot, p. 690), and there are few among the Turks who presume to revile him as an infidel. (Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 46.)

† [This secretary was Merwan, afterwards the tenth successor of Mahomet in the Caliphate (Ockley, p. 282. 435, edit. Bohn). Major Price, in his Mohammedan History, and Dr. Weil in his Geschichte

the only guard of his predecessors, the esteem and confidence of the Moslems; during a siege of six weeks his water and provisions were intercepted, and the feeble gates of the palace were protected only by the scruples of the more timorous rebels. Forsaken by those who had abused his simplicity, the helpless and venerable çaliph expected the approach of death; the brother of Ayesha marched at the head of the assassins; and Othman, with the Koran in his lap, was pierced with a multitude of wounds. A tumultuous anarchy of five days was appeased by the inauguration of Ali; his refusal would have provoked a general massacre. In this painful situation he supported the becoming pride of the chief of the Hashemites; declared that he had rather serve than reign; rebuked the presumption of the strangers; and required the formal, if not the voluntary, assent of the chiefs of the nation. He has never been accused of prompting the assassin of Omar; though Persia indiscreetly celebrates the festival of that holy martyr. The quarrel between Othman and his subjects was assuaged by the early mediation of Ali; and Hassan, the eldest of his sons, was insulted and wounded in the defence of the caliph. Yet it is doubtful whether the father of Hassan was strenuous and sincere in his opposition to the rebels; and it is certain that he enjoyed the benefit of their crime. The temptation was indeed of such magnitude as might stagger and corrupt the most obdurate virtue. The ambitious candidate no longer aspired to the barren sceptre of Arabia: the Saracens had been victorious in the East and West; and the wealthy kingdoms of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, were the patrimony of the commander of the faithful.

A life of prayer and contemplation had not chilled the martial activity of Ali; but in a mature age, after a long experience of mankind, he still betrayed in his conduct the rashness and indiscretion of youth.* In the first days of his

der Chalifen, have collected many particulars respecting him. He was "the evil genius of Othman," who often consulted Ali; but the prudent advice which he received was always counteracted by the malignant influence of his secretary. The revolt against Othman was caused by a forged letter, in which Abdallah, the lieutenant of Egypt, was ordered to put to death Abubeker's son, Mohammed, and some of his friends.—ED.]

* [Major Price and Dr. Weil supply many additional incidents in

reign, he neglected to secure, either by gifts or fetters, the doubtful allegiance of Telha and Zobeir, two of the most powerful of the Arabian chiefs.* They escaped from Medina to Mecca, and from thence to Bassora; erected the standard of revolt, and usurped the government of Irak, or Assyria, which they had vainly solicited as the reward of their services. The mask of patriotism is allowed to cover the most glaring inconsistencies; and the enemies, perhaps the assassins, of Othman now demanded vengeance for his blood. They were accompanied in their flight by Ayesha, the widow of the prophet, who cherished, to the last hour of her life, an implacable hatred against the husband and the posterity of Fatima. The most reasonable Moslems were scandalized, that the mother of the faithful should expose in a camp her person and character; but the superstitious crowd was confident that her presence would sanctify the justice, and assure the success, of their cause. At the head of twenty thousand of his loyal Arabs, and nine thousand valiant auxiliaries of Cufa, the caliph encountered and defeated the superior numbers of the rebels under the walls of Bassora. Their leaders, Telha and Zobeir, were slain in the first battle that stained with civil blood the arms of the Moslems.† After passing through the ranks to animate the troops, Ayesha had taken her post amidst the dangers of the field. In the heat of the action, seventy men, who held the bridle of her camel, were successively killed or wounded; and the cage or litter in which she sat was stuck with javelins and darts like the quills of a porcupine. The venerable captive sustained with firmness the reproaches of the conqueror, and was speedily dismissed to her proper station, at the

the life of Ali from Persian writers, who of course exalt their favourite hero. These serve, however, only to confirm Gibbon's estimate of his character, so clearly did our historian discern, and so justly did he appreciate, merits obscurely revealed by the Sonnite authorities, whence his materials were mostly derived.—Ed.]

* [Ali suspected these two chiefs, and offered to resign the caliphate to either of them. This they both declined and gave him their hands in token of submission. Telha begged for the government of Cufa, and Zobeir for that of Bassora. These were refused by Ali, and the two chiefs were allowed to withdraw from Medina. (Ockley, 289—291, edit. Bohn.)—Ed.]

† [Major Price says that Ali evinced great reluctance to begin this battle. Telha and Zobeir, in their last moments, expressed their regret for having rebelled against the emperor

tomb of Mahomet, with the respect and tenderness that was still due to the widow of the apostle.* After this victory, which was styled the Day of the Camel, Ali marched against a more formidable adversary; against Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, who had assumed the title of caliph, and whose claim was supported by the forces of Syria and the interest of the house of Ommiyah. From the passage of Thapsacus, the plain of Siffin† extends along the Western banks of the Euphrates. On this spacious and level theatre, the two competitors waged a desultory war of one hundred and ten days. In the course of ninety actions or skirmishes, the loss of Ali was estimated at twenty-five, that of Moawiyah at forty-five, thousand soldiers; and the list of the slain was dignified with the names of five-and-twenty veterans who had fought at Beder under the standard of Mahomet. In this sanguinary contest, the lawful caliph displayed a superior character of valour and humanity. His troops were strictly enjoined to await the first onset of the enemy; to spare their flying brethren, and to respect the bodies of the dead, and the chastity of the female captives. He generously proposed to save the blood of the Moslems by a single combat; but his trembling rival declined the challenge as a sentence of inevitable death. The ranks of the Syrians were broken by the charge of a hero who was mounted on a piebald horse, and wielded with irresistible force his ponderous and two-edged sword. As often as he smote a rebel, he shouted the Allah Acbar, "God is victorious;" and in the tumult of a nocturnal battle, he was

of the faithful. Ockley, 308, 309.—ED.] * [Ayesha was captured by her brother Mohammed, and guarded, on her way to Medina, by a retinue of women, attired as soldiers. Price, Moh. Hist.—ED.] † The plain of Siffin is determined by D'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 29,) to be the Campus Barbaricus of Procopius. [Thapsacus was always an important point in Eastern warfare. The Persian monarchs led their forces over its bridge to attack Greece, and, reversing the route, Alexander there pursued Darius. (Arrian. 3. 7.) Its name often occurs in the military operations described by Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, and others, but was afterwards changed by Seleucus Nicator to Amphipolis. It is now Turmada. According to Strabo (tom. ii. p. 747,) it was 4800 stadia distant from Babylon and 2000 from the Zeugma, or bridge of Commagena. This was constructed by Alexander at the northern extremity of the plain of Siffin, where it is terminated by the mountains, that bend to the southward the before westerly course of the Euphrates.—ED.]

heard to repeat four hundred times that tremendous exclamation. The prince of Damascus already meditated his flight; but the certain victory was snatched from the grasp of Ali by the disobedience and enthusiasm of his troops. Their conscience was awed by the solemn appeal to the books of the Koran which Moawiyah exposed on the foremost lances; and Ali was compelled to yield to a disgraceful truce and an insidious compromise. He retreated with sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his party was discouraged; the distant provinces of Persia, of Yemen, and of Egypt, were subdued or seduced by his crafty rival; and the stroke of fanaticism which was aimed against the three chiefs of the nation, was fatal only to the cousin of Mahomet. In the temple of Mecca, three Charegites or enthusiasts discoursed of the disorders of the church and state; they soon agreed, that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amrou, the viceroy of Egypt, would restore the peace and unity of religion. Each of the assassins chose his victim, poisoned his dagger, devoted his life, and secretly repaired to the scene of action. Their resolution was equally desperate; but the first mistook the person of Amrou, and stabbed the deputy who occupied his seat; the prince of Damascus was dangerously hurt by the second; the lawful caliph, in the mosch of Cufa, received a mortal wound from the hand of the third. He expired in the sixty-third year of his age, and mercifully recommended to his children, that they would dispatch the murderer by a single stroke. The sepulchre of Ali* was concealed from the tyrants of the house of Ommiyah,† but in the fourth age of the Hegira, a tomb, a temple, a city, arose near the ruins of Cufa.‡ Many

* Abulfeda, a moderate Sonnite, relates the different opinions concerning the burial of Ali, but adopts the sepulchre of Cufa, hodie fama numeroque religiose frequentantium celebratum. This number is reckoned by Niebuhr to amount annually to two thousand of the dead, and five thousand of the living (tom. ii. p. 208, 209.).

† All the tyrants of Persia, from Adhad el Dowlat (A.D. 977, D'Herbelot, p. 58, 59. 95,) to Nadir Shah, (A.D. 1743, Hist. de Nadir Shah, tom. ii. p. 155,) have enriched the tomb of Ali with the spoils of the people. The dome is copper, with a bright and massy gilding, which glitters to the sun at the distance of many a mile.

‡ The city of MeshedAli, five or six miles from the ruins of Cufa, and one hundred and twenty to the south of Bagdad, is of the size and form of the modern Jerusalem. Meshed Hosein, larger and more

thousands of the Shiites repose in holy ground at the feet of the vicar of God; and the desert is vivified by the numerous and annual visits of the Persians, who esteem their devotion not less meritorious than the pilgrimage of Mecca.

The persecutors of Mahomet usurped the inheritance of his children; and the champions of idolatry became the supreme heads of his religion and empire. The opposition of Abu Sophian had been fierce and obstinate; his conversion was tardy and reluctant; his new faith was fortified by necessity and interest; he served, he fought, perhaps he believed; and the sins of the time of ignorance were expiated by the recent merits of the family of Ommiyah. Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, and of the cruel Henda, was dignified in his early youth with the office or title of secretary of the prophet; the judgment of Omar intrusted him with the government of Syria; and he administered that important province above forty years, either in a subordinate or supreme rank. Without renouncing the fame of valour and liberality, he affected the reputation of humanity and moderation; a grateful people was attached to their benefactor; and the victorious Moslems were enriched with the spoils of Cyprus and Rhodes. The sacred duty of pursuing the assassins of Othman was the engine and pretence of his ambition. The bloody shirt of the martyr was exposed in the mosch of Damascus; the emir deplored the fate of his injured kinsman; and sixty thousand Syrians were engaged in his service by an oath of fidelity and revenge. Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, himself an army, was the first who saluted the new monarch, and divulged the dangerous secret, that the Arabian caliphs might be created elsewhere than in the city of the prophet.* The policy of Moawiyah eluded the valour of his rival; and, after the death of Ali, he negotiated the abdication of his son Hassan, whose mind was either above or below the government of the world, and who retired without a sigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather.† The aspiring wishes of

populous, is at the distance of thirty miles. [Meshed Ali occupies the site of the ancient city of Hira. See Note, ch. 42, vol. iv. p. 469. It is near Cufa, and will be again noticed. ch. 51.—ED.]

* I borrow, on this occasion, the strong sense and expression of Tacitus (Hist. l. 4.) Evulgato imperii arcano posse imperatorem alibi quam Romæ fieri.

† [Hassan (or Hasan) was of a

the caliph were finally crowned by the important change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom. Some murmurs of freedom or fanaticism attested the reluctance of the Arabs, and four citizens of Medina refused the oath of fidelity; but the designs of Moawiyah were conducted with vigour and address; and his son Yezid, a feeble and dissolute youth, was proclaimed as the commander of the faithful and the successor of the apostle of God.

A familiar story is related of the benevolence of one of the sons of Ali.* In serving at table, a slave had inadvertently dropped a dish of scalding broth on his master: the heedless wretch fell prostrate, to deprecate his punishment, and repeated a verse of the Koran. "Paradise is for those who command their anger."—"I am not angry."—"And for those who pardon offences."—"I pardon your offence." "And for those who return good for evil."—"I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver." With an equal measure of piety, Hosein, the younger brother of Hassan, inherited a remnant of his father's spirit, and served with honour against the Christians in the siege of Constantinople. The primogeniture of the line of Hashem, and the holy character of grandson of the apostle, had centred in his person, and he was at liberty to prosecute his claim against Yezid, the tyrant of Damascus, whose vices he despised, and whose title he had never deigned to acknowledge. A list was secretly transmitted from Cufa to Medina, of one hundred and forty thousand Moslems, who professed their attachment to his cause, and who were eager to draw their swords as soon as he should appear on the banks of the Euphrates. Against the advice of his wisest friends, he resolved to trust his person and family in the hands of a perfidious people. He traversed the desert of Arabia with a timorous retinue of women and children; but as he approached the confines of Irak, he was alarmed by the

peaceable disposition, and after a reign of six months, proffered his resignation to Moawiyah, rather than engage in a civil war to preserve his throne. He retired to Medina, where an income was assigned to him of about a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, besides large presents; most of this revenue he spent in deeds of charity, and after a quiet life of eight years, was poisoned by his wife Jaidah. Ockley, p. 347—350, edit. Bohn.—ED.]

* [This son of Ali was Hassan, according to Ockley, p. 353.—ED.]

solitary or hostile face of the country, and suspected either the defection or ruin of his party. His fears were just: Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had extinguished the first sparks of an insurrection; and Hosein, in the plain of Kerbela, was encompassed by a body of five thousand horse, who intercepted his communication with the city and the river. He might still have escaped to a fortress in the desert, that had defied the power of Cæsar and Chosroes, and confided in the fidelity of the tribe of Tai, which would have armed ten thousand warriors in his defence. In a conference with the chief of the enemy, he proposed the option of three honourable conditions; that he should be allowed to return to Medina, or be stationed in a frontier garrison against the Turks, or safely conducted to the presence of Yezid. But the commands of the caliph, or his lieutenant, were stern and absolute; and Hosein was informed that he must either submit as a captive and a criminal to the commander of the faithful, or expect the consequences of his rebellion. "Do you think," (replied he) "to terrify me with death?" And, during the short respite of a night, he prepared with calm and solemn resignation to encounter his fate. He checked the lamentations of his sister Fatima, who deplored the impending ruin of his house. "Our trust," (said Hosein) "is in God alone. All things, both in heaven and earth, must perish and return to their Creator. My brother, my father, my mother, were better than me; and every Mussulman has an example in the prophet." He pressed his friends to consult their safety by a timely flight; they unanimously refused to desert or survive their beloved master; and their courage was fortified by a fervent prayer and the assurance of paradise. On the morning of the fatal day, he mounted on horseback, with his sword in one hand and the Koran in the other; his generous band of martyrs consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot; but their flanks and rear were secured by the tent-ropes, and by a deep trench which they had filled with lighted faggots, according to the practice of the Arabs. The enemy advanced with reluctance; and one of their chiefs deserted, with thirty followers, to claim the partnership of inevitable death. In every close onset, or single combat, the despair of the Fatimites was invincible; but the surrounding multitude galled them from

a distance with a cloud of arrows, and the horses and men were successively slain; a truce was allowed on both sides for the hour of prayer; and the battle at length expired by the death of the last of the companions of Hosein. Alone, weary, and wounded, he seated himself at the door of his tent. As he tasted a drop of water, he was pierced in the mouth with a dart; and his son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms. He lifted his hands to heaven; they were full of blood, and he uttered a funeral prayer for the living and the dead. In a transport of despair his sister issued from the tent, and adjured the general of the Cufians, that he would not suffer Hosein to be murdered before his eyes; a tear trickled down his venerable beard; and the boldest of his soldiers fell back on every side as the dying hero threw himself among them. The remorseless Shamer, a name detested by the faithful, reproached their cowardice; and the grandson of Mahomet was slain with three-and-thirty strokes of lances and swords. After they had trampled on his body, they carried his head to the castle of Cufa, and the inhuman Obeidollah struck him on the mouth with a cane. "Alas!" exclaimed an aged Mussulman, "on these lips I have seen the lips of the apostle of God!" In a distant age and climate the tragic scene of the death of Hosein will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader.* On the annual festival of his martyrdom, in the devout pilgrimage to his sepulchre, his Persian votaries abandon their souls to the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation.†

When the sisters and children of Ali were brought in chains to the throne of Damascus, the caliph was advised to

* I have abridged the interesting narrative of Ockley. (tom. ii. p. 170—231.) It is long and minute; but the pathetic almost always consists in the detail of little circumstances. [Other affecting incidents in this tragedy are related by Major Price. The horrors of such a scene of blood need not be aggravated by the recital.—ED.]

‡ Niebuhr the Dane (Voyages en Arabie, &c., tom. ii. p. 208, &c.,) is perhaps the only European traveller who has dared to visit Meshed Ali and Meshed Hosein. The two sepulchres are in the hands of the Turks, who tolerate and tax the devotion of the Persian heretics. The festival of the death of Hosein is amply described by Sir John Chardin, a traveller whom I have often praised. [Some interesting information respecting Meshed Ali has been furnished by Sir R. K. Porter, and will be found in a Note to the next chapter.—ED.]

extirpate the enmity of a popular and hostile race, whom he had injured beyond the hope of reconciliation. But Yezid preferred the councils of mercy; and the mourning family was honourably dismissed to mingle their tears with their kindred at Medina. The glory of martyrdom superseded the right of primogeniture; and the twelve IMAMS,* or pontiffs, of the Persian creed, are Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and the lineal descendants of Hosein to the ninth generation. Without arms, or treasures, or subjects, they successively enjoyed the veneration of the people, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning caliphs; their tombs at Mecca or Medina, on the banks of the Euphrates, or in the province of Chorasan, are still visited by the devotion of their sect. Their names were often the pretence of sedition and civil war; but these royal saints despised the pomp of the world, submitted to the will of God and the injustice of man, and devoted their innocent lives to the study and practice of religion. The twelfth and last of the Imams, conspicuous by the title of *Mahadi*, or the Guide, surpassed the solitude and sanctity of his predecessors. He concealed himself in a cavern near Bagdad: the time and place of his death are unknown; and his votaries pretend that he still lives, and will appear before the day of judgment to overthrow the tyranny of Dejal, or the Antichrist.† In the lapse of two or three centuries, the posterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, had multiplied to the number of thirty-three thousand:‡ the race of Ali might be equally prolific; the meanest individual was above the first and greatest of princes; and the most eminent were supposed to excel the perfection of angels. But their adverse fortune, and the

* The general article of *Imam*, in D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque, will indicate the succession; and the lives of the *twelve* are given under their respective names.

† The name of *Antichrist* may seem ridiculous, but the Mahometans have liberally borrowed the fables of every religion. (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 80. 82.) In the royal stable of Ispahan, two horses were always kept saddled, one for the Mahadi himself, the other for his lieutenant, Jesus the son of Mary. [In the ancient city of Samarrah, on the Euphrates, "a half-ruined mosque is now a place of pilgrimage to Mussulmans of the Sheeah sect, for it is said to cover the tombs of the last Imams of the race of Ali, and to be the hiding-place of the twelfth prophet, Mehdi." Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 471.—ED.]

‡ In the year of the Hegira 200, (A.D. 815.) See D'Herbelot, p. 546.

wide extent of the Mussulman empire, allowed an ample scope for every bold and artful impostor who claimed affinity with the holy seed; the sceptre of the Almohades in Spain and Africa, of the Fatimites in Egypt and Syria,* of the sultans of Yemen, and of the sophis of Persia,† has been consecrated by this vague and ambiguous title. Under their reigns it might be dangerous to dispute the legitimacy of their birth; and one of the Fatimite caliphs silenced an indiscreet question by drawing his scymetar. "This," said Moez, "is my pedigree; and these," casting a handful of gold to his soldiers, "and these are my kindred and my children." In the various conditions of princes, or doctors, or nobles, or merchants, or beggars, a swarm of the genuine or fictitious descendants of Mahomet and Ali, is honoured with the appellation of sheiks, or sherifs, or emirs. In the Ottoman empire they are distinguished by a green turban, receive a stipend from the treasury, are judged only by their chief, and, however debased by fortune or character, still assert the proud pre-eminence of their birth. A family of three hundred persons, the pure and orthodox branch of the caliph Hassan, is preserved without taint or suspicion in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and still retains, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, the custody of the temple and the sovereignty of their native land. The fame and merit of Mahomet would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koreish transcends the recent majesty of the kings of the earth.‡

* D'Herbelot, p. 342. The enemies of the Fatimites disgraced them by a Jewish origin. Yet they accurately deduced their genealogy from Jaafar, the sixth Imam; and the impartial Abulfeda allows (Annal. Moslem. p. 230,) that they were owned by many, qui absque controversiâ genuini sunt Alidarum, homines propaginum suæ gentis exacte callentes. He quotes some lines from the celebrated *Sherif ar Rahdi*,—Egone humilitatem induam in terris hostium? (I suspect him to be an Edrissite of Sicily) cum in Ægypto sit Chalifa de gente Alii, quocum ego communem habeo patrem et vindicem.

† The kings of Persia of the last dynasty are descended from Sheik Sefi, a saint of the fourteenth century, and through him from Moussa Cassem, the son of Hosein, the son of Ali. (Olearius, p. 957. Chardin, tom. iii. p. 288.) But I cannot trace the intermediate degrees in any genuine or fabulous pedigree. If they were truly Fatimites, they might draw their origin from the princes of Mazanderan, who reigned in the ninth century. (D'Herbelot, p. 96.)

‡ The present state of the family of Mahomet and Ali is most accu-

The talents of Mahomet are entitled to our applause; but his success has perhaps too strongly attracted our admiration. Are we surprised that a multitude of proselytes should embrace the doctrine and the passions of an eloquent fanatic? In the heresies of the church, the same seduction has been tried and repeated from the time of the apostles to that of the reformers. Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp the sword and the sceptre, subdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms? In the moving picture of the dynasties of the East, a hundred fortunate usurpers have arisen from a baser origin, surmounted more formidable obstacles, and filled a larger scope of empire and conquest. Mahomet was alike instructed to preach and to fight, and the union of these opposite qualities, while it enhanced his merit, contributed to his success: the operation of force and persuasion, of enthusiasm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrier yielded to their irresistible power. His voice invited the Arabs to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their darling passions in this world and the other; the restraints which he imposed were requisite to establish the credit of the prophet, and to exercise the obedience of the people; and the only objection to his success, was his rational creed of the unity and perfections of God. It is not the propagation but the permanency of his religion that deserves our wonder: the same pure and perfect impression which he engraved at Mecca and Medina, is preserved, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, by the Indian, the African, and the Turkish proselytes of the Koran. If the Christian apostles, St. Peter or St. Paul, could return to the Vatican, they might possibly inquire the name of the deity who is worshipped with such mysterious rites in that magnificent temple; at Oxford or Geneva, they would experience less surprise; but it might still be incumbent on them to peruse the catechism of the church, and to study the orthodox commentators on their own writings and the words of their master. But the Turkish dome of St. Sophia, with an increase of splendour and size, represents the humble

rately described by Demetrius Cantemir (Hist. of the Othman Empire, p. 94,) and Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 9—16. 317, &c.). It is much to be lamented, that the Danish traveller was unable to purchase the chronicles of Arabia.

tabernacle erected at Medina by the hands of Mahomet. The Mahometans have uniformly withstood the temptation of reducing the object of their faith and devotion to a level with the senses and imagination of man. "I believe in one God, and Mahomet the apostle of God," is the simple and invariable profession of Islam. The intellectual image of the Deity has never been degraded by any visible idol; the honours of the prophet have never transgressed the measure of human virtue; and his living precepts have restrained the gratitude of his disciples within the bounds of reason and religion. The votaries of Ali have indeed consecrated the memory of their hero, his wife, and his children, and some of the Persian doctors pretend that the divine essence was incarnate in the person of the Imams; but their superstition is universally condemned by the Sonnites; and their impiety has afforded a seasonable warning against the worship of saints and martyrs. The metaphysical questions on the attributes of God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the schools of the Mahometans, as well as in those of the Christians; but among the former they have never engaged the passions of the people, or disturbed the tranquillity of the State. The cause of this important difference may be found in the separation or union of the regal and sacerdotal characters. It was the interest of the caliphs, the successors of the prophet and commanders of the faithful, to repress and discourage all religious innovations: the order, the discipline, the temporal and spiritual ambition, of the clergy, are unknown to the Moslems; and the sages of the law are the guides of their conscience and the oracles of their faith. From the Atlantic to the Ganges, the Koran is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology, but of civil and criminal jurisprudence; and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of mankind are guarded by the infallible and immutable sanction of the will of God. This religious servitude is attended with some practical disadvantage; the illiterate legislator had been often misled by his own prejudices and those of his country; and the institutions of the Arabian desert may be ill adapted to the wealth and numbers of Ispahan and Constantinople. On these occasions, the cadhi respectfully places on his head the holy volume, and substitutes a

dexterous interpretation more apposite to the principles of equity, and the manners and policy of the times.

His beneficial or pernicious influence on the public happiness is the last consideration in the character of Mahomet. The most bitter or most bigoted of his Christian or Jewish foes, will surely allow that he assumed a false commission to inculcate a salutary doctrine, less perfect only than their own. He piously supposed, as the basis of his religion, the truth and sanctity of *their* prior revelations, the virtues and miracles of their founders. The idols of Arabia were broken before the throne of God; the blood of human victims was expiated by prayer, and fasting, and alms, the laudable or innocent arts of devotion; and his rewards and punishments of a future life were painted by the images most congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation. Mahomet was, perhaps, incapable of dictating a moral and political system for the use of his countrymen: but he breathed among the faithful a spirit of charity and friendship, recommended the practice of the social virtues, and checked, by his laws and precepts, the thirst of revenge and the oppression of widows and orphans. The hostile tribes were united in faith and obedience, and the valour which had been idly spent in domestic quarrels was vigorously directed against a foreign enemy. Had the impulse been less powerful, Arabia, free at home, and formidable abroad, might have flourished under a succession of her native monarchs. Her sovereignty was lost by the extent and rapidity of conquest. The colonies of the nation were scattered over the East and West, and their blood was mingled with the blood of their converts and captives. After the reign of three caliphs, the throne was transported from Medina to the valley of Damascus and the banks of the Tigris; the holy cities were violated by impious war; Arabia was ruled by the rod of a subject, perhaps of a stranger; and the Bedoweens of the desert, awakening from their dream of dominion, resumed their old and solitary independence.*

* The writers of the Modern Universal History (vol i. and ii.) have compiled, in eight hundred and fifty folio pages, the life of Mahomet and the annals of the caliphs. They enjoyed the advantage of reading, and sometimes correcting, the Arabic texts; yet, notwithstanding

their high-sounding boasts, I cannot find, after the conclusion of my work, that they have afforded me much, if any, additional information. The dull mass is not quickened by a spark of philosophy or taste; and the compilers indulge the criticism of acrimonious bigotry against Boulainvilliers, Sale, Gagnier, and all who have treated Mahomet with favour, or even justice. [The calmly-judging Professor Smyth condemns the unreasonable eagerness of the authors of the Modern History to expose the faults of the prophet; and praises "the candour, the reasonableness, and the great knowledge of his subject," displayed by Sale. Lectures, p. 65.—ED.]

END OF VOLUME V.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

CATALOGUE OF
BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

N.B.—It is requested that all orders be accompanied by payment. Books are sent carriage free on the receipt of the published price in stamps or otherwise.

The Works to which the letters 'N. S.' (denoting New Style) are appended are kept in neat cloth bindings of various colours, as well as in the regular Library style. All Orders are executed in the New binding, unless the contrary is expressly stated.

Complete Sets or Separate Volumes can be had at short notice, half-bound in calf or morocco.

New Volumes of Standard Works in the various branches of Literature are constantly being added to this Series, which is already unsurpassed in respect to the number, variety, and cheapness of the Works contained in it. The Publishers have to announce the following Volumes as recently issued or now in preparation :—

Roger Ascham's Scholemaster. Edited by Prof. Mayor. [*In the press.*

Spinoza's Chief Works. 2 vols.

Grimm's German Tales. With the Notes of the Original.

Coleridge's Table-Talk, &c. [*In the press.*

Manual of Philosophy. By E. Belfort Bax. 1 vol.

Walton's Lives of Donne, Wotton, &c. [*In the press.*

Hoffmann's Tales. Translated by Major Ewing.

LONDON : G. BELL & SONS, 4 YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

STANDARD LIBRARY.

285 *Vols. at* 3*s.* 6*d. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (50*l.* 9*s. per set.*)

ADDISON'S Works. Notes of Bishop Hurd. Short Memoir, Portrait, and 8 Plates of Medals. 6 vols. *N. S.*

This is the most complete edition of Addison's Works issued.

ALFIERI'S Tragedies. In English Verse. With Notes, Arguments, and Introduction, by E. A. Bowring, C.B. 2 vols. *N. S.*

AMERICAN POETRY.—*See Poetry of America.*

ASCHAM'S Schoolmaster. Edit. by by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor. [*In the press.*

BACON'S Moral and Historical Works, including Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Henry Prince of Wales, History of Great Britain, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus Cæsar. With Critical and Biographical Introduction and Notes by J. Devey, M.A. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— *See also Philosophical Library.*

BALLADS AND SONGS of the Peasantry of England, from Oral Recitation, private MSS., Broadsides, &c. Edit. by R. Bell. *N. S.*

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER. Selections. With Notes and Introduction by Leigh Hunt.

BECKMANN (J.) History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. With Portraits of Beckmann and James Watt. 2 vols. *N. S.*

BELL (Robert).—*See Ballads, Chaucer, Green.*

BREMER'S (Frederika) Works. Trans. by M. Howitt. Portrait. 4 vols. *N.S.*

BRINK (B. T.) Early English Literature (to Wiclif). By Bernhard Ten Brink. Trans. by Prof. H. M. Kennedy. *N. S.*

BRITISH POETS, from Milton to Kirke White. Cabinet Edition. With Frontispiece. 4 vols. *N. S.*

BROWNE'S (Sir Thomas) Works. Edit. by S. Wilkin, with Dr. Johnson's Life of Browne. Portrait. 3 vols.

BURKE'S Works. 6 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Speeches on the Impeachment** of Warren Hastings; and Letters. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Life.** By J. Prior. Portrait. *N. S.*

BURNS (Robert). Life of. By J. G. Lockhart, D.C.L. A new and enlarged edition. With Notes and Appendices by W. S. Douglas. Portrait. *N. S.*

BUTLER'S (Bp.) Analogy of Religion; Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature; with Two Dissertations on Identity and Virtue, and Fifteen Sermons. With Introductions, Notes, and Memoir. Portrait. *N. S.*

CAMOEN'S Lusiad, or the Discovery of India. An Epic Poem. Trans. from the Portuguese, with Dissertation, Historical Sketch, and Life, by W. J. Mickle. 5th edition. *N. S.*

CARAFAS (The) of Maddaloni. Naples under Spanish Dominion. Trans. by Alfred de Reumont. Portrait of Massaniello.

CARREL. The Counter-Revolution in England for the Re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II., by Armand Carrel; with Fox's History of James II. and Lord Lonsdale's Memoir of James II. Portrait of Carrel.

CARRUTHERS.—*See Pope, in Illustrated Library.*

CARY'S Dante. The Vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. Trans. by Rev. H. F. Cary, M.A. With Life, Chronological View of his Age, Notes, and Index of Proper Names. Portrait. *N. S.*

This is the authentic edition, containing Mr. Cary's last corrections, with additional notes.

CELLINI (Benvenuto). Memoirs of, by himself. With Notes of G. P. Carpani. Trans. by T. Roscoe. Portrait. *N. S.*

CERVANTES' Galatea. A Pastoral Romance. Trans. by G. W. J. Gyll. *N. S.*

—— **Exemplary Novels.** Trans. by W. K. Kelly. *N. S.*

—— **Don Quixote de la Mancha.** Motteux's Translation revised. With Lockhart's Life and Notes. 2 vols. *N. S.*

CHAUCER'S Poetical Works. With Poems formerly attributed to him. With a Memoir, Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by R. Bell. Improved edition, with Preliminary Essay by Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. Portrait. 4 vols. *N. S.*

CLASSIC TALES, containing Rasselas, Vicar of Wakefield, Gulliver's Travels, and The Sentimental Journey. *N. S.*

COLERIDGE'S (S. T.) Friend. A Series of Essays on Morals, Politics, and Religion. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— **Confessions of an Inquiring** Spirit; and Essays on Faith and the Common Prayer-book. New Edition, revised. *N. S.*

—— **Table-Talk.** [*In the press.*

—— **Lectures on Shakspere and** other Poets. Edit. by T. Ashe, B.A.

Containing the lectures taken down in 1811-12 by J. P. Collier, and those delivered at Bristol in 1813.

—— **Biographia Literaria; or, Biographical** Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions; with Two Lay Sermons. *N. S.*

COMMINES.—*See Philip.*

CONDÉ'S History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Trans. by Mrs. Foster. Portrait of Abderahmen ben Moavia. 3 vols.

COWPER'S Complete Works, Poems, Correspondence, and Translations. Edit. with Memoir by R. Southey. 45 Engravings. 8 vols.

COXE'S Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. With his original Correspondence, from family records at Blenheim. Revised edition. Portraits. 3 vols.

*** An Atlas of the plans of Marlborough's campaigns, 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

—— **History of the House of Austria.** From the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the Death of Leopold II., 1218-1792. By Archdn. Coxe. With Continuation from the Accession of Francis I. to the Revolution of 1848. 4 Portraits. 4 vols.

CUNNINGHAM'S Lives of the most Eminent British Painters. With Notes and 16 fresh Lives by Mrs. Heaton. 3 vols. *N. S.*

DEFOE'S Novels and Miscellaneous Works. With Prefaces and Notes, including those attributed to Sir W. Scott. Portrait. 7 vols. *N. S.*

DE LOLME'S Constitution of England, in which it is compared both with the Republican form of Government and the other Monarchies of Europe. Edit., with Life and Notes, by J. Macgregor, M.P.

EMERSON'S Works. 3 vols. Most complete edition published. *N. S.*

Vol. I.—Essays, Lectures, and Poems.

Vol. II.—English Traits, Nature, and Conduct of Life.

Vol. III.—Society and Solitude—Letters and Social Aims—Miscellaneous Papers (hitherto uncollected)—May-Day, &c.

FOSTER'S (John) Life and Correspondence. Edit. by J. E. Ryland. Portrait. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Lectures at Broadmead Chapel.** Edit. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Critical Essays contributed to** the 'Eclectic Review.' Edit. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Essays: On Decision of Charac**ter; on a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself; on the epithet Romantic; on the aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion. *N. S.*

—— **Essays on the Evils of Popular** Ignorance, and a Discourse on the Propagation of Christianity in India. *N. S.*

—— **Fosteriana:** selected from periodical papers, edit. by H. G. Bohn. 5*s.* *N. S.*

FOX (Rt. Hon. C. J.)—*See Carrel.*

GIBBON'S Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Complete and unabridged, with variorum Notes; including those of Guizot, Wenck, Niebuhr, Hugo, Neander, and others. 7 vols. 2 Maps and Portrait. *N. S.*

GOETHE'S Works. Trans. into English by E. A. Bowring, C.B., Anna Swanwick, Sir Walter Scott, &c. &c. 11 vols. *N. S.*

Vols. I. and II.—Autobiography and Annals. Portrait.

Vol. III.—Faust. Complete.

Vol. IV.—Novels and Tales: containing Elective Affinities, Sorrows of Werther, The German Emigrants, The Good Women, and a Nouvelette.

Vol. V.—Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship.

Vol. VI.—Conversations with Eckerman and Soret.

Vol. VII.—Poems and Ballads in the original Metres, including Hermann and Dorothea.

GOETHE'S Works.—*Continued.*
Vol. VIII.—Götz von Berlichingen, Torquato Tasso, Egmont, Iphigenia, Clavigo, Wayward Lover, and Fellow Culprits.
Vol. IX.—Wilhelm Meister's Travels. Complete Edition.
Vol. X.—Tour in Italy. Two Parts. And Second Residence in Rome.
Vol. XI.—Miscellaneous Travels, Letters from Switzerland, Campaign in France, Siege of Mainz, and Rhine Tour.
Vol. XII.—Early and Miscellaneous Letters, including Letters to his Mother, with Biography and Notes.

—— **Correspondence with Schiller.** 2 vols.—*See Schiller.*

GOLDSMITH'S Works. A New Edition, containing pieces hitherto uncollected, a Life of the Author, and Notes. 4 vols.
Vol. I.—Life, Vicar of Wakefield, Essays, and Letters.
Vol. II.—Poems, Plays, Bee, Cock Lane Ghost.
Vol. III.—Citizen of the World.
[*In the press.*

GREENE, MARLOW, and BEN JONSON (Poems of). With Notes and Memoirs by R. Bell. *N. S.*

GREGORY'S (Dr.) The Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion.

GRIMM'S Household Tales. With the Original Notes. Trans. by Mrs. A. Hunt. Introduction by Andrew Lang, M.A. 2 vols. *N. S.* [*In the press.*

GUIZOT'S History of Representative Government in Europe. Trans. by A. R. Scoble.

—— **English Revolution of 1640.** From the Accession of Charles I. to his Death. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. Portrait.

—— **History of Civilisation.** From the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. Portraits. 3 vols.

HALL'S (Rev. Robert) Works and Remains. Memoir by Dr. Gregory and Essay by J. Foster. Portrait.

HAWTHORNE'S Tales. 3 vols. *N. S.*
Vol. I.—Twice-told Tales, and the Snow Image.
Vol. II.—Scarlet Letter, and the House with Seven Gables.
Vol. III.—Transformation, and Blithedale Romance.

HAZLITT'S (W.) Works. 6 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Table-Talk.**

—— **The Literature of the Age of** Elizabeth and Characters of Shakespeare's Plays. *N. S.*

—— **English Poets and English Comic** Writers. *N. S.*

HAZLITT'S (W.) Works.—*Continued.*

—— **The Plain Speaker.** Opinions on Books, Men, and Things. *N. S.*

—— **Round Table.** Conversations of James Northcote, R.A.; Characteristics. *N. S.*

—— **Sketches and Essays,** and Winterslow. *N. S.*

HEINE'S Poems. Translated in the original Metres, with Life by E. A. Bowring, C.B. 5*s. N. S.*

HUNGARY: its History and Revolution, with Memoir of Kossuth. Portrait.

HUTCHINSON (Colonel). Memoirs of. By his Widow, with her Autobiography, and the Siege of Lathom House. Portrait. *N. S.*

IRVING'S (Washington) Complete Works. 15 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Life and Letters.** By his Nephew, Pierre E. Irving. With Index and a Portrait. 2 vols. *N. S.*

JAMES'S (G. P. R.) Life of Richard Cœur de Lion. Portraits of Richard and Philip Augustus. 2 vols.

—— **Louis XIV.** Portraits. 2 vols.

JAMESON (Mrs.) Shakespeare's Heroines. Characteristics of Women. By Mrs. Jameson. *N. S.*

JEAN PAUL.—*See Richter.*

JONSON (Ben). Poems of.—*See Greene.*

JUNIUS'S Letters. With Woodfall's Notes. An Essay on the Authorship. Facsimiles of Handwriting. 2 vols. *N. S.*

LA FONTAINE'S Fables. In English Verse, with Essay on the Fabulists. By Elizur Wright. *N. S.*

LAMARTINE'S The Girondists, or Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution. Trans. by H. T. Ryde. Portraits of Robespierre, Madame Roland, and Charlotte Corday. 3 vols.

—— **The Restoration of Monarchy** in France (a Sequel to The Girondists). 5 Portraits. 4 vols.

—— **The French Revolution of 1848.** 6 Portraits.

LAMB'S (Charles) Elia and Eliana. Complete Edition. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— **Specimens of English Dramatic** Poets of the time of Elizabeth. Notes, with the Extracts from the Garrick Plays. *N. S.*

LAPPENBERG'S England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings. Trans. by B. Thorpe, F.S.A. 2 vols. *N. S.*

LANZI'S History of Painting in Italy, from the Period of the Revival of the Fine Arts to the End of the 18th Century. With Memoir of the Author. Portraits of Raffaelle, Titian, and Correggio, after the Artists themselves. Trans. by T. Roscoe. 3 vols.

LESSING'S Dramatic Works. Complete. By E. Bell, M.A. With Memoir by H. Zimmern. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— **Laokoon, Dramatic Notes, and** Representation of Death by the Ancients. Frontispiece. 1 vol. *N. S.*

LOCKE'S Philosophical Works, containing Human Understanding, with Bishop of Worcester, Malebranche's Opinions, Natural Philosophy, Reading and Study. With Preliminary Discourse, Analysis, and Notes, by J. A. St. John. Portrait. 2 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Life and Letters,** with Extracts from his Common-place Books. By Lord King.

LOCKHART (J. G.)—*See Burns.*

LONSDALE (Lord).—*See Carrel.*

LUTHER'S Table-Talk. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. With Life by A. Chalmers, and LUTHER'S CATECHISM. Portrait after Cranach. *N. S.*

—— **Autobiography.**—*See Michelet.*

MACHIAVELLI'S History of Florence, THE PRINCE, Savonarola, Historical Tracts, and Memoir. Portrait. *N. S.*

MARLOWE. Poems of.—*See Greene.*

MARTINEAU'S (Harriet) History of England (including History of the Peace) from 1800-1846. 5 vols. *N. S.*

MENZEL'S History of Germany, from the Earliest Period to the Crimean War. 3 Portraits. 3 vols.

MICHELET'S Autobiography of Luther. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. With Notes. *N. S.*

—— **The French Revolution** to the Flight of the King in 1791. *N. S.*

MIGNET'S The French Revolution, from 1789 to 1814. Portrait of Napoleon. *N. S.*

MILTON'S Prose Works. With Preface, Preliminary Remarks by J. A. St. John, and Index. 5 vols.

MITFORD'S (Miss) Our Village. Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery. 2 Engravings. 2 vols. *N. S.*

MOLIÈRE'S Dramatic Works. In English Prose, by C. H. Wall. With a Life and a Portrait. 3 vols. *N. S.*

'It is not too much to say that we have here probably as good a translation of Molière as can be given.'—*Academy.*

MONTESQUIEU'S Spirit of Laws. Revised Edition, with D'Alembert's Analysis, Notes, and Memoir. 2 vols. *N. S.*

NEANDER (Dr. A.) History of the Christian Religion and Church. Trans. by J. Torrey. With Short Memoir. 10 vols.

—— **Life of Jesus Christ, in its His**torical Connexion and Development. *N. S.*

—— **The Planting and Training of** the Christian Church by the Apostles. With the Antignosticus, or Spirit of Tertullian. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures on the History of** Christian Dogmas. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Memorials of Christian Life in** the Early and Middle Ages; including Light in Dark Places. Trans. by J. E. Ryland.

OCKLEY (S.) History of the Saracens and their Conquests in Syria, Persia, and Egypt. Comprising the Lives of Mohammed and his Successors to the Death of Abdalmelik, the Eleventh Caliph. By Simon Ockley, B.D., Prof. of Arabic in Univ. of Cambridge. Portrait of Mohammed.

PERCY'S Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, consisting of Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets, with some few of later date. With Essay on Ancient Minstrels, and Glossary. 2 vols. *N. S.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES. Memoirs of. Containing the Histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. With the History of Louis XI., by J. de Troyes. With a Life and Notes by A. R. Scoble. Portraits. 2 vols.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES. Newly Translated, with Notes and Life, by A. Stewart, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and G. Long, M.A. 4 vols. *N. S.*

POETRY OF AMERICA. Selections from One Hundred Poets, from 1776 to 1876. With Introductory Review, and Specimens of Negro Melody, by W. J. Linton. Portrait of W. Whitman. *N. S.*

RANKE (L.) History of the Popes, their Church and State, and their Conflicts with Protestantism in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Trans. by E. Foster. Portraits of Julius II. (after Raphael), Innocent X. (after Velasquez), and Clement VII. (after Titian). 3 vols. *N. S.*

—— **History of Servia.** Trans. by Mrs. Kerr. To which is added, The Slave Provinces of Turkey, by Cyprien Robert. *N. S.*

REUMONT (Alfred de).—*See Carafas.*

REYNOLDS' (Sir J.) Literary Works. With Memoir and Remarks by H. W. Beechy. 2 vols. *N. S.*

RICHTER (Jean Paul). Levana, a Treatise on Education; together with the Autobiography, and a short Memoir. *N. S.*

—— **Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces,** or the Wedded Life, Death, and Marriage of Siebenkaes. Translated by Alex. Ewing. *N. S.*

The only complete English translation.

ROSCOE'S (W.) Life of Leo X., with Notes, Historical Documents, and Dissertation on Lucretia Borgia. 3 Portraits. 2 vols.

—— **Lorenzo de' Medici,** called 'The Magnificent,' with Copyright Notes, Poems, Letters, &c. With Memoir of Roscoe and Portrait of Lorenzo.

RUSSIA, History of, from the earliest Period to the Crimean War. By W. K. Kelly. 3 Portraits. 2 vols.

SCHILLER'S Works. 6 vols. *N. S.*

Vol. I.—Thirty Years' War—Revolt in the Netherlands. Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. Portrait.

Vol. II.—Revolt in the Netherlands, *completed*—Wallenstein. By J. Churchill and S. T. Coleridge.—William Tell. Sir Theodore Martin. Engraving (after Vandyck).

Vol. III.—Don Carlos. R. D. Boylan—Mary Stuart. Mellish—Maid of Orleans. Anna Swanwick—Bride of Messina. A. Lodge, M.A. Together with the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy (a short Essay). Engravings.

These Dramas are all translated in metre.

Vol. IV.—Robbers—Fiesco—Love and Intrigue—Demetrius—Ghost Seer—Sport of Divinity.

The Dramas in this volume are in prose.

Vol. V.—Poems. E. A. Bowring, C.B.

Vol. VI.—Essays, Æsthetical and Philosophical, including the Dissertation on the Connexion between the Animal and Spiritual in Man.

SCHILLER and GOETHE. Correspondence between, from A.D. 1794-1805. With Short Notes by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols. *N. S.*

SCHLEGEL'S (F.) Lectures on the Philosophy of Life and the Philosophy of Language. By A. J. W. Morrison.

—— **The History of Literature,** Ancient and Modern.

—— **The Philosophy of History.** With Memoir and Portrait.

SCHLEGEL'S Works.—*Continued.*

—— **Modern History,** with the Lectures entitled Cæsar and Alexander, and The Beginning of our History. By L. Purcell and R. H. Whitelock.

—— **Æsthetic and Miscellaneous** Works, containing Letters on Christian Art, Essay on Gothic Architecture, Remarks on the Romance Poetry of the Middle Ages, on Shakspeare, the Limits of the Beautiful, and on the Language and Wisdom of the Indians. By E. J. Millington.

SCHLEGEL (A. W.) Dramatic Art and Literature. By J. Black. With Memoir by A. J. W. Morrison. Portrait.

SHAKESPEARE'S Dramatic Art. The History and Character of Shakspeare's Plays. By Dr. H. Ulrici. Trans. by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols. *N. S.*

SHERIDAN'S Dramatic Works. With Memoir. Portrait (after Reynolds). *N. S.*

SKEAT (Rev. W. W.)—*See Chaucer.*

SISMONDI'S History of the Literature of the South of Europe. With Notes and Memoir by T. Roscoe. Portraits of Sismondi and Dante. 2 vols.

The specimens of early French, Italian, Spanish, and Portugese Poetry, in English Verse, by Cary and others.

SMITH'S (Adam) Theory of Moral Sentiments; with Essay on the First Formation of Languages, and Critical Memoir by Dugald Stewart.

SMYTH'S (Professor) Lectures on Modern History; from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to the close of the American Revolution. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures on the French Revolution.** With Index. 2 vols.

SOUTHEY.—*See Cowper, Wesley, and (Illustrated Library) Nelson.*

STURM'S Morning Communings with God, or Devotional Meditations for Every Day. Trans. by W. Johnstone, M.A.

SULLY. Memoirs of the Duke of, Prime Minister to Henry the Great. With Notes and Historical Introduction. 4 Portraits. 4 vols.

TAYLOR'S (Bishop Jeremy) Holy Living and Dying, with Prayers, containing the Whole Duty of a Christian and the parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions. Portrait. *N. S.*

THIERRY'S Conquest of England by the Normans; its Causes, and its Consequences in England and the Continent. By W. Hazlitt. With short Memoir. 2 Portraits. 2 vols. *N. S.*

TROYE'S (Jean de).—*See Philip de Commines.*

ULRICI (Dr.)—*See Shakespeare.*

VASARI. Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. By Mrs. J. Foster, with selected Notes. Portrait. 5 vols. *N. S.*

WESLEY, the Life of, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey. Portrait. 5*s.* *N. S.*

WHEATLEY. A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, being the Substance of everything Liturgical in all former Ritualist Commentators upon the subject. Frontispiece. *N. S.*

HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

21 *Volumes at* 5*s. each.* (5*l.* 5*s. per set.*)

EVELYN'S Diary and Correspondence, with the Private Correspondence of Charles I. and Sir Edward Nicholas, and between Sir Edward Hyde (Earl of Clarendon) and Sir Richard Browne. Edited from the Original MSS. by W. Bray, F.A.S. 4 vols. *N. S.* 45 Engravings (after Vandyke, Lely, Kneller, and Jamieson, &c.).

N.B.—This edition contains 130 letters from Evelyn and his wife, contained in no other edition.

PEPYS' Diary and Correspondence. With Life and Notes, by Lord Braybrooke. 4 vols. *N. S.* With Appendix containing additional Letters, an Index, and 31 Engravings (after Vandyke, Sir P. Lely, Holbein, Kneller, &c.).

JESSE'S Memoirs of the Court of England under the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. 3 vols. With Index and 42 Portraits (after Vandyke, Lely, &c.).

—— **Memoirs of the Pretenders and** their Adherents. 7 Portraits.

NUGENT'S (Lord) Memorials of Hampden, his Party and Times. With Memoir. 12 Portraits (after Vandyke and others). *N. S.*

STRICKLAND'S (Agnes) Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest. From authentic Documents, public and private. 6 Portraits. 6 vols. *N. S.*

—— **Life of Mary Queen of Scots.** 2 Portraits. 2 vols. *N. S.*

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY.

13 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (2*l.* 19*s. per set.*)

BACON'S Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning. With Notes by J. Devey, M.A.

COMTE'S Philosophy of the Sciences. An Exposition of the Principles of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive.* By G. H. Lewes, Author of 'The Life of Goethe.'

DRAPER (Dr. J. W.) A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. 2 vols. *N. S.*

HEGEL'S Philosophy of History. By J. Sibree, M.A.

KANT'S Critique of Pure Reason. By J. M. D. Meiklejohn. *N. S.*

—— **Prolegomena and Metaphysical** Foundations of Natural Science, with Biography and Memoir by E. Belfort Bax. Portrait. *N. S.*

LOGIC, or the Science of Inference. A Popular Manual. By J. Devey.

MILLER (Professor). History Philosophically Illustrated, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. With Memoir. 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

SPINOZA'S Chief Works. Trans. with Introduction by R. H. M. Elwes. 2 vols. *N.S.*

Vol. I.—Tractatus Theologico-Politicus —Political Treatise.

Vol. II.—Improvement of the Understanding—Ethics—Letters.

TENNEMANN'S Manual of the History of Philosophy. Trans. by Rev. A. Johnson, M.A.

THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

15 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BLEEK. Introduction to the Old Testament. By Friedrich Bleek. Trans. under the supervision of Rev. E. Venables, Residentiary Canon of Lincoln. 2 vols. *N. S.*

CHILLINGWORTH'S Religion of Protestants. 3*s.* 6*d.*

EUSEBIUS. Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilius, Bishop of Cæsarea. Trans. by Rev. C. F. Cruse, M.A. With Notes, Life, and Chronological Tables.

EVAGRIUS. History of the Church. —*See Theodoret.*

HARDWICK. History of the Articles of Religion; to which is added a Series of Documents from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1615. Ed. by Rev. F. Proctor. *N. S.*

HENRY'S (Matthew) Exposition of the Book of Psalms. Numerous Woodcuts.

PEARSON (John, D.D.) Exposition of the Creed. Edit. by E. Walford, M.A. With Notes, Analysis, and Indexes. *N. S.*

PHILO-JUDÆUS, Works of. The Contemporary of Josephus. Trans. by C. D. Yonge. 4 vols.

PHILOSTORGIUS. Ecclesiastical History of.—*See Sozomen.*

SOCRATES' Ecclesiastical History. Comprising a History of the Church from Constantine, A.D. 305, to the 38th year of Theodosius II. With Short Account of the Author, and selected Notes.

SOZOMEN'S Ecclesiastical History. A.D. 324-440. With Notes, Prefatory Remarks by Valesius, and Short Memoir. Together with the ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF PHILOSTORGIUS, as epitomised by Photius. Trans. by Rev. E. Walford, M.A. With Notes and brief Life.

THEODORET and EVAGRIUS. Histories of the Church from A.D. 332 to the Death of Theodore of Mopsuestia, A.D. 427; and from A.D. 431 to A.D. 544. With Memoirs.

WIESELER'S (Karl) Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. Trans. by Rev. Canon Venables. *N. S.*

ANTIQUARIAN LIBRARY.

35 *Vols. at* 5*s. each.* (8*l.* 15*s. per set.*)

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. — *See Bede.*

ASSER'S Life of Alfred.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

BEDE'S (Venerable) Ecclesiastical History of England. Together with the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. With Notes, Short Life, Analysis, and Map. Edit. by J. A. Giles, D.C.L.

BOETHIUS'S Consolation of Philo-sophy. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of. With an English Translation on opposite pages, Notes, Introduction, and Glossary, by Rev. S. Fox, M.A. To which is added the Anglo-Saxon Version of the METRES OF BOETHIUS, with a free Translation by Martin F. Tupper, D.C.L.

BRAND'S Popular Antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Illustrating the Origin of our Vulgar and Provincial Customs, Ceremonies, and Superstitions. By Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S. Frontispiece. 3 vols.

CHRONICLES of the CRUSADES. Contemporary Narratives of Richard Cœur de Lion, by Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf; and of the Crusade at Saint Louis, by Lord John de Joinville. With Short Notes. Illuminated Frontispiece from an old MS.

DYER'S (T. F. T.) British Popular Customs, Present and Past. An Account of the various Games and Customs associated with different Days of the Year in the British Isles, arranged according to the Calendar. By the Rev. T. F. Thiselton Dyer, M.A.

EARLY TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. Comprising the Narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Sæwulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, De la Brocquière, and Maundrell; all unabridged. With Introduction and Notes by Thomas Wright. Map of Jerusalem.

ELLIS (G.) Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, relating to Arthur, Merlin, Guy of Warwick, Richard Cœur de Lion, Charlemagne, Roland, &c. &c. With Historical Introduction by J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. Illuminated Frontispiece from an old MS.

ETHELWERD. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER'S Chronicle, with the Two Continuations: comprising Annals of English History from the Departure of the Romans to the Reign of Edward I. Trans., with Notes, by Thomas Forester, M.A.

GESTA ROMANORUM, or Entertaining Moral Stories invented by the Monks. Trans. with Notes by the Rev. Charles Swan. Edit. by W. Hooper, M.A.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS' Historical Works. Containing Topography of Ireland, and History of the Conquest of Ireland, by Th. Forester, M A. Itinerary through Wales, and Description of Wales, by Sir R. Colt Hoare.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GILDAS. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S History of the English, from the Roman Invasion to the Accession of Henry II.; with the Acts of King Stephen, and the Letter to Walter. By T. Forester, M.A. Frontispiece from an old MS.

INGULPH'S Chronicles of the Abbey of Croyland, with the CONTINUATION by Peter of Blois and others. Trans. with Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A.

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Fairy Mythology, illustrative of the Romance and Superstition of Various Countries. Frontispiece by Cruikshank. *N. S.*

LEPSIUS'S Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai; to which are added, Extracts from his Chronology of the Egyptians, with reference to the Exodus of the Israelites. By L. and J. B. Horner. Maps and Coloured View of Mount Barkal.

MALLET'S Northern Antiquities, or an Historical Account of the Manners, Customs, Religions, and Literature of the Ancient Scandinavians. Trans. by Bishop Percy. With Translation of the PROSE EDDA, and Notes by J. A. Blackwell. Also an Abstract of the 'Eyrbyggia Saga' by Sir Walter Scott. With Glossary and Coloured Frontispiece.

MARCO POLO'S Travels; with Notes and Introduction. Edit. by T. Wright.

MATTHEW PARIS'S English History, from 1235 to 1273. By Rev. J. A. Giles, D.C.L. With Frontispiece. 3 vols.—*See also Roger of Wendover.*

MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER'S Flowers of History, especially such as relate to the affairs of Britain, from the beginning of the World to A.D. 1307. By C. D. Yonge. 2 vols.

NENNIUS. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

ORDERICUS VITALIS' Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy. With Notes, Introduction of Guizot, and the Critical Notice of M. Delille, by T. Forester, M.A. To which is added the CHRONICLE OF St. EVROULT. With General and Chronological Indexes. 4 vols.

PAULI'S (Dr. R.) Life of Alfred the Great. To which is appended Alfred's ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS. With literal Translation interpaged, Notes, and an ANGLO-SAXON GRAMMAR and Glossary, by B. Thorpe, Esq. Frontispiece.

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

ROGER DE HOVEDEN'S Annals of English History, comprising the History of England and of other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. With Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A. 2 vols.

ROGER OF WENDOVER'S Flowers of History, comprising the History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris. With Notes and Index by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 2 vols.

SIX OLD ENGLISH CHRONICLES: viz., Asser's Life of Alfred and the Chronicles of Ethelwerd, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Richard of Cirencester. Edit., with Notes, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Portrait of Alfred.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S Chronicle of the Kings of England, from the Earliest Period to King Stephen. By Rev. J. Sharpe. With Notes by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Frontispiece.

YULE-TIDE STORIES. A Collection of Scandinavian and North-German Popular Tales and Traditions, from the Swedish, Danish, and German. Edit. by B. Thorpe.

ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY.

84 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (22*l.* 17*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

ALLEN'S (Joseph, R.N.) Battles of the British Navy. Revised edition, with Indexes of Names and Events, and 57 Portraits and Plans. 2 vols.

ANDERSEN'S Danish Fairy Tales. By Caroline Peachey. With Short Life and 120 Wood Engravings.

ARIOSTO'S Orlando Furioso. In English Verse by W. S. Rose. With Notes and Short Memoir. Portrait after Titian, and 24 Steel Engravings. 2 vols.

BECHSTEIN'S Cage and Chamber Birds: their Natural History, Habits, &c. Together with SWEET'S BRITISH WARBLERS. 43 Plates and Woodcuts. *N. S.*

—— or with the Plates Coloured, 7*s. 6d.*

BONOMI'S Nineveh and its Palaces. The Discoveries of Botta and Layard applied to the Elucidation of Holy Writ. 7 Plates and 294 Woodcuts. *N. S.*

BUTLER'S Hudibras, with Variorum Notes and Biography. Portrait and 28 Illustrations.

CATTERMOLE'S Evenings at Haddon Hall. Romantic Tales of the Olden Times. With 24 Steel Engravings after Cattermole.

CHINA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, with some account of Ava and the Burmese, Siam, and Anam. Map, and nearly 100 Illustrations.

CRAIK'S (G. L.) Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. Illustrated by Anecdotes and Memoirs. Numerous Woodcut Portraits. *N. S.*

CRUIKSHANK'S Three Courses and a Dessert; comprising three Sets of Tales, West Country, Irish, and Legal; and a Mélange. With 50 Illustrations by Cruikshank. *N. S.*

—— **Punch and Judy.** The Dialogue of the Puppet Show; an Account of its Origin, &c. 24 Illustrations by Cruikshank. *N. S.*

—— With Coloured Plates. 7*s. 6d.*

DANTE, in English Verse, by I. C. Wright, M.A. With Introduction and Memoir. Portrait and 34 Steel Engravings after Flaxman. *N. S.*

DIDRON'S Christian Iconography; a History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. Trans. by E. J. Millington. 150 Outline Engravings.

DYER (Dr. T. H.) Pompeii: its Buildings and Antiquities. An Account of the City, with full Description of the Remains and Recent Excavations, and an Itinerary for Visitors. By T. H. Dyer, LL.D. Nearly 300 Wood Engravings, Map, and Plan. 7*s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Rome:** History of the City, with Introduction on recent Excavations. 8 Engravings, Frontispiece, and 2 Maps.

GIL BLAS. The Adventures of. From the French of Lesage by Smollett. 24 Engravings after Smirke, and 10 Etchings by Cruikshank. 612 pages. 6*s.*

GRIMM'S Gammer Grethel; or, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories, containing 42 Fairy Tales. By Edgar Taylor. Numerous Woodcuts after Cruikshank and Ludwig Grimm. 3*s. 6d.*

HOLBEIN'S Dance of Death and Bible Cuts. Upwards of 150 Subjects, engraved in facsimile, with Introduction and Descriptions by the late Francis Douce and Dr. Dibdin. 7*s. 6d.*

HOWITT'S (Mary) Pictorial Calendar of the Seasons; embodying AIKIN'S CALENDAR OF NATURE. Upwards of 100 Woodcuts.

INDIA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, from the Earliest Times. 100 Engravings on Wood and Map.

JESSE'S Anecdotes of Dogs. With 40 Woodcuts after Harvey, Bewick, and others. *N. S.*

—— With 34 additional Steel Engravings after Cooper, Landseer, &c. 7*s. 6d. N. S.*

KING'S (C. W.) Natural History of Gems or Decorative Stones. Illustrations. 6*s.*

—— **Natural History of Precious** Stones and Metals. Illustrations. 6*s.*

—— **Handbook of Engraved Gems.** Numerous Illustrations. 6*s.*

KITTO'S Scripture Lands. Described in a series of Historical, Geographical, and Topographical Sketches. 42 Maps.

—— With the Maps coloured, 7*s. 6d.*

KRUMMACHER'S Parables. 40 Illustrations.

LINDSAY'S (Lord) Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land. 36 Wood Engravings and 2 Maps.

LODGE'S Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs. 240 Portraits engraved on Steel, with the respective Biographies unabridged. Complete in 8 vols.

LONGFELLOW'S Poetical Works, including his Translations and Notes. 24 full-page Woodcuts by Birket Foster and others, and a Portrait. *N. S.*

—— Without the Illustrations, *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Prose Works.** With 16 full-page Woodcuts by Birket Foster and others.

LOUDON'S (Mrs.) Entertaining Naturalist. Popular Descriptions, Tales, and Anecdotes, of more than 500 Animals. Numerous Woodcuts. *N. S.*

MARRYAT'S (Capt., R.N.) Masterman Ready; or, the Wreck of the *Pacific.* (Written for Young People.) With 93 Woodcuts. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Mission; or, Scenes in Africa.** (Written for Young People.) Illustrated by Gilbert and Dalziel. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Pirate and Three Cutters.** (Written for Young People.) With a Memoir. 8 Steel Engravings after Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Privateersman.** Adventures by Sea and Land One Hundred Years Ago. (Written for Young People.) 8 Steel Engravings. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Settlers in Canada.** (Written for Young People.) 10 Engravings by Gilbert and Dalziel. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

—— **Poor Jack.** (Written for Young People.) With 16 Illustrations after Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

MAXWELL'S Victories of Wellington and the British Armies. Frontispiece and 4 Portraits.

MICHAEL ANGELO and RAPHAEL, Their Lives and Works. By Duppa and Quatremère de Quincy. Portraits and Engravings, including the Last Judgment, and Cartoons. *N. S.*

MILLER'S History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest. Portrait of Alfred, Map of Saxon Britain, and 12 Steel Engravings.

MILTON'S Poetical Works, with a Memoir and Notes by J. Montgomery, an Index to Paradise Lost, Todd's Verbal Index to all the Poems, and Notes. 120 Wood Engravings. 2 vols. *N. S.*

MUDIE'S History of British Birds. Revised by W. C. L. Martin. 52 Figures of Birds and 7 Plates of Eggs. 2 vols. *N.S.*

—— With the Plates coloured, *7s. 6d.* per vol.

NAVAL and MILITARY HEROES of Great Britain; a Record of British Valour on every Day in the year, from William the Conqueror to the Battle of Inkermann. By Major Johns, R.M., and Lieut. P. H. Nicolas, R.M. Indexes. 24 Portraits after Holbein, Reynolds, &c. *6s.*

NICOLINI'S History of the Jesuits: their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Designs. 8 Portraits.

PETRARCH'S Sonnets, Triumphs, and other Poems, in English Verse. With Life by Thomas Campbell. Portrait and 15 Steel Engravings.

PICKERING'S History of the Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution; with AN ANALYTICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN. By Dr. Hall. Map of the World and 12 Plates.

—— With the Plates coloured, *7s. 6d.*

PICTORIAL HANDBOOK OF Modern Geography on a Popular Plan. Compiled from the best Authorities, English and Foreign, by H. G. Bohn. 150 Woodcuts and 51 Maps. *6s.*

—— With the Maps coloured, *7s. 6d.*

—— Without the Maps, *3s. 6d.*

POPE'S Poetical Works, including Translations. Edit., with Notes, by R. Carruthers. 2 vols.

—— **Homer's Iliad,** with Introduction and Notes by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. With Flaxman's Designs. *N. S.*

—— **Homer's Odyssey,** with the BATTLE OF FROGS AND MICE, Hymns, &c., by other translators, including Chapman. Introduction and Notes by J. S. Watson, M.A. With Flaxman's Designs. *N. S.*

—— **Life,** including many of his Letters. By R. Carruthers. Numerous Illustrations.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN, and other objects of Vertu. Comprising an Illustrated Catalogue of the Bernal Collection, with the prices and names of the Possessors. Also an Introductory Lecture on Pottery and Porcelain, and an Engraved List of all Marks and Monograms. By H. G. Bohn. Numerous Woodcuts.

—— With coloured Illustrations, *10s. 6d.*

PROUT'S (Father) Reliques. Edited by Rev. F. Mahony. Copyright edition, with the Author's last corrections and additions. 21 Etchings by D. Maclise, R.A. Nearly 600 pages. *5s. N. S.*

RECREATIONS IN SHOOTING. With some Account of the Game found in the British Isles, and Directions for the Management of Dog and Gun. By 'Craven.' 62 Woodcuts and 9 Steel Engravings after A. Cooper, R.A.

REDDING'S History and Descriptions of Wines, Ancient and Modern. 20 Woodcuts.

RENNIE. Insect Architecture. Revised by Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. 186 Woodcuts. *N. S.*

ROBINSON CRUSOE. With Memoir of Defoe, 12 Steel Engravings and 74 Woodcuts after Stothard and Harvey.

—— Without the Engravings, *3s. 6d.*

ROME IN THE NINETEENTH CENtury. An Account in 1817 of the Ruins of the Ancient City, and Monuments of Modern Times. By C. A. Eaton. 34 Steel Engravings. 2 vols.

SHARPE (S.) The History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs, A.D. 640. 2 Maps and upwards of 400 Woodcuts. 2 vols. *N. S.*

SOUTHEY'S Life of Nelson. With Additional Notes, Facsimiles of Nelson's Writing, Portraits, Plans, and 50 Engravings, after Birket Foster, &c. *N. S.*

STARLING'S (Miss) Noble Deeds of Women; or, Examples of Female Courage, Fortitude, and Virtue. With 14 Steel Portraits. *N. S.*

STUART and REVETT'S Antiquities of Athens, and other Monuments of Greece; with Glossary of Terms used in Grecian Architecture. 71 Steel Plates and numerous Woodcuts.

SWEET'S British Warblers. *5s.—See Bechstein.*

TALES OF THE GENII; or, the Delightful Lessons of Horam, the Son of Asmar. Trans. by Sir C. Morrell. Numerous Woodcuts.

TASSO'S Jerusalem Delivered. In English Spenserian Verse, with Life, by J. H. Wiffen. With 8 Engravings and 24 Woodcuts. *N. S.*

WALKER'S Manly Exercises; containing Skating, Riding, Driving, Hunting, Shooting, Sailing, Rowing, Swimming, &c. 44 Engravings and numerous Woodcuts.

WALTON'S Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation, by Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton. With Memoirs and Notes by E. Jesse. Also an Account of Fishing Stations, Tackle, &c., by H. G. Bohn. Portrait and 203 Woodcuts. *N. S.*

—— With 26 additional Engravings on Steel, *7s. 6d.*

—— **Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker,** Herbert, and Sanderson. With Memoir. Steel Portraits, &c.

WELLINGTON, Life of. From the Materials of Maxwell. 18 Steel Engravings.

—— **Victories of.**—*See Maxwell.*

WESTROPP (H. M.) A Handbook of Archæology, Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman. By H. M. Westropp. Numerous Illustrations. *7s. 6d. N. S.*

WHITE'S Natural History of Selborne, with Observations on various Parts of Nature, and the Naturalists' Calendar. Sir W. Jardine. Edit., with Notes and Memoir, by E. Jesse. 40 Portraits. *N. S.*

—— With the Plates coloured, *7s. 6d. N. S.*

YOUNG LADY'S BOOK, The. A Manual of Recreations, Arts, Sciences, and Accomplishments. 1200 Woodcut Illustrations. *7s. 6d.*

—— cloth gilt, gilt edges, *9s.*

CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK AND LATIN.

95 *Vols. at 5s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (*23l. 8s. 6d. per set.*)

ÆSCHYLUS, The Dramas of. In English Verse by Anna Swanwick. 3rd edition. *N. S.*

—— **The Tragedies of.** In Prose, with Notes and Introduction, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. History of Rome during the Reigns of Constantius, Julian, Jovianus, Valentinian, and Valens, by C. D. Yonge, B.A. Double volume. *7s. 6d.*

ANTONINUS (M. Aurelius), The Thoughts of. Translated literally, with Notes, Biographical Sketch, and Essay on the Philosophy, by George Long, M.A. *3s. 6d. N. S.*

APULEIUS, The Works of. Comprising the Golden Ass, God of Socrates, Florida, and Discourse of Magic. With a Metrical Version of Cupid and Psyche, and Mrs. Tighe's Psyche. Frontispiece.

ARISTOPHANES' Comedies. Trans., with Notes and Extracts from Frere's and other Metrical Versions, by W. J. Hickie. Portrait. 2 vols.

ARISTOTLE'S Nicomachean Ethics. Trans., with Notes, Analytical Introduction, and Questions for Students, by Ven. Archdn. Browne.

—— **Politics and Economics.** Trans., with Notes, Analyses, and Index, by E. Walford, M.A., and an Essay and Life by Dr. Gillies.

—— **Metaphysics.** Trans., with Notes, Analysis, and Examination Questions, by Rev. John H. M'Mahon, M.A.

—— **History of Animals.** In Ten Books. Trans., with Notes and Index, by R. Cresswell, M.A.

—— **Organon;** or, Logical Treatises, and the Introduction of Porphyry. With Notes, Analysis, and Introduction, by Rev. O. F. Owen, M.A. 2 vols. *3s. 6d.* each.

—— **Rhetoric and Poetics.** Trans., with Hobbes' Analysis, Exam. Questions, and Notes, by T. Buckley, B.A. Portrait.

ATHENÆUS. The Deipnosophists; or, the Banquet of the Learned. By C. D. Yonge, B.A. With an Appendix of Poetical Fragments. 3 vols.

ATLAS of Classical Geography. 22 large Coloured Maps. With a complete Index. Imp. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

BION.—*See Theocritus.*

CÆSAR. Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars, with the Supplementary Books attributed to Hirtius, including the complete Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. Trans. with Notes. Portrait.

CATULLUS, Tibullus, and the Vigil of Venus. Trans. with Notes and Biographical Introduction. To which are added, Metrical Versions by Lamb, Grainger, and others. Frontispiece.

CICERO'S Orations. Trans. by C. D. Yonge, B.A. 4 vols.

—— **On Oratory and Orators.** With Letters to Quintus and Brutus. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

—— **On the Nature of the Gods,** Divination, Fate, Laws, a Republic, Consulship. Trans., with Notes, by C. D. Yonge, B.A.

—— **Academics,** De Finibus, and Tusculan Questions. By C. D. Yonge, B.A. With Sketch of the Greek Philosophers mentioned by Cicero.

CICERO'S Orations.—*Continued.*

—— **Offices;** or, Moral Duties. Cato Major, an Essay on Old Age; Lælius, an Essay on Friendship; Scipio's Dream; Paradoxes; Letter to Quintus on Magistrates. Trans., with Notes, by C. R. Edmonds. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

DEMOSTHENES' Orations. Trans., with Notes, Arguments, a Chronological Abstract, and Appendices, by C. Rann Kennedy. 5 vols.

DICTIONARY of LATIN and GREEK Quotations; including Proverbs, Maxims, Mottoes, Law Terms and Phrases. With the Quantities marked, and English Translations.

—— With Index Verborum (622 pages). *6s.*

—— Index Verborum to the above, with the *Quantities* and Accents marked (56 pages), limp cloth. *1s.*

DIOGENES LAERTIUS. Lives and Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers. Trans., with Notes, by C. D. Yonge, B.A.

EPICTETUS. The Discourses of. With the Encheiridion and Fragments. With Notes, Life, and View of his Philosophy, by George Long, M.A. *N. S.*

EURIPIDES. Trans., with Notes and Introduction, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. 2 vols.

GREEK ANTHOLOGY. In English Prose by G. Burges, M.A. With Metrical Versions by Bland, Merivale, Lord Denman, &c.

GREEK ROMANCES of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius: viz., The Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea; Amours of Daphnis and Chloe; and Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. R. Smith, M.A.

HERODOTUS. Literally trans. by Rev. Henry Cary, M.A. Portrait.

HESIOD, CALLIMACHUS, and Theognis. In Prose, with Notes and Biographical Notices by Rev. J. Banks, M.A. Together with the Metrical Versions of Hesiod, by Elton; Callimachus, by Tytler; and Theognis, by Frere.

HOMER'S Iliad. In English Prose, with Notes by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait.

—— **Odyssey,** Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. In English Prose, with Notes and Memoir by T. A. Buckley, B.A.

HORACE. In Prose by Smart, with Notes selected by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

JUSTIN, CORNELIUS NEPOS, and Eutropius. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

JUVENAL, PERSIUS, SULPICIA, and Lucilius. In Prose, with Notes, Chronological Tables, Arguments, by L. Evans, M.A. To which is added the Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius by Gifford. Frontispiece.

LIVY. The History of Rome. Trans. by Dr. Spillan and others. 4 vols. Portrait.

LUCAN'S Pharsalia. In Prose, with Notes by H. T. Riley.

LUCRETIUS. In Prose, with Notes and Biographical Introduction by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. To which is added the Metrical Version by J. M. Good.

MARTIAL'S Epigrams, complete. In Prose, with Verse Translations selected from English Poets, and other sources. Dble. vol. (670 pages). *7s. 6d.*

MOSCHUS.—*See Theocritus.*

OVID'S Works, complete. In Prose, with Notes and Introduction. 3 vols.

PHALARIS. Bentley's Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æsop. With Introduction and Notes by Prof. W. Wagner, Ph.D.

PINDAR. In Prose, with Introduction and Notes by Dawson W. Turner. Together with the Metrical Version by Abraham Moore. Portrait.

PLATO'S Works. Trans., with Introduction and Notes. 6 vols.

—— **Dialogues.** A Summary and Analysis of. With Analytical Index to the Greek text of modern editions and to the above translations, by A. Day, LL.D.

PLAUTUS'S Comedies. In Prose, with Notes and Index by H. T. Riley, B.A. 2 vols.

PLINY'S Natural History. Trans., with Notes, by J. Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. Riley, B.A. 6 vols.

PLINY. The Letters of Pliny the Younger. Melmoth's Translation, revised, with Notes and short Life, by Rev. F. C. T. Bosanquet, M.A.

PLUTARCH'S Morals. Theosophical Essays. Trans. by C. W. King, M.A. *N. S.*

—— **Lives.** *See page 6.*

PROPERTIUS, PETRONIUS, and Johannes Secundus. Trans. with Notes, and accompanied by Poetical Versions from various sources. To which are added the LOVE EPISTLES OF ARISTÆNETUS, by R. Brinsley Sheridan and H. Halhed.

QUINTILIAN'S Institutes of Oratory. Trans., with Notes and Biographical Notice, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 2 vols.

SALLUST, FLORUS, and VELLEIUS Paterculus. Trans., with Notes and Biographical Notices, by J. S. Watson, M.A.

SENECA. [*Preparing.*

SOPHOCLES. The Tragedies of. In Prose, with Notes, Arguments, and Introduction. Portrait.

STRABO'S Geography. Trans., with Notes, by W. Falconer, M.A., and H. C. Hamilton. Copious Index, giving Ancient and Modern Names. 3 vols.

SUETONIUS' Lives of the Twelve Cæsars and Lives of the Grammarians. The Translation of Thomson, revised, with Notes, by T. Forester.

TACITUS. The Works of. Trans., with Notes. 2 vols.

TERENCE and PHÆDRUS. In English Prose, with Notes and Arguments, by H. T. Riley, B.A. To which is added Smart's Metrical Version of Phædrus. With Frontispiece.

THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS, and Tyrtæus. In Prose, with Notes and Arguments, by Rev. J. Banks, M.A. To which are appended the METRICAL VERSIONS of Chapman. Portrait of Theocritus.

THUCYDIDES. The Peloponnesian War. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. H. Dale. Portrait. 2 vols. *3s. 6d.* each.

TYRTÆUS.—*See Theocritus.*

VIRGIL. The Works of. In Prose, with Notes by Davidson. Revised, with additional Notes and Biographical Notice, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

XENOPHON'S Works. Trans., with Notes, by J. S. Watson, M.A., and others. Portrait. In 3 vols.

COLLEGIATE SERIES.

10 *Vols. at* 5*s. each.* (2*l.* 10*s. per set.*)

DANTE. The Inferno. Prose Trans., with the Text of the Original on the same page, and Explanatory Notes, by John A. Carlyle, M.D. Portrait. *N. S.*

—— **The Purgatorio.** Prose Trans., with the Original on the same page, and Explanatory Notes, by W. S. Dugdale. *N. S.*

NEW TESTAMENT (The) in Greek. Griesbach's Text, with the Readings of Mill and Scholz at the foot of the page, and Parallel References in the margin. Also a Critical Introduction and Chronological Tables. Two Fac-similes of Greek Manuscripts. 650 pages. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— or bound up with a Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament (250 pages additional, making in all 900). 5*s.*

The Lexicon may be had separately, price 2*s.*

DOBREE'S Adversaria. (Notes on the Greek and Latin Classics.) Edited by the late Prof. Wagner. 2 vols.

DONALDSON (Dr.) The Theatre of the Greeks. With Supplementary Treatise on the Language, Metres, and Prosody of the Greek Dramatists. Numerous Illustrations and 3 Plans. By J. W. Donaldson, D.D. *N. S.*

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy. Revised by Leonhard Schmitz, Ph.D., LL.D. 12 Plates. *N. S.*

HERODOTUS, Notes on. Original and Selected from the best Commentators. By D. W. Turner, M.A. Coloured Map.

—— **Analysis and Summary of,** with a Synchronistical Table of Events—Tables of Weights, Measures, Money, and Distances—an Outline of the History and Geography—and the Dates completed from Gaisford, Baehr, &c. By J. T. Wheeler.

THUCYDIDES. An Analysis and Summary of. With Chronological Table of Events, &c., by J. T. Wheeler.

SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY.

57 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (15*l.* 3*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

AGASSIZ and GOULD. Outline of Comparative Physiology touching the Structure and Development of the Races of Animals living and extinct. For Schools and Colleges. Enlarged by Dr. Wright. With Index and 300 Illustrative Woodcuts.

BOLLEY'S Manual of Technical Analysis; a Guide for the Testing and Valuation of the various Natural and Artificial Substances employed in the Arts and Domestic Economy, founded on the work of Dr. Bolley. Edit. by Dr. Paul. 100 Woodcuts.

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.

—— **Bell (Sir Charles) on the Hand;** its Mechanism and Vital Endowments, as evincing Design. Preceded by an Account of the Author's Discoveries in the Nervous System by A. Shaw. Numerous Woodcuts.

—— **Kirby on the History, Habits,** and Instincts of Animals. With Notes by T. Rymer Jones. 100 Woodcuts. 2 vols.

—— **Kidd on the Adaptation of External** Nature to the Physical Condition of Man, principally with reference to the Supply of his Wants and the Exercises of his Intellectual Faculties. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.—*Continued.*

—— **Whewell's Astronomy and** General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology. Portrait of the Earl of Bridgewater. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Chalmers on the Adaptation of** External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man. With Memoir by Rev. Dr. Cumming. Portrait.

—— **Prout's Treatise on Chemistry,** Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion, with reference to Natural Theology. Edit. by Dr. J. W. Griffith. 2 Maps.

—— **Buckland's Geology and Mine**ralogy. With Additions by Prof. Owen, Prof. Phillips, and R. Brown. Memoir of Buckland. Portrait. 2 vols. 15*s.* Vol. I. Text. Vol. II. 90 large plates with letterpress.

—— **Roget's Animal and Vegetable** Physiology. 463 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

BROWNE. Manual of Geology. By A. J. Jukes Browne. 2 vols. numerous illustrations. [*In the press.*

CARPENTER'S (Dr. W. B.) Zoology. A Systematic View of the Structure, Habits, Instincts, and Uses of the principal Families of the Animal Kingdom, and of the chief Forms of Fossil Remains. Revised by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. Numerous Woodcuts. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

—— **Mechanical Philosophy, Astronomy, and Horology.** A Popular Exposition. 181 Woodcuts.

—— **Vegetable Physiology and Systematic Botany.** A complete Introduction to the Knowledge of Plants. Revised by E. Lankester, M.D., &c. Numerous Woodcuts. 6*s.*

—— **Animal Physiology.** Revised Edition. 300 Woodcuts. 6*s.*

CHEVREUL on Colour. Containing the Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and their Application to the Arts; including Painting, Decoration, Tapestries, Carpets, Mosaics, Glazing, Staining, Calico Printing, Letterpress Printing, Map Colouring, Dress, Landscape and Flower Gardening, &c. Trans. by C. Martel. Several Plates.

— With an additional series of 16 Plates in Colours, 7*s.* 6*d.*

ENNEMOSER'S History of Magic. Trans. by W. Howitt. With an Appendix of the most remarkable and best authenticated Stories of Apparitions, Dreams, Second Sight, Table-Turning, and Spirit-Rapping, &c. 2 vols.

HIND'S Introduction to Astronomy. With Vocabulary of the Terms in present use. Numerous Woodcuts. 3*s.* 6*d.* *N.S.*

HOGG'S (Jabez) Elements of Experimental and Natural Philosophy. Being an Easy Introduction to the Study of Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Acoustics, Optics, Caloric, Electricity, Voltaism, and Magnetism. 400 Woodcuts.

HUMBOLDT'S Cosmos; or, Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. Trans. by E. C. Otté, B. H. Paul, and W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. Portrait. 5 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each, excepting vol. v., 5*s.*

—— **Personal Narrative of his Travels** in America during the years 1799–1804. Trans., with Notes, by T. Ross. 3 vols.

—— **Views of Nature; or, Contemplations of the Sublime Phenomena of** Creation, with Scientific Illustrations. Trans. by E. C. Otté.

HUNT'S (Robert) Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt, Professor at the School of Mines.

JOYCE'S Scientific Dialogues. A Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences. For Schools and Young People. Numerous Woodcuts.

—— **Introduction to the Arts and** Sciences, for Schools and Young People. Divided into Lessons with Examination Questions. Woodcuts. 3*s.* 6*d.*

JUKES-BROWNE'S Student's Handbook of Physical Geology. By A. J. Jukes-Browne, of the Geological Survey of England. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations, 6*s.* *N. S.*

KNIGHT'S (Charles) Knowledge is Power. A Popular Manual of Political Economy.

LECTURES ON PAINTING by the Royal Academicians, Barry, Opie, Fuseli. With Introductory Essay and Notes by R. Wornum. Portrait of Fuseli.

LILLY. Introduction to Astrology. With a Grammar of Astrology and Tables for calculating Nativities, by Zadkiel.

MANTELL'S (Dr.) Geological Excursions through the Isle of Wight and along the Dorset Coast. Numerous Woodcuts and Geological Map.

—— **Medals of Creation; or, First** Lessons in Geology: including Geological Excursions. Coloured Plates and several hundred Woodcuts. 2 vols. 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Petrifactions and their Teach**ings. Handbook to the Organic Remains in the British Museum. Numerous Woodcuts. 6*s.*

—— **Wonders of Geology; or, a** Familiar Exposition of Geological Phenomena. A coloured Geological Map of England, Plates, and 200 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

MORPHY'S Games of Chess, being the Matches and best Games played by the American Champion, with explanatory and analytical Notes by J. Löwenthal. With short Memoir and Portrait of Morphy.

SCHOUW'S Earth, Plants, and Man. Popular Pictures of Nature. And Kobell's Sketches from the Mineral Kingdom. Trans. by A. Henfrey, F.R.S. Coloured Map of the Geography of Plants.

SMITH'S (Pye) Geology and Scripture; or, the Relation between the Scriptures and Geological Science. With Memoir.

STANLEY'S Classified Synopsis of the Principal Painters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools, including an Account of some of the early German Masters. By George Stanley.

STAUNTON'S Chess-Player's Handbook. A Popular and Scientific Introduction to the Game, with numerous Diagrams and Coloured Frontispiece.

STAUNTON.—*Continued.*

—— **Chess Praxis.** A Supplement to the Chess-player's Handbook. Containing the most important modern Improvements in the Openings; Code of Chess Laws; and a Selection of Morphy's Games. Annotated. 636 pages. Diagrams. 6*s.*

—— **Chess-Player's Companion.** Comprising a Treatise on Odds, Collection of Match Games, including the French Match with M. St. Amant, and a Selection of Original Problems. Diagrams and Coloured Frontispiece.

—— **Chess Tournament of 1851.** A Collection of Games played at this celebrated assemblage. With Introduction and Notes. Numerous Diagrams.

STOCKHARDT'S Experimental Chemistry. A Handbook for the Study of the Science by simple Experiments. Edit. by C. W. Heaton, F.C.S. Numerous Woodcuts. *N. S.*

URE'S (Dr. A.) Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, systematically investigated; with an Introductory View of its Comparative State in Foreign Countries. Revised by P. L. Simmonds. 150 Illustrations. 2 vols.

—— **Philosophy of Manufactures,** or an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain. Revised by P. L. Simmonds. Numerous Figures. 800 pages. 7*s.* 6*d.*

ECONOMICS AND FINANCE.

GILBART'S History, Principles, and Practice of Banking. Revised to 1881 by A. S. Michie, of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Portrait of Gilbart. 2 vols. 10*s.* *N. S.*

REFERENCE LIBRARY.

25 *Volumes at Various Prices.* (7*l.* 12*s. per set.*)

BLAIR'S Chronological Tables. Comprehending the Chronology and History of the World, from the Earliest Times to the Russian Treaty of Peace, April 1856. By J. W. Rosse. 800 pages. 10*s.*

—— **Index of Dates.** Comprehending the principal Facts in the Chronology and History of the World, from the Earliest to the Present, alphabetically arranged; being a complete Index to the foregoing. By J. W. Rosse. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

CLARK'S (Hugh) Introduction to Heraldry. Revised by J. R. Planché. 5*s.* 950 Illustrations.

—— *With the Illustrations coloured,* 15*s.* *N. S.*

CHRONICLES OF THE TOMBS. A Select Collection of Epitaphs, with Essay on Epitaphs and Observations on Sepulchral Antiquities. By T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A. 5*s.*

COINS, Manual of.—*See Humphreys.*

DATES, Index of.—*See Blair.*

DICTIONARY of Obsolete and Provincial English. Containing Words from English Writers previous to the 19th Century. By Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

EPIGRAMMATISTS (The). A Selection from the Epigrammatic Literature of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times. With Introduction, Notes, Observations, Illustrations, an Appendix on Works connected with Epigrammatic Literature, by Rev. H. Dodd, M.A. 6*s.* *N. S.*

GAMES, Handbook of. Comprising Treatises on above 40 Games of Chance, Skill, and Manual Dexterity, including Whist, Billiards, &c. Edit. by Henry G. Bohn. Numerous Diagrams. 5*s.* *N. S.*

HUMPHREYS' Coin Collectors' Manual. An Historical Account of the Progress of Coinage from the Earliest Time, by H. N. Humphreys. 140 Illustrations. 2 vols. 5*s.* each. *N. S.*

LOWNDES' Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. Containing an Account of Rare and Curious Books published in or relating to Great Britain and Ireland, from the Invention of Printing, with Biographical Notices and Prices, by W. T. Lowndes. Parts I.–X. (A to Z), 3*s.* 6*d.* each. Part XI. (Appendix Vol.), 5*s.* Or the 11 parts in 4 vols., half morocco, 2*l.* 2*s.*

MEDICINE, Handbook of Domestic, Popularly Arranged. By Dr. H. Davies. 700 pages. 5*s.*

NOTED NAMES OF FICTION. Dictionary of. Including also Familiar Pseudonyms, Surnames bestowed on Eminent Men, &c. By W. A. Wheeler, M.A. 5*s*. *N. S.*

PROVERBS, Handbook of. Containing an entire Republication of Ray's Collection, with Additions from Foreign Languages and Sayings, Sentences, Maxims, and Phrases, collected by H. G. Bohn. 5*s*.

—— **A Polyglot of Foreign.** Comprising French, Italian, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Danish. With English Translations. 5*s*.

POLITICAL CYCLOPÆDIA. Dictionary of Political, Constitutiona Statistical, and Forensic Knowledge forming a Work of Reference on subjec of Civil Administration, Political Economy Finance, Commerce, Laws, and Soci Relations. 4 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

SYNONYMS and ANTONYMS; o Kindred Words and their Opposites, Co lected and Contrasted by Ven. C. Smith, M.A. 5*s*. *N. S.*

WRIGHT (Th.)—*See Dictionary*.

NOVELISTS' LIBRARY.

10 *Volumes at* 3*s*. 6*d*. *each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (1*l*. 18*s*. *per set*

BURNEY'S Evelina; or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. By F. Burney (Mme. D'Arblay). With Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis, Author of 'Sylvestra,' &c. *N. S.*

—— **Cecilia.** With Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis. 2 vols. *N. S.*

FIELDING'S Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams. With Roscoe's Biography. *Cruikshank's Illustrations. N. S.*

—— **History of Tom Jones, a Foundling.** Roscoe's Edition. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.* 2 vols. *N. S.*

FIELDING.—*Continued.*

—— **Amelia.** Roscoe's Edition, revise *Cruikshank's Illustrations.* 5*s*. *N. S.*

GROSSI'S Marco Visconti. Tran by A. F. D. *N. S.*

MANZONI. The Betrothed: bein a Translation of 'I Promessi Spos Numerous Woodcuts. 1 vol. (732 page 5*s*. *N. S.*

STOWE (Mrs. H. B.) Uncle Tom Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly. 8 fu page Illustrations. *N. S.*

ARTISTS' LIBRARY.

5 *Volumes at Various Prices.* (1*l*. 8*s*. 6*d*. *per set.*)

BELL (Sir Charles). The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression, as Connected with the Fine Arts. 5*s*. *N. S.*

DEMMIN. History of Arms and Armour from the Earliest Period. By Auguste Demmin. Trans. by C. C. Black, M.A., Assistant Keeper, S. K. Museum. 1900 Illustrations. 7*s*. 6*d*. *N. S.*

FLAXMAN. Lectures on Sculpture. With Three Addresses to the R.A. by Sir R. Westmacott, R.A., and Memoir Flaxman. Portrait and 53 Plates. 6*s*. *N.*

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S Treati on Painting. Trans. by J. F. Rigaud, R. With a Life and an Account of his Wor by J. W. Brown. Numerous Plates. *N. S.*

PLANCHÉ'S History of Briti Costume, from the Earliest Time to t 19th Century. By J. R. Planché. Illustrations. 5*s*. *N. S.*

The only authorised Edition; no others published in England contain the Derivations and Etymological Notes of Dr. Mahn, who devoted several years to this portion of the Work.

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY

OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Thoroughly revised and improved by CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D.D., LL.D., and NOAH PORTER, D.D., of Yale College.

THE GUINEA DICTIONARY.

New Edition [1880], with a Supplement of upwards of 4600 New Words and Meanings.

1628 Pages. 3000 Illustrations.

The features of this volume, which render it perhaps the most useful Dictionary for general reference extant, as it is undoubtedly one of the cheapest books ever published, are as follows :—

1. COMPLETENESS.—It contains 114,000 words—more by 10,000 than any other Dictionary ; and these are, for the most part, unusual or technical terms, for the explanation of which a Dictionary is most wanted.
2. ACCURACY OF DEFINITION.—In the present edition all the definitions have been carefully and methodically analysed by W. G. Webster, the Rev. C. Goodrich. Prof. Lyman, Prof. Whitney, and Prof. Gilman, under the superintendence of Prof. Goodrich.
3. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL TERMS.—In order to secure the utmost completeness and accuracy of definition, this department has been subdivided among eminent scholars and experts, including Prof. Dana, Prof. Lyman, &c.
4. ETYMOLOGY.—The eminent philologist, Dr. C. F. Mahn, has devoted five years to completing this department.
5. THE ORTHOGRAPHY is based, as far as possible, on Fixed Principles. *In all cases of doubt an alternative spelling is given.*
6. PRONUNCIATION.—This has been entrusted to Mr. W. G. Webster and Mr. Wheeler, assisted by other scholars. The pronunciation of each word is indicated by typographical signs *printed at the bottom of each page.*
7. THE ILLUSTRATIVE CITATIONS.—No labour has been spared to embody such quotations from standard authors as may throw light on the definitions, or possess any special interest of thought or language.
8. THE SYNONYMS.—These are subjoined to the words to which they belong, and are very complete.
9. THE ILLUSTRATIONS, which exceed 3000, are inserted, not for the sake of ornament, but to elucidate the meaning of words.

Cloth, 21*s.* ; half-bound in calf, 30*s.* ; calf or half russia, 31*s.* 6*d.* ; russia, 2*l.*

To be obtained through all Booksellers.

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY.

'SEVENTY years passed before Johnson was followed by Webster, an American writer, who faced the task of the English Dictionary with a full appreciation of its requirements, leading to better practical results.' . . .

'His laborious comparison of twenty languages, though never published, bore fruit in his own mind, and his training placed him both in knowledge and judgment far in advance of Johnson as a philologist. Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language* was published in 1828, and of course appeared at once in England, where successive re-editing *has yet kept it in the highest place as a practical Dictionary*.'

'The acceptance of an American Dictionary in England has itself had immense effect in keeping up the community of speech, to break which would be a grievous harm, not to English-speaking nations alone, but to mankind. The result of this has been that the common Dictionary must suit both sides of the Atlantic.' . . .

'The good average business-like character of Webster's Dictionary, both in style and matter, made it as distinctly suited as Johnson's was distinctly unsuited to be expanded and re-edited by other hands. Professor Goodrich's edition of 1847 is not much more than enlarged and amended; but other revisions since have so much novelty of plan as to be described as distinct works.' . . .

'The American revised Webster's Dictionary of 1864, published in America and England, is of an altogether higher order than these last [The London Imperial and Student's]. It bears on its title-page the names of Drs. Goodrich and Porter, but inasmuch as its especial improvement is in the etymological department, the care of which was committed to Dr. Mahn of Berlin, we prefer to describe it in short as the Webster-Mahn Dictionary. Many other literary men, among them Professors Whitney and Dana, aided in the task of compilation and revision. On consideration it seems that the editors and contributors have gone far toward improving Webster to the utmost that he will bear improvement. The *vocabulary has become almost complete as regards usual words, while the definitions keep throughout to Webster's simple careful style, and the derivations are assigned with the aid of good modern authorities.*'

'On the whole, the Webster-Mahn Dictionary as it stands is most respectable, and **certainly the best Practical English Dictionary extant.**'—From the *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1873.

LONDON: G. BELL & SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

New Edition, with a New Biographical Supplement of upwards of 900 Names.

WEBSTER'S COMPLETE DICTIONARY

AND BOOK OF LITERARY REFERENCE.

1919 Pages. 3000 Illustrations.

Besides the matter comprised in the WEBSTER'S GUINEA DICTIONARY, this volume contains the following Appendices, which will show that no pains have been spared to make it a complete Literary Reference-book :—

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. By Prof. James Hadley.

PRINCIPLES OF PRONUNCIATION. By Prof. Goodrich and W. A. Wheeler, M.A, Including a Synopsis of Words differently pronounced by different authorities.

A SHORT TREATISE ON ORTHOGRAPHY. By A. W. Wright. Including a complete List of Words that are spelt in two or more ways.

VOCABULARY OF NOTED NAMES OF FICTION. By W. A. Wheeler, M.A. This work includes Mythical Names ; including also Pseudonyms, Nick-names of eminent persons and parties, &c. &c.

This work may also be had separately, post 8vo. price 5s.

A PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF SCRIPTURE PROPER NAMES. By W. A. Wheeler. M.A.

A PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF GREEK AND LATIN PROPER NAMES. By Prof. Thacher.

AN ETYMOLOGICAL VOCABULARY OF MODERN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES. By the Rev. C. H. Wheeler.

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARIES OF MODERN GEOGRAPHICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NAMES. By J. Thomas, M.D.

A PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF COMMON ENGLISH CHRISTIAN NAMES, with their derivations, signification, &c.

A DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS. Containing all Words, Phrases, Proverbs, and Colloquial Expressions from the Greek, Latin, and Modern Languages met with in literature.

A NEW BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF UPWARDS OF 9700 NAMES OF NOTED PERSONS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, CONTRACTIONS, AND ARBITRARY SIGNS USED IN WRITING AND PRINTING.

A CLASSIFIED SELECTION OF PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATIONS (70 pages). With references to the text.

'The cheapest Dictionary ever published, as it is confessedly one of the best. The introduction of small woodcut illustrations of technical and scientific terms adds greatly to the utility of the Dictionary.'—*Churchman.*

1l. 11*s.* 6*d.* ; half-calf, *2l.* ; calf or half-russia, *2l.* 2*s.* ; russia, *2l.* 10*s.*

LONDON:
Printed by STRANGEWAYS AND SONS, Tower Street, Upper St. Martin's Lane.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

Form L9–Series 444

A 000 220 439

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS BOOK CARD

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA · LOS ANGELES · THE LIBRARY

University Research Library

DG 311 .A35 1883 v.5

CALL NUMBER

SER VOL PT

GLOBE 42145-O